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HISTORY
OF THE
PLANTING AND TRAINING
OF
THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

BY THE APOSTLES

BY
DR. AUGUSTUS NEANDER

ALSO, HIS
ANTIGNOSTIKUS
OR, SPIRIT OF TERTULLIAN

TRANSLATED BY J. E. RYLAND

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I.

LONDON
GEORGE BELL AND SONS

1900

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

ONLY a few words seem necessary by way of preface to the following translation. It was begun towards the close of 1840; but early in the present year the Translator having requested Dr. Neander to favour him with any corrections or additions which he might have made to the second edition (published in 1838), was informed, in reply, that a third edition was passing through the press: at the same time, an offer was most kindly made of forwarding the proof-sheets, by which means the translation will appear within a few weeks after the original, in its most approved form.

It may be proper to state, that there were circumstances which rendered it desirable that as little delay as possible should occur in the preparation of the English work. This demand for expedition may have perhaps occasioned more inadvertencies than the modicum of negative reputation allotted to literary workmanship of this kind can well afford. The Translator trusts, however, that he has, on the whole, succeeded in giving a tolerably correct representation of the original, though, had time been allowed for a more careful revision, several minor blemishes might have been removed, and the meaning of some passages have been more distinctly brought out.

The Author's great and long-established reputation as an Ecclesiastical Historian, would render it unnecessary, even if not somewhat unseemly, to usher in this work with a lengthened descant on its merits. The impartial and earnest inquirer after truth will not fail to be delighted with the marks it everywhere presents of unwearied research, extended views, and profound piety. No one would regret more than the excellent author, if the freedom of his inquiries should give pain to any of his Christian brethren; still his motto must be, "*Amicus Socrates, magis amica Veritas.*" He is completely at issue with the advocates of certain views which

have lately been gaining a disastrous prevalence in this country. The decided terms in which he asserts the noble equality and brotherhood of Christian men, in opposition to the anti-christian tenet of a priesthood, in the sense not of religious instructors, but of exclusive conveyers of supernatural influence,¹ will be little relished by those who would attempt to share the incommunicable prerogatives of the "one Mediator." But, as Dr. N. justly remarks in one of his earlier communications (for all of which the Translator is glad of an opportunity to express his heartfelt gratitude,) "the gospel itself rests on an immovable rock, while human systems of theology are everywhere undergoing a purifying process, 1 Cor. iii. 12, 13. WE LIVE IN THE TIME OF A GREAT CRISIS!"

This translation has been prepared at a distance from those helps which would have been within my reach at an earlier period, and soon after a change of residence had separated me from three friends especially, with whom most of the important topics in these volumes had been submitted to frequent and earnest discussion. Without the formality of a dedication, my sense of the value of their friendship prompts me to make this allusion, which is connected with some of my most pleasing recollections. I wish also to express my obligations to Dr. Edward Michelson, of the University of Leipzig, who not only gave up his intention of publishing a translation of this work, on being informed that I was engaged in a similar undertaking, but most readily favoured me with his opinion on various passages during the preparation of the manuscript. I have received, too, from a friend of Dr. Neander, with whose name I am not acquainted, the results of a very careful examination of the first six proof-sheets, which I gratefully acknowledge, and only regret that the whole work could not be submitted to his review previous to publication.

(1) By no writers has this error been more ably exposed than by Archbishop Whately and Dr. Arnold; by the former, in "The Errors of Romanism traced to their origin in human nature;" and by the latter, in the introduction to a volume of discourses, lately published on "the Christian Life."—"To revive Christ's church is to expel the antichrist of priesthood, which, as it was foretold of him, '*as God, sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God*;' and to restore its disfranchised members, the laity, to the discharge of their proper duties in it, and to the consciousness of their paramount importance," p. 52.

J. E. R.

NORTHAMPTON, November 2, 1841.

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND
DR. F. EHRENBURG,

ROYAL CHAPLAIN, MEMBER OF THE SUPREME CONSISTORY,
ETC. ETC.

MY DEEPLY REVERED AND VERY DEAR FRIEND,

I trust you will receive this work with all its defects as the offering of a sincere heart; as a small token of my cordial veneration and love, and of that sincere gratitude which I have long felt impelled to express, for the edification I have derived from your discourses. May a gracious God long allow you to labour and shine among us for the welfare of his church, with that holy energy which he has bestowed upon you, with the spirit of Christian wisdom and freedom, the spirit of true freedom exalted above all the strife of human parties,—which the Son of God alone bestows, and which is especially requisite for the guidance of the church in our times, agitated and distracted as they are by so many conflicts! This is the warmest wish of one who with all his heart calls himself yours.

Thus I wrote on the 22d of May, 1832, and after six years I again repeat with all my heart, the words expressive of dedication, of gratitude, and of devout wishes to the Giver of all perfect gifts. Since that portion of time (not unimportant in our agitated age) has passed away, I have to thank you, dear and inmosty revered Man, for many important words of edification and instruction, which I have received from your lips in public, as well as for the precious gift¹ which has often administered refreshment to myself and others. Yes, with all my heart I agree with those beautiful sentiments which form the soul of your discourses, and bind me with such force to your person. God grant that we may ever humbly and faithfully hold fast the truth which does not seek for reconciliation amidst contrarieties, but is itself unsought the right mean! God grant (what is far above all theological disputations,) that the highest aim of our labours may be to produce the image of Christ in the souls of men,—that to our latest breath we may keep this object in view without wavering, fast bound to it in true love, each one in his own sphere, unmoved by the vicissitudes of opinion and the collisions of party!

Let me add as a subordinate wish, that you would soon favour us with a volume of discourses, to testify of this "one thing that is needful."

A. NEANDER.

BERLIN, 30th May, 1838.

From the fulness of my heart I once more repeat the wishes and thanks before expressed, and rejoice that it is in my power to dedicate the third edition of this work to you, my inmosty dear and revered friend.

A. NEANDER.

BERLIN, 2d August, 1841.

(1) Alluding probably to a volume of Sermons already published.—TR.

PREFACE TO VOLUME I. OF THE FIRST EDITION.

It was certainly my intention to have allowed my representation of the Christian religion and church in the apostolic age to follow the completion of the whole of my Church History, or at least of the greater part of it; but the wishes and entreaties of many persons, expressed both in writing and by word of mouth, have prevailed upon me to alter my plan. Those, too, who took an interest in my mode of conceiving the development of Christianity, were justified in demanding an account of the manner in which I conceived the origin of this process, on which the opinions of men are so much divided through the conflicting influences of the various theological tendencies in this critical period of our German Evangelical church; and perhaps, if it please God, a thoroughly matured and candidly expressed conviction on the subjects here discussed, may furnish many a one who is engaged in seeking, with a connecting link for the comprehension of his own views, even if this representation, though the result of protracted and earnest inquiry, should contain no new disclosures.

As for my relation to all who hold the conviction, that faith in Jesus, the Saviour of sinful humanity, as it has shown itself since the first founding of the Christian church to be the fountain of divine life, will prove itself the same to the end of time, and that from this faith a new creation will arise in the Christian church and in our part of the world, which has been preparing amidst the storms of spring—to all such persons I hope to be bound by the bond of Christian fellowship, the bond of "*the true Catholic Spirit*," as it is termed by an excellent English theologian of the seventeenth century.¹ But I cannot agree with the conviction of those among them who think that this new creation will be only a repetition of what took place in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, and that the whole dogmatic system, and the entire

(1) We meet with a beautiful specimen of such a spirit in what has been admirably said by a respected theologian of the Society of Friends, Joseph John Gurney; "It can scarcely be denied, that in that variety of administration, through which the saving principles of religion are for the present permitted to pass, *there is much of a real adaptation to a corresponding variety of mental condition* Well, therefore, may we bow with thankfulness before that infinite and unsearchable Being, who in all our weakness follows us with his love, and through the diversified mediums of religion to which the several classes of *true* Christians are respectively accustomed, is still pleased to reveal to them all *the same* crucified Redeemer, and to direct their footsteps into one path of obedience, holiness and peace." See *Observations on the distinguishing Views and Practices of the Society of Friends*, by Joseph John Gurney, ed. vii. London, 1834. Words fit to shame theologians who are burning with zeal for the letter and forms, as if on these depended the essence of religion, whose life and spirit are rooted in facts.

mode of contemplating divine and human things,¹ must return as it then existed.

On this point, I assent with my whole soul to what my deeply revered and beloved friend, Steudel, lately expressed, so deserving of consideration in our times, and especially to be commended to the attention of our young theologians.² He admirably remarks, "But exactly this and only this, is the preeminence of the one truth, that it maintains its triumphant worth under all changes of form;" and Niebuhr detected in the eagerness to restore the old, an eagerness for novelty; "When the novelty of a thing is worn away by use, we are prone to return to the old, which then becomes new again, and thus the ball is thrown backwards and forwards."³

In truth, whatever is connected with the peculiarities of the forms of human cultivation, as these change, goes the way of all flesh; but the Word of God, which is destined by a perpetual youthfulness of power to make all things new—abides for ever. Thus the difference existing between these persons and myself, will certainly show itself in our conception of many important points in this department of history, but in my judgment these differences are only scientific, and ought not to disturb that fellowship which is above all science. But I can also transport myself to the standing-point of those to whom these objects must appear in a different light; for the rise of such differences is in this critical period unavoidable, and far better than the previous indifference and lifeless uniformity. And even in zeal for a definite form, I know how to esteem and to love a zeal for the essence which lies at the bottom,⁴ and I can never have anything in common with those who will not do justice to such zeal, or, instead of treating it with the respect that is always due to zeal and affection for what is holy, with Jesuitical craft aim at rendering others suspected, by imputing to them sinister motives and designs.

It was not my intention to give a complete history of the Apostolic

(1) Well might the noble words of Luther be applied to those who cling to the old rotten posts of a scaffolding raised by human hands, as if they were needed for the divine building. "When at a window I have gazed on the stars of heaven, and the whole beautiful vault of heaven, and saw no pillars on which the builder had set such a vault; yet the heavens fell not in; and that vault still stands firm. Now there are simple folk who look about for such pillars, and would fain grasp and feel them. But since they cannot do this, they quake and tremble, as if the heavens would certainly fall in, and for no other reason than because they cannot grasp or see the pillars; if they could but lay hold of them, then the heavens (they think) would stand firm enough."

(2) In the *Tubingen Zeitschrift für Theologie*, 1832, part i. p. 33. Blessed be the memory of this beloved man, who left this world a few months ago, and is no longer to be seen in the holy band of combatants for that evangelical truth which was the aim, the centre, and the soul of his whole life, and the firm anchor of his hope in death, when he proved himself to be one of those faithful teachers of whom it may be said—"whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation."

(3) One of the many golden sentences of this great man in his letters, of which we would recommend the second volume especially to all young theologians.

(4) Provided it be the true zeal of simplicity, which accompanies humility, and where sagacity does not predominate over simplicity; but by no means that zeal which, in coupling itself with the modern coxcombr of a super-refined education, endeavours to season subjects with it to which it is least adapted, in order to render them palatable to the vitiated taste that loathes a simple diet; and thus proves its own unsoundness. A caricature jumble of the most contradictory elements, at which every sound feeling must revolt.

age, but only what the title, advisedly selected, indicates. I have prefixed to it the Introduction from the first volume of my Church History, reserving the recasting of the whole work for a new edition, should God permit.

In reference to the arrangement of the whole plan, and the mutual relation of the parts of the representation, I must beg the reader to suspend his judgment awhile, till the completion of the whole by the publication of the second part.

It will be my constant aim to carry on to its conclusion the whole of the work I have undertaken on the history of the Church, if God continue to grant me strength and resolution for the purpose. Meanwhile, a brief compendium of Church History on the principles of my arrangement, but enriched with literary notices, will be published. My dear friend, Professor Rheinwald, of Bonn, having been prevented by his new duties from executing this work, it has been undertaken at my request by another of my friends, Mr. Licentiate Vogt,¹ already favourably known to the theological public by his share in editing the *Homilarium*, and still more commended to the public favour by his literary labours on the *Pseudo-Dionysius*, and the *Life and Times of Gerson*, Chancellor of Paris. May he receive from every quarter that public favour and encouragement which his character, acquirements, and performances deserve!²

A. NEANDER.

BERLIN, 29th May, 1832.

PREFACE TO VOLUME II. OF THE FIRST EDITION.

I HAVE only a few words to say in addition to the Preface of the first volume. The exposition of doctrines which occupies the principal part of the second half of this work, I was obliged to regulate as to quantity by the relation in which this work stands to the general history of the Church, and the proportion which the history of doctrine in the latter bears to the whole. Hence I have been obliged to leave untouched many questions which would occur to the Christian theologian, who develops and elaborates the contents of the sacred records for the use of his own times; my endeavours have been confined to representing primitive Christianity according to its principal models of doctrine in its historical development. In executing such a work, every man must be influenced by his own religious and doctrinal standing-point, by his views of the doctrines of Christianity, its origin, and its relation to the general development of the human race. On this point no one can

(1) Now Dr. Vogt, ordinary professor of Theology, and pastor at Greifswald.

(2) This wish for so peculiarly dear a friend, whose personal intercourse, so beneficial to my heart, I no longer enjoy, has been fulfilled. But his multiplied labours will not permit him to accomplish the design mentioned above. Yet if it please God another of my young friends will be found fitted for the task.

blame another for differing from himself; for a purely objective historical work, stripped of all subjectivity in its representation, untinctured by the individual notions of the writer, is an absurdity. The only question is, what point of view in the contemplation of these objects most nearly corresponds to the truth, and from this the clearest conceptions will be formed of the images presented in history. Without renouncing our subjectivity, without giving up our own way of thinking (a thing utterly impossible) to those of others, or rendering it a slave to the dogmas of any school which the petty arrogance of man would set on the throne of the living God, (for this would be to forfeit the divine freedom won for us by Christ,) our efforts must be directed to the constant purification and elevation of our thinking (otherwise subject to sin and error) by the spirit of truth. Free inquiry belongs to the goods of humanity, but it presupposes the *true* freedom of the whole man, which commences in the disposition, which has its seat in the heart, and we know where this freedom is alone to be found. We know whence that freedom came which by means of Luther and the Reformation broke the fetters of the human mind. We know that those who have this beautiful name most frequently on their lips, often mean by it only another kind of slavery.

It will now be my most earnest care and greatest satisfaction, to devote the time and strength not employed in my official labours, to the continuation of my History of the Church, to its termination, for which may God grant me the assistance of his Spirit!

A. NEANDER.

BERLIN, 9th August, 1832.

(GENERAL) PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

HAVING, as I believe, sufficiently explained in my former prefaces the object of this work, and the theological position it takes in relation to other standing-points, I have little more to add. What I have here expressed will serve to rectify several errors which have since been discovered, to pacify, as far as possible, various complaints. Many things indeed find their rectification or settlement only in that constant process of development and purification which is going on in a critical age. There is a fire kindled, which must separate in the building that is founded on a rock, the wood, hay and stubble, from what is formed of the precious metals and jewels. There are imaginary wants, which not only I cannot satisfy, but which I do not wish to satisfy. The activity shown of late years, in Biblical inquiries and the kindred branches of history, has enabled me to correct and amplify many parts, and to vindicate others from objections.

A. NEANDER.

BERLIN, 30th May, 1838.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

As to what I have said respecting the position I have taken in reference to the controversies which are every day waxing fiercer, and distract an age that longs after a new creation, I can only reassert that, if it pleased God, I hope to abide faithful to these principles to my latest breath! the ground beneath our feet may be shaken, but not the heavens above us. We will adhere to that *theologia pectoris*, which is likewise the true theology of the spirit, the *German* theology, as Luther calls it.

The demand for this new edition was a call to improve the work to the utmost of my ability, and to introduce whatever new views appeared to me to be correct.

Sound criticism on particular points will always be welcome to me; the cavils of self-important sciolists I shall always despise.

A. NEANDER.

BERLIN, 24 August, 1841.

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BOOK I.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN PALESTINE, PREVIOUS TO ITS SPREAD AMONG HEATHEN NATIONS.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH ON ITS FIRST APPEARANCE AS A DISTINCT RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY.

THE historical development of the Christian Church as a body is similar to that of the Christian life in each of its members. In the latter case, the transition from an unchristian to a christian state is not an event altogether sudden, and without any preparatory steps. Many separate rays of divine light, at different times, enter the soul ; various influences of awakening preparative grace are felt, before the birth of that new divine life by which the whole character of man is destined to be taken possession of, pervaded, and transformed. The appearance of a new personality sanctified by the divine principle of life, necessarily forms a great era in life, but the commencement of this era is not marked with perfect precision and distinctness ; the new creation manifests itself more or less gradually by its effects. "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but knowest not whence it cometh, nor whither it goeth." The same may be affirmed of the church collectively, with this difference, however, that here the point of commencement is more visibly and decidedly marked.

It is true, that Christ, during his ministry on earth, laid the foundation of the outward structure of the church ; he then formed that community, that spiritual theocracy, whose members were held together by faith in him, and a profession

of allegiance to him as their King ; and which was the chosen vessel for receiving and conveying to all the tribes of the earth that divine indwelling life, which he came to impart to the whole human race. The fountain of divine life was still shut up in him, and had not diffused itself abroad with that energy and peculiarity of direction, which were essential to the formation of the Christian church. The apostles themselves were as yet confined to the bodily presence and outward guidance of the Redeemer : though, by the operation of Christ, the seminal principle of a divine life had been deposited in their hearts, and given signs of germination, still it had not attained its full expansion and peculiar character ; hence it might be affirmed, that what constituted the animating spirit and the essential nature of the Christian church, as an association gradually enlarging itself—(the unity of a divine life manifesting itself in a variety of individual peculiarities) had not yet appeared ; this event, indeed, Christ had intimated would not take place till preparation had been made for it by his sufferings and return to his heavenly Father.

At his last interview with the disciples, just before his final separation from them, in answer to their inquiry respecting the coming of his kingdom, he referred them to the power of the Holy Spirit, who would enable them rightly to understand the doctrine of his kingdom, and furnish them with fit instruments for spreading it through the world. All the promises of the Saviour relate, it is true, not merely to one single event, but to the whole of the influence of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles, and, in a certain sense, on the Universal Church founded by their means ; yet the display of that influence for the first time, forms so distinguished an epoch in the lives of the Apostles, that it may properly be considered as an especial fulfilment of these promises. Christ pointed out to the Apostles such a palpable epoch, which would be attended with a firm conviction of a great internal operation on their minds, an unwavering consciousness of the illumination imparted by the Divine Spirit ; for, before his final departure, he enjoined upon them, not to leave Jerusalem till that promise was fulfilled, and they had received that baptism of the Spirit which would shortly take place.

On account of this event, the Pentecost which the disciples celebrated soon after the Saviour's departure, is of such great

importance, as marking the commencement of the Apostolic Church, for here it first publicly displayed its essential character. Next to the appearance of the Son of God himself on earth, this¹ was the greatest event, as the commencing point of the new divine life, proceeding from him to the human race, which has since spread and operated through successive ages, and will continue to operate until its final object is attained, and all mankind are transformed into the image of Christ. If we contemplate this great transaction from this, its only proper point of view, we shall not be tempted to explain the greater by the less ; we shall not consider it strange that the most wonderful event in the inner life of mankind should be accompanied by extraordinary outward appearances, as sensible indications of its existence. Still less shall we be induced to look upon this great transaction—in which we recognise the necessary beginning of a new epoch, an essential intermediate step in the religious development of the Apostles, and in the formation of the Church—as something purely mythical.

The disciples must have looked forward with intense expectation to the fulfilment of that promise, which the Saviour

¹ Whoever looks upon Christ only as the highest being developed from the germs originally implanted in human nature (although an absolutely highest being cannot logically be inferred in the development of human nature from this standing-point), must take an essentially different view from ourselves of the transaction of which we are speaking, though he may approximate to us in the mode of viewing particular points. When Hase, in his Essay on the First Christian Pentecost, in the Second Part of Winer's *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* (Journal for Scientific Theology), says, "that a time may arrive when what is the result of freedom in man shall be considered as divine, and the Holy Spirit ;" we readily grant that such a time is coming, or rather is already come ; it has already reached its highest point, from which must ensue a revolution in the mode of thinking. We cannot, however, hold this view to be the Christian one, but entirely opposite to real Christianity. How irreconcilable it is with the apostolic belief, an unprejudiced thinker, Bouterweck, acknowledges in his *Religion der Vernunft* (Religion of Reason), p. 137. The Holy Spirit, in the Christian sense, is never the divine in the nature of man, but a communication from God to the nature of man (incapable of itself of reaching its moral destination), which becomes thereby raised to a higher order of life. But this supernatural communication from God, by no means contradicts an acknowledgment of the divine and of freedom in the nature of man, but rather presupposes both.

had so emphatically repeated.¹ Ten days had passed since their final separation from their Divine Master, when that

¹ Professor Hitzig, in his *Sendschreiben über Ostern und Pfingsten* (Letters on Easter and Pentecost), Heidelberg, 1837, maintains, that this event occurred not at the Jewish Pentecost, but some days earlier, and that the day of the giving of the Law from Sinai is also to be fixed some days earlier; that Acts ii. 1, is to be understood, "when the day of Pentecost drew near," and therefore denotes a time before the actual occurrence of this feast. As evidence for this assertion, it is remarked that, in verse 5, only the Jews *settled* in Jerusalem, those who out of all the countries in which they were scattered, had settled in Jerusalem from a strong religious feeling, are mentioned, when, if the reference had been to one of the principal feasts, the multitude of *foreign* Jews, who came from all parts, would have been especially noticed. Against this view we have to urge the following considerations. The words Acts ii. 1, "When the day of Pentecost was fully come," would be most naturally understood of the actual arrival of that day, as πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου, or τῶν καιρῶν, Eph. i. 10, and Gal. iv. 4, denote the actual arrival of the appointed time; though we allow that, in certain connexions, they may denote the near approach of some precise point of time, as in Luke ix. 51, where yet it is to be noticed that it is not said "*the day*," but "*the days*;" and thus the time of the departure of Christ from the earth, which was now actually approaching, is marked in general terms. But as to the connexion of this passage in the Acts, if we are inclined to understand these words only of the near approach of Pentecost, we do not see why such a specification of the time should have been given. Had Luke thought that the day of giving the Law on Sinai was different from that of the Pentecost, it might be expected that he would have marked more precisely the main subject. Besides, there are no traces to be found, that a day in commemoration of the giving of the Law was observed by the Jews. But if we understand the words as referring to the actual arrival of Pentecost, the importance of fixing the time, in relation to the words immediately following, and the whole sequel of the narrative, is very apparent. This feast would occasion the assembling of believers at an early hour. The words in verse 5, we must certainly understand merely of such Jews as were resident in Jerusalem, not of such who came there first at this time. But from a comparison with the 9th verse, it is evident that κατοικεῖν is not to be understood altogether in the same sense in both verses; that in the latter, those are spoken of who had their residence elsewhere, and were only sojourning for a short time in Jerusalem. And if we grant that the persons spoken of belonged to the number of the Jews who formerly dwelt in other lands, but for a long time past had settled in Jerusalem, as the capital of the Theocracy, then it is clear that, by the ἐπιδημοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι, we must understand such as for some special cause were just come to Jerusalem. Further, there were also those called Proselytes, who were found in great numbers at Jerusalem, for some special occasion, and this could be no other than the feast of Pentecost. Doubtless, by "all the dwellers at Jerusalem," v. 14, who are

feast was celebrated, whose object so nearly touched that which especially occupied their minds at the time, and must therefore have raised their anxious expectations still higher—the Jewish Pentecost, the feast which was held seven weeks after the Passover. This feast, according to the original Mosaic institution, related only to the first fruits of Harvest ; nor is any other reason for its celebration adduced by Josephus and Philo—in this respect, only a distant resemblance could be traced between the first fruits of the natural Creation, and those of the new Spiritual Creation ; this analogy, it is true, is often adverted to by the ancient Fathers of the Church, but before the fulfilment of the Saviour's promise, must have been very far from the thoughts of the disciples. But if we venture to credit the Jewish Traditions,¹ this feast had also a reference to the giving of the law on Mount Sinai ;² hence, by way of distinction, it has been called the feast of the joy of the Law.³ If this be admitted, then the words of Christ respecting the new revelation of God by him, the new relation established by him between God and Man, which he himself under the designation of the New Covenant⁴ placed in opposition to the Old,—must have been vividly recalled to the minds of the disciples by the celebration of this feast, and, at the same time, their anxious longing would be more strongly excited for that event, which, according to his promise, would confirm and glorify the New Dispensation. As all who professed to be the Lord's disciples (their number then amounted

distinguished from the Jews, are meant all who were then living at Jerusalem, without determining whether they had resided there always, or only for a short time. The whole narrative, too, gives the impression that a greater multitude of persons than usual were then assembled at Jerusalem.

¹ Which may be found collected in a Dissertation by J. M. Danz, in Meuschen's *Novum Testamentum e Talmude illustratum*, p. 740.

² That they are justified in making such a reference, may be concluded from comparing Exodus xii. 1, and xix. 1.

³ פסח חמשה עצרת.

⁴ The word *διαθήκη*, ברית, which has been used to denote both the Old and the New Dispensation, is taken from human relations, as signifying a covenant or agreement ; but in its application to the relation between God and man, the fundamental idea must never be lost sight of, namely, that of a relation in which there is something reciprocal and conditional, as, in this case, a communication from God to man is conditioned by the obedience of faith on the part of the latter.

to one hundred and twenty)¹ were wont to meet daily for mutual edification, so on this solemn day, they were assembled in a chamber,² which according to Oriental customs was specially assigned to devotional exercises. It was the first stated hour of prayer, about nine in the morning, and, according to what we must suppose was then the tone of the disciples' feelings, we may presume that their prayers turned to the object which filled their souls—that on the day when the Old Law had been promulgated with such glory, the New also might be glorified by the communication of the promised Spirit. And what their ardent desires and prayers sought for, what their Lord had promised, was granted. They felt elevated to a new state of mind, pervaded by a spirit of joyfulness and power, to which they had hitherto been strangers, and seized by an inspiring impulse, to testify the grace of

¹ Without doubt, those expositors adopt the right view who suppose, that not merely the apostles but all the believers were at that time assembled; for though, in Acts i. 26, the apostles are primarily intended, yet the *μαθηταί* collectively form the chief subject (i. 15), to which the *ἅπαντες* at the beginning of the second chapter necessarily refers. It by no means follows, that because, in ch. ii. 14, the apostles alone are represented as speakers, the assembly was confined to these alone; but here, as elsewhere, they appear the leaders and representatives of the whole church, and distinguish themselves from the rest of the persons met together; Acts ii. 15. The great importance of the fact which Peter brings forward in his discourse, that the gifts of the Spirit, which, under the Old Covenant, were imparted only to a select class of persons, such as the prophets,—under the New Covenant, which removes every wall of separation in reference to the higher life, are communicated without distinction to all believers—this great fact would be altogether lost sight of, if we confined every thing here mentioned to the apostles. Throughout the Acts, wherever the agency of the Spirit is manifested by similar characteristics in those who were converted to a living faith, we perceive an evident homogeneity with this first great event.

² Such a chamber was built in the eastern style, with a flat roof, and a staircase leading to the court-yard, *ὑπερφῶν*, *ἵππ.* According to the narrative in the Acts, we must suppose it to have been a chamber in a private house. But, in itself, there is nothing to forbid our supposing that the disciples met together in the Temple at the first hour of prayer during the feast; their proceedings would thus have gained much in notoriety, though not in real importance, as Olshausen maintains; for it perfectly accorded with the genius of the Christian Dispensation, not being restricted to particular times and places, and obliterating the distinction of profane and sacred, that the first effusion of the Holy Spirit should take place, not in a temple, but in an ordinary dwelling.

redemption, of which now for the first time they had right perceptions. Extraordinary appearances of nature (a conjunction similar to what has happened in other important epochs of the history of mankind) accompanied the great process then going on in the spiritual world, and were symbolic of that which filled their inmost souls. An earthquake attended by a whirlwind suddenly shook the building in which they were assembled, a symbol to them of that Spirit which moved their inner man. Flaming lights in the form of tongues streamed through the chamber, and floating downwards settled on their heads, a symbol of the new tongues of the fire of inspired emotion, which streamed forth from the holy flame that glowed within them.¹

The account of what took place on this occasion, leads us back at last to the depositions of those who were present, the only persons who could give direct testimony concerning it. And it might happen, that the glory of the inner life then imparted to them, might so reflect its splendour on surrounding objects, that by virtue of the internal miracle (the elevation of their inward life and consciousness, through the power of the Divine Spirit), the objects of outward perception appeared quite changed. And thus it is not impossible, that all which presented itself to them as a perception of the outward senses, might be, in fact, only a perception of the predominant inward mental state, a sensuous objectiveness of what was operating inwardly with divine power, similar to the ecstatic visions which are elsewhere mentioned in Holy Writ. Whatever may be thought of this explanation, what was divine in the event remains the same, for this was an inward process in the souls of the disciples, in relation to which everything outward was only of subordinate significance. Still, there is nothing in the narrative which renders such a supposition necessary. And if we admit, that there was really an earthquake which frightened the inhabitants out of their houses, it is easily explained how, though it happened early in the morning of the feast, a great multitude would be found in the streets, and the attention of one and another being attracted to the extraordinary meeting of the disciples, by degrees, a

¹ Gregory the Great beautifully remarks: "Hinc est quod super pastores primos in linguarum specie Spiritus Sanctus insedit, quia nimirum quos repleverit de se protinus loquentes facit." Lib. i. Ep. 25.

great crowd of persons, curious to know what was going on, would collect around the house.¹ The question may be asked, By what was the astonishment of the bystanders especially excited? At first sight, the words in Acts ii. 7—11 appear susceptible of but one interpretation, that the passers-by were astonished at hearing Galileans who knew no language but their own, speak in a number of foreign languages, which they could not have learnt in a natural way²—that, therefore, we must conclude that the faculty was imparted to believers by an extraordinary operation of Divine power, of speaking in foreign languages not acquired by the use of their natural faculties. Accordingly, since the third century³ it has been

¹ The question is, How are we to explain the difficult words τῆς φωνῆς ταύτης, in Acts ii. 6? The pronoun ταύτης leads us to refer the words to what immediately preceded, the loud speaking of the persons assembled. But then the use of the singular is remarkable. And since verse 2 is the principal subject, we may refer the pronoun ταύτης to that; the γενομένης of verse 6 seems also to correspond to the ἐγένετο of verse 2. Not only is it more easy to refer the pronoun ταύτης to what immediately precedes in verse 4, but also verses 3 and 4 rather than verse 2, contain the most striking facts in the narrative; it also entirely favours this construction, that φωνή must be understood of the noise made by the disciples in giving vent to their feelings, and must be taken as a collective noun, signifying a confused din, in which the distinction of individual voices would be lost.

² The words give us no reason to suppose that the by-standers took offence at hearing the disciples speak of divine things in a different language from the sacred one.

³ By many of the ancients it has been supposed—what a literal interpretation of the words ii. 8 will allow, and even favours—that the miracle consisted in this, that, though all spoke in one and the same language, each of the hearers believed that he heard them speak in his own, μίαν μὲν ἐξηχεῖσθαι φωνήν, πολλὰς δὲ ἀκούεσθαι. Gregory Naz. orat. 44, f. 715, who yet does not propound this view as peculiarly his own. It has lately been brought forward in a peculiar manner by Schneckenburger, in his *Beitrügen zur Einleitung in's Neue Testament* (Contributions towards an Introduction to the New Testament), p. 84. The speakers, by the power of inspiration, operated so powerfully on the feelings of their susceptible hearers, that they involuntarily translated what went to their hearts into their mother-tongue, and understood it as if it had been spoken in that. By the element of inspiration, the inward communion of feeling was so strongly brought forth, that the lingual wall of separation was entirely taken away. But in order to determine the correctness of this mode of explanation, it may be of use to inquire,—If the language in which the hearers were addressed was quite foreign to them, the natural medium of human intercourse would be wholly wanting, and would thus be compensated by

generally admitted, that a supernatural gift of tongues was imparted on this occasion, by which the more rapid promulgation of the gospel among the heathen was facilitated and promoted. It has been urged that as in the apostolic age, many things were effected immediately by the predominating creative agency of God's Spirit, which, in later times, have been effected through human means appropriated and sanctified by it; so, in this instance, immediate inspiration stood in the place of those natural lingual acquirements, which in later times have served for the propagation of the gospel.

a miracle which produced an internal understanding? Or was the Aramaic language of the speakers not altogether foreign to the hearers, only not so familiar as their mother-tongue! But it was an effect of the inward communion produced by the power of spiritual influence, that they more easily understood those who spoke in a language not familiar to them; the want of familiarity was not felt. What was addressed to them was as intelligible as if spoken in their mother-tongue. In this way, although on the supposition of a powerful spiritual influence, by which the essence of the Pentecostal miracle is not denied but presupposed, it would be an explicable psychological fact. Men speaking with the ardour of inspiration, made an impression on those who were not capable of understanding a language foreign to them, similar to what we are told of Bernard's Sermons on the Crusades in Germany: "*Quod Germanicis etiam populis loquens miro audiebatur affectu; et de sermone ejus, quem intelligere, utpote alterius linguæ homines, non valebant, magis quam ex peritissimi cujuslibet post eum loquentis interpretis intellecta locutione, ædificari illorum devotio videbatur, cujus rei certa probatio tunc pectorum erat et effusio lacrimarum.*" Mabillon. ed. Opp. Bernard. tom. ii. p. 1119. And this would for the most part agree with the interpretation of my honoured friend Dr. Steudel. But as to the first mode of explanation, we do not see what can allow or justify our substituting for the common interpretation of the miracle in question another, which does not come nearer the psychological analogy, but, on the contrary, is further from it, and does not so naturally connect itself with the narrative as a whole. We cannot allow an appeal to the analogy with the phenomena of animal magnetism, although, in referring to such an analogy, we find nothing objectionable, any more than in general to the analogy between the supernatural and the natural, provided the difference of psychical circumstances, and of the causes producing them, is not lost sight of. But still, in matters of science, where every thing must be well grounded, we cannot attach a value to such a document until it is ascertained what is really trustworthy in the accounts of such phenomena. As to the second mode of interpretation, it can only be maintained by our adopting the supposition, that we have here not a tradition from the first source, but only a representation, which ultimately depends on the report of eye-witnesses, and if we hence allow ourselves to distinguish what the author professes to say, from the facts lying at the basis of his narrative.

But, indeed, the utility of such a gift of tongues for the spread of divine truth in the apostolic times, will appear not so great, if we consider that the gospel had its first and chief sphere of action among the nations belonging to the Roman Empire, where the knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages sufficed for this purpose, and that the one or the other of these languages, as it was employed in the intercourse of daily life, could not be altogether strange to the Jews. As to the Greek language, the mode in which the apostles expressed themselves in it, the traces of their mother-tongue which appear in their use of it, prove that they had obtained a knowledge of it, according to the natural laws of lingual acquirement. In the history of the first propagation of Christianity, traces are never to be found of a supernatural gift of tongues for this object. Ancient tradition, which names certain persons as interpreters of the apostles, implies the contrary.¹ Also, Acts xiv. 11 shows that Paul possessed no supernatural gift of tongues. Yet all this does not authorize us to deny the reference to such an endowment in the former passage of the Acts, if the explanation of the whole passage, both in single words and in its connexion, is most favourable to this interpretation. Nor do we venture to decide what operations not to be calculated according to natural laws could be effected by the power with which the new divine life moved the very depths of human nature; what especially could be effected

¹ Thus Mark is called the *ἐρμηνεύς*, or *ἐρμηνευτής* of Peter, (see Papias of Hierapolis in Eusebius, Ecc. Hist. iii. 39. compared with Irenæus, iii. 1). The Basilidians say the same of one Glaucias. Clement's Stromata, vii. 765. On comparing every thing, I must decide against the possible interpretation of those words favoured by several eminent modern critics—that they mean simply an expositor, one who repeated the instructions of Peter in his Gospel, with explanatory remarks;—for this distinction of Mark is always prefixed to accounts of his Gospel, and at the same time from the fact of his acting in this capacity with Peter, his capability is inferred to note down the report made by him of the Evangelical history. Thus certainly the passage in Papias must be understood; *Μάρκος μὲν ἐρμηνευτής Πέτρου γενόμενος, ὅστι ἐμνημόνευσεν ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν*. The second fact is founded on the first, that he accompanied Peter as an interpreter. Some truth may lie at the basis of this tradition; it might be, that although Peter was not ignorant of the Greek language, and could express himself in it, he yet took with him a disciple who was thoroughly master of it, that he might be assisted by him in publishing the Gospel among those who spoke that language.

through the connexion between the internal life of the Spirit (on which the new creation operated with a power before unknown) and the faculty of speech. A phenomenon of this kind might have taken place once, with a symbolic prophetic meaning, indicating that the new divine life would reveal itself in all the languages of mankind, as Christianity is destined to bring under its sway all the various national peculiarities! A worthy symbol of this great event!

But we meet in the New Testament with other intimations of such a gift of the Spirit, which are very similar to the passage in the Acts; and the explanation of these passages is attended with fewer difficulties than that of the latter. If, therefore, we do not, contrary to the natural laws of exegesis, attempt to explain the clearer passages by the more obscure, we cannot fail to perceive that, in the section on spiritual gifts in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, something altogether different from such a supernatural gift of tongues is spoken of. Evidently, the apostle is there treating of such discourse as would not be generally intelligible, proceeding from an ecstatic state of mind which rose to an elevation far above the language of ordinary communication. We may here adduce two passages in the Acts, which cannot possibly be understood of speaking in a foreign language; x. 46, and xix. 6. How can we imagine that men, in the first glow of conversion, when first seized by the inspiring influence of Christian faith, instead of pouring forth the feelings of which their hearts were full, through a medium so dear and easy to them as their mother-tongue, could find pleasure in what at such a time would be a mere epideiktic miracle, unless the effect of being filled with the Spirit was to hurry them along, as blind instruments of a magical power, against their wills, and to constrain them to make use of a different language from that which at such a time must have been best fitted for the expression of their feelings?¹

¹ I cannot comprehend what Professor Bäumlein maintains in his Essay on this subject, in the *Studien der evangelischen Geistlichkeit Württembergs* (Studies of the Evangelical Clergy of Württemberg), vi. 2. p. 119, "that in certain religious mental states, the speaking in foreign languages is by no means unnatural." It is plain that a man may easily feel himself impelled, when actuated by new feelings and ideas, to form new words; as from a new spiritual life, a new religious dialect forms itself. But how, under such circumstances, it can be

Both these suppositions are at variance with the spirit of the gospel, nor does any thing similar appear in the first history of Christianity. Such exhibitions would be peculiarly suited to draw away the mind from that which is the essence of conversion, and only to furnish aliment for an unchristian vanity. On the other hand, there seems a propriety in referring these passages to the utterance of the new things with which the mind would be filled, in the new language of a heart glowing with Christian sentiment.¹ Thus it may be explained how, in the first passage (Acts x. 46), the *γλώσσαις λαλεῖν* is connected with “praising God,” “praising God with the whole heart,” when conscious of having through his grace received salvation; and in the second passage, Acts xix. 6, with *προφητεύειν*. But as, in both these passages, it is plainly shown that the communication of the Divine Spirit was indicated by characteristics similar to those of its original effusion at Pentecost, we are furnished with a valuable clue to the right understanding of that event.

If, then, we examine more closely the description of what transpired on the day of Pentecost, we shall find several things which favour a different interpretation from the ancient one. How could a number of carnally-minded men be led to explain the speaking of the disciples in foreign languages, as the effect of intoxication? Acts ii. 13.² How did it happen,

natural to speak a language altogether foreign, I cannot perceive, nor can I find any analogy for it in other psychical phenomena. Still less can I admit the comparison with the manifestations among the followers of Mr. Irving in London, since, as far as my knowledge extends, I can see nothing in these manifestations but the workings of an enthusiastic spirit, which sought to copy the apostolic gift of tongues according to the common interpretation, and therefore assumed the reality of that gift.

¹ See the Dissertation of Dr. David Schulz on the Spiritual Gifts of the first Christians. Breslau, 1836.

² Although this may not be considered as absolutely necessary, for it would certainly be possible, that frivolous, carnally-minded men who were disposed to ridicule what they did not understand, might not observe the phenomenon (not explicable from common causes) of speaking in a foreign language; it is possible that Peter, after he had shown the contrariety of the inspiration of the apostles to a state of intoxication, which could hardly have taken place at that hour of the day, instead of adducing other marks which testified against it, passed on to compare the phenomena with the prophetic promise which was here fulfilled. Yet it is not at all probable that Peter,

that Peter in his apologetic discourse did not appeal to the undeniably miraculous nature of an event by which the objections of men unsusceptible of what was divine might most easily be refuted? Why did he satisfy himself with referring to the prophetic declarations respecting an extraordinary revival, and an effusion of the Spirit, which was to take place in the times of the Messiah, without even advertising to this peculiar manifestation? In the construction of the whole narrative, we find nothing that obliges us to adopt the notion of a supernatural gift of tongues in the usual sense. The flames that settled on their heads appear as the natural symbols of the new tongues, or new language of that holy fire which was kindled in the hearts of the disciples, by the power of the Holy Spirit, and accordingly it is said, "They were all filled with the Holy Spirit, and began to speak with other tongues¹ as the Spirit gave them utterance;" therefore the tongues of the Spirit were the new form for the new spirit which animated them.

It appears, indeed, to militate against this interpretation, and to establish the common one, that the spectators are described as expressing their astonishment at hearing, each one in his own tongue, these Galileans who knew no foreign language, speaking the wonderful works of God (Acts ii. 8); and more than this, we have the various nations distinctly named in whose languages the apostles spoke. But we cannot possibly think that all these nations spoke different languages, for it is certain that, in the cities of Cappadocia, Pontus, Lesser Asia, Phrygia, Pamphylia, Cyrene, and in the parts of Libya and Egypt inhabited by Grecian and Jewish Colonies, the Greek would at that time be in general better understood than the ancient language of the country, and as this must have been known to the writer of the Acts, he could not have intended to specify so many different languages. There will remain out of the whole catalogue of languages, only the Persian, Syriac, Arabic, Greek and Latin.

since he refers to the hour of the day, in order to refute the charge of intoxication, should not also refer to that other fact (supposing it to exist), which would have completed his proof.

¹ The word *γλῶσσαι*, like the German *Zunge* [and the English *tongue*], is used both for the bodily organ of speech, and for a language or dialect.

It also deserves notice, that the inhabitants of Judea are mentioned, who spoke the same language as the Galileans, only with a slight difference of pronunciation. Since, then, to retain the ancient view of the gift of tongues creates difficulties in this passage, which is the only one that can serve to support it; while several parts of the narrative oppose it, and every thing that is said elsewhere of this gift (χάρισμα) leads to a very different interpretation, the more ancient view becomes very uncertain, though we cannot arrive at a perfectly clear and certain conclusion respecting the facts which form the groundwork of the narrative. Perhaps the difficulty in the passage may be obviated in this way. It was not unusual to designate all the disciples of the Lord, Galileans, and it might be inferred from this common appellation that they were all Galileans by birth; but it by no means follows that this was actually the case. Among the so-called Galileans, some might be found whose mother-tongue was not the Galilean dialect, and who now felt themselves impelled to express the fulness of their hearts in their own provincial dialect, which through Christianity had become a sacred language to them, though hitherto they had been accustomed to consider the Hebrew only in that light;¹ and it might also happen that some who lived on the confines of Galilee, had learned the language of the adjacent tribes, which they now made use of, in order to be better understood by foreigners. Thus the speaking in foreign languages would be only something accidental, and not the essential of the new language of the Spirit.² This new language of the Spirit is that which Christ promised to his disciples as one of the essential marks of the operation of the Holy Spirit on their hearts. Indeed, the promise that they should speak with new tongues³ appears only in the critically suspected addition

¹ See Acts xxiii. 2. Wetstein on Acts vi. 1. On this point the views of the Palestinian theologians would differ, according as their general mode of thinking was more or less contracted.

² Whatever interpretation be adopted of this passage, it will be no more than a conjecture for the solution of that difficulty, nor can any be given with the degree of certainty equal to what may be attained respecting the gift of tongues in a general point of view.

³ This evidently denoted such tongues or languages as were not yet in the world. Had the person who committed this tradition to writing intended foreign languages not acquired by study, he would certainly have made use of a different expression.

to the Gospel of Mark, but it does not follow that a true tradition does not lie at the basis of it ; and if Christ in the other Gospels has not literally made use of this expression, still we find what is allied to it in meaning, where he speaks of the new powers of utterance which would be imparted by the Holy Spirit to the disciples, "I will give you a mouth and wisdom," Luke xxi. 15. Thus this expression, "to speak with new tongues," would mean, to speak with such 'ongues as the Spirit gave them ; other tongues than those hitherto used, originally intended to mark the great revolution effected by Christianity in the dispositions of men wherever it found entrance, among the rude as well as the civilized.¹ Yet we do not venture to assume that the meaning of the expression remained invariably the same, for this would be inconsistent with its use in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, of which we shall speak hereafter. As the original form of the expression in the Christian phraseology gradually was shortened in many ways,² so likewise there was a gradual alteration in the

¹ Gregory the Great beautifully remarks, in his Homil. in Evang. 1. ii. H. 29 : "Fideles quique, qui jam vitæ veteris secularia verba derelinquunt, sancta autem mysteria insonant, conditoris sui laudes et potentiam quantum prævalent, narrant, quid aliud faciunt, nisi novis linguis loquuntur?" The view I have here taken is nearly the same as that of Herder in his Treatise on the Pentecostal Gift of Tongues,—of Hase, and particularly of Bauer, in his valuable essay on the subject in the *Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie*, 1830, part ii., to which I am indebted for some modifications of my own view. My honoured friend Steudel, in the same periodical, adopts a view essentially the same. It has also found an advocate in Dr. Schulz. With Bleek (see his learned and acute Dissertations in the *Studien und Kritiken*) I agree in the general view of the subject, but not in the explanation of the word γλώσσα. Other grounds apart, adduced by Bauer, it appears to me far more natural to deduce the designation for the new form of Christian inspiration, in reference to the Hebrew רִנָּה as well as the Greek γλώσσα, from the language of common life, rather than from the schools of grammarians. But the question, whether, in this connexion, the word must originally be understood of the organ of language (according to Bauer), or of the kind of language, does not appear to me to be so very important, for in this instance both meanings of the word are closely allied.

² Winer justly remarks, in the last edition of his Grammar, p. 534, (*Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms*, 4th Ed., Leipzig, 1836), that, in the phrase γλώσσais λαλεῖν, a word like *καίναῖς* cannot legitimately be supplied ; but it may be assumed that, from the original complete phrase, after it had once acquired a fixed meaning, a shorter elliptical phrase was formed, as there was occasion to employ it frequently.

meaning: that alteration, namely, of which many examples are elsewhere found in the history of language, that a word which at first was altogether the general sign of a certain idea, became in later times, as various shades of meaning were attached to this idea, limited to one particular application of it. Thus it came to pass, that an expression which originally denoted the new language of Christians under the influence of the Spirit generally, afterwards, when various modifications of such language had been formed, became limited to that kind in which the immediate influences of the Spirit predominated, and presented itself in the higher self-consciousness as the specially ecstatic form,¹ while the discursive activity of the

¹ This continued to be the general use of the term for the first two centuries, until, the historical connexion with the youthful age of the church being broken, the notion of a supernatural gift of tongues was formed. On this point it is worth while to compare some passages of Irenæus and Tertullian. Irenæus (lib. v. c. 9) cites what Paul says of the wisdom of the perfect, and then adds, Paul calls those perfect, "Qui perciperant Spiritum Dei, et omnibus linguis loquuntur per Spiritum Dei, quemadmodum et ipse loquebatur, καθὼς καὶ πολλὰν ἀκούουσιν ἀδελφὸν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προφητικὰ χάρισματά ἐχόντων καὶ παντοδαπαῖς λαλοῦντων διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος γλώσσαις καὶ τὰ κρυφὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς συνέδριον ἀγόντων ἐπὶ τῷ συσχεροῦ καὶ τὰ μυστήρια τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκδηλοῦμεναι, quos et spirituales apostolus vocat." Though some persons think the term παντοδαπαῖς undoubtedly refers to the languages of various nations, I do not see how that can be, according to its use at that time, though the original meaning of the word might be so understood. It is particularly worthy of notice, that Irenæus represents this gift as one of the essential marks of Christian perfection, as a characteristic of the *spirituales*. We cannot well comprehend how he could suppose any thing so detached and accidental as speaking in many foreign languages, to stand in so close and necessary a connexion with the essence of Christian inspiration. Besides, he speaks of it as one of those gifts of the Spirit, which continued to exist in the church even in his own times. He evidently considers the γλώσσαις λαλεῖν as something allied to προφητεῖαν. To the latter, he attributes the faculty of bringing to light the hidden thoughts of men, and to the former that of publishing divine mysteries. He sees nothing but this in the gift of tongues at the effusion of the Holy Spirit, and, in reference to that event, places together "prophetari et loqui linguis," l. iii. c. 12. Tertullian demands of Marcion to point out among his followers proofs of ecstatic inspiration: "Edat aliquem psalmum, aliquam visionem, aliquam orationem duntaxat spirituales in ecstasi, i. e. amentia, si qua lingue interpretatio accesserit." Evidently in this connexion, the term *lingua*, expressing speaking in an ecstasy, which, since what is spoken in this state cannot be generally intelligible, an interpretation must accompany. Tertullian also, in the same passage (*adv. Marcion.*

understanding with the lower self-consciousness for the time lay dormant.

After having attempted to clear up these different points, we shall be better able to give a sketch of the whole scene on that memorable day.

The shock of the earthquake occasions the concourse of many persons in the streets from various quarters, as the festival had brought Jews and proselytes from all parts of the world to Jerusalem. The assembling of the disciples attracts their notice ; by degrees a crowd of curious inquirers is collected, many of whom probably enter the assembly in order to inform themselves accurately of the affair. The disciples now turn to these strangers, and, constrained by the impulse of the Spirit, announce to them what filled their hearts. The impression made by their words varies with the dispositions of their hearers. Some feel themselves affected by the energy of inspiration with which the disciples spoke, but can give no clear account of the impressions made by the whole affair. Instead of asking themselves, "Whence proceeds that power with which we hear these men speak who were not educated in the schools of the scribes?" their wonder is directed only to what was most external. How comes it to pass that these Galileans speak in foreign tongues ? Others, who have been impressed

l. v. c. 8), applying the words in Isaiah xi. 2 to the Christian church, joins *prophetari* with *linguis loqui*, and attributes both to the *Spiritus agnitionis*, the πνεῦμα γνώσεως. It further appears from what has been said, that the gift of tongues was considered as still existing in the church ; and it is strange that the Fathers never refer to it apologetically, as an undeniable evidence to the heathen of the divine power operating among Christians, in the same manner as they appeal to the gift of healing the sick, or of casting out demons, although the ability to speak in a variety of languages which could not be acquired in a natural way, must have been very astonishing to the heathen. In Origen, in whose times the Charismata of the apostolic church began to be considered as something belonging to the past, we find the first trace of the opinion that has since been prevalent, yet even in him the two views are mingled, as might be done by the distinction of the two-fold mode of interpretation, the literal and the spiritual. Compare Ep. ad Roman. ed. De la Rue, t. iv. f. 470. l. vii. f. 602, de Oratore, § 2, tom. i. f. 199. The opposition to Montanism, which had subjected the γλώσσαις λαλεῖν to abuse, as in the Corinthian Church, might contribute to sink into oblivion the more ancient interpretation. The ξενοφωνεῖν, the λαλεῖν ἐκφρόνως καὶ ἀλλοτριωτρόπως came to be considered as a mark of the spurious Montanist Inspiration, Euseb. Hist. Eccl. v. 10.

without any precise consciousness, give vent to their astonishment in general expressions, What can all this mean? But those who were utterly unsusceptible and light-minded, ridicule and reject what they are unable to comprehend.

The apostles held it to be their duty to defend the Christian community against the reproaches cast upon it by superficial judges, and to avail themselves of the impression which this spectacle had made on so many, to lead them to faith in Him whose divine power was here manifested. Peter came forward with the rest of the eleven, and as the apostles spoke in the name of the whole church, so Peter spoke in the name of the apostles. The promptitude and energy which made him take the lead in expressing the sentiments with which all were animated, were special endowments, founded on his natural character; hence the distinguished place which he had already taken among the disciples, and which he long after held in the first church at Jerusalem. "Think not," said Peter,¹ "that in these unwonted appearances you see the effects of inebriety. These are the signs of the Messianic era, predicted by the prophet Joel; the manifestations of an extraordinary effusion of the Spirit, which is not limited to an individual here and there, the chosen organs of the Most High, but in which all share who have entered into a new relation to God by faith in the Messiah. This Messianic era will be distinguished, as the prophet foretold, by various extraordinary appearances, as precursors of the last decisive epoch of the general judgment. But whoever believes in the Messiah has no cause to fear that judgment, but may be certain of salvation. That Jesus of Nazareth, whose divine mission was verified to you by the miracles that attended his earthly course, is the very Messiah promised in the Old Testament. Let not his ignominious death be urged as invalidating his claims. It was necessary for the fulfilment of his work as the Messiah, and determined by the counsel of God. The events that followed his death are a proof of this, for he rose from the dead, of which we are

¹ Bleek has correctly perceived traces of a Hebrew original in Acts ii. 24, where the connexion of the metaphor makes δεσμούς τοῦ θανάτου = חַבְלֵי מָוֶת or שְׁאוֹל, Psalm xviii. 5 and 6, which the Alexandrian renders by ὠδίνες, according to the meaning of the word חַבְלֵי. See Bleek's review of Mayerhoff's *Hist. Kritischer Einleitung in die hebräischen Schriften*, in the *Studien und Kritiken*. 1836, iv. 1021.

all witnesses, and has been exalted to heaven by the divine power. From the extraordinary appearances which have filled you with astonishment, you perceive, that in his glorified state he is now operating with divine energy among those who believe on him. The heavenly Father has promised that the Messiah shall fill all who believe on him with the power of the divine Spirit, and this promise is now being fulfilled. Learn, then, from these events, in which you behold the prophecies of the Old Testament fulfilled, the nothingness of all that you have attempted against him, and know that God has exalted him whom you crucified to be Messiah, the ruler of God's kingdom, and that, through divine power, he will overcome all his enemies."

The words of Peter deeply impressed many, who anxiously asked, What must we do? Peter called upon them to repent of their sins, to believe in Jesus as the Messiah who could impart to them forgiveness of sins and freedom from sin,—in this faith to be baptized, and thus outwardly to join the communion of the Messiah; then would the divine power of faith be manifested in them, as it had already been in the community of believers; they would receive the same gifts of the Holy Spirit, the bestowment of which was simultaneous with the forgiveness of sins, and freedom from sin; for the promise related to all believers without distinction, even to all in distant parts of the world, whom God by his grace should lead to believe in Jesus as the Messiah.

A question may be raised, Whether by these last words Peter intended only the Jews scattered among distant nations, or whether he included those among the heathen themselves who might be brought to the faith? As Peter at a subsequent period, opposed the propagation of the gospel among the heathen, there would be an apparent inconsistency in his now making such a reference. But there is really no such contradiction, for the scruple which clung so closely to Peter's mind was founded only on his belief that heathens could not be received into the community of believers, without first becoming Jewish Proselytes, by the exact observance of the Mosaic law. Now, according to the declarations of the prophets, he might expect that in the Messianic times the heathen would be brought to join in the worship of Jehovah, so that this sentiment might occur to him consistently with

the views he then held, and he might express it without giving offence to the Jews. Yet this explanation is not absolutely necessary, for all the three clauses (Acts ii. 39) might be used only to denote the aggregate of the Jewish nation in its full extent ; and we might rather expect that Peter, who had been speaking of the Jews present and their children, if he had thought of the heathen also, would have carefully distinguished them from the Jews. On the other hand, the description, " All that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call," appears too comprehensive to justify us in confining it to persons originally belonging to the Jewish nation. Hence, it is most probable, that in Peter's mind, when he used this expression, there floated an indistinct allusion to believers from other nations, though it did not appear of sufficient importance for him to give it a greater prominence in his address, as it was his conviction, that the converts to Christianity from heathenism must first become Jews.

CHAPTER II.

THE FIRST FORM OF THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY, AND THE FIRST GERM OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

THE existence and first development of the Christian church rests on an historical foundation—on the acknowledgment of the fact that Jesus was the Messiah—not on a certain system of ideas. Hence, at first, all those who acknowledged Jesus as the Messiah, separated from the mass of the Jewish people, and formed themselves into a distinct community. In the course of time, it became apparent who were genuine, and who were false disciples ; but all who acknowledged Jesus as the Messiah were baptized without fuller or longer instruction, such as in later times has preceded baptism. There was only one article of faith which formed the peculiar mark of the Christian profession, and from this point believers were led to a clearer and perfect knowledge of the whole contents of the Christian faith, by the continual enlightening of the

Holy Spirit. Believing that Jesus was the Messiah, they ascribed to him the whole idea of what the Messiah was to be, according to the meaning and spirit of the Old Testament promises, rightly understood ; they acknowledged him as the Redeemer from sin, the Ruler of the kingdom of God, to whom their whole lives were to be devoted, whose laws were to be followed in all things ; while he would manifest himself as the Ruler of God's kingdom, by the communication of a new divine principle of life, which to those who are redeemed and governed by him imparts the certainty of the forgiveness of sins. This divine principle of life must (they believed) mould their whole lives to a conformity with the laws of the Messiah and his kingdom, and would be the pledge of all the blessings to be imparted to them in the kingdom of God until its consummation. Whoever acknowledged Jesus as the Messiah, received him consequently as the infallible divine prophet, and implicitly submitted to his instructions as communicated by his personal ministry, and afterwards by his inspired organs, the apostles. Hence baptism at this period, in its peculiar Christian meaning, referred to this one article of faith, which constituted the essence of Christianity, as baptism into Jesus, into the name of Jesus ; it was the holy rite which sealed the connexion with Jesus as the Messiah. From this signification of baptism we cannot indeed conclude with certainty that there was only one form of baptism. Still, it is probable that in the original apostolic formula no reference was made except to this one article. This shorter baptismal formula contains in itself every thing which is further developed in the words used by Christ at the institution of baptism, but which he did not intend to establish as an exact formula ; the reference to God, who has revealed and shown himself in and by the Son, as a Father ; and to the Spirit of the Father, whom Christ imparts to believers as the new spirit of life ; the Spirit of holiness, who by virtue of this intervention is distinguished as the spirit of Christ. That one article of faith included, therefore, the whole of Christian doctrine. But the distinct knowledge of its contents was by no means developed in the minds of the first converts, or freed from foreign admixtures resulting from Jewish modes of thinking, which required that religious ideas should be stripped of that national and carnal veil with

which they were covered. As the popular Jewish notion of the Messiah excluded many things which were characteristic of this idea, as formed and understood in a Christian sense, and as it included many elements not in accordance with Christian views, one result was, that in the first Christian communities which were formed among the Jews, various discordant notions of religion were mingled; there were many errors arising from the prevailing Jewish mode of thinking, some of which were by degrees corrected, in the case of those who surrendered themselves to the expansive and purifying influence of the Christian spirit; but in those over whom that spirit could not exert such power, these errors formed the germ of the later Jewish-Christian (the so-called Ebionitish) doctrine, which set itself in direct hostility to the pure gospel.

Thus we are not justified in assuming that the Three Thousand who were converted on one day, became transformed at once into genuine Christians. The Holy Spirit operated then, as in all succeeding ages, by the publication of divine truth, not with a sudden transforming magical power, but according to the measure of the free self-determination of the human will. Hence, also, in these first Christian societies, as in all later ones, although originating in so mighty an operation of the Holy Spirit, the foreign and spurious were mingled with the genuine. In fact, in proportion to the might and energy of the operation, many persons were more easily carried away by the first impressions of divine truth, whose hearts were not a soil suited for the divine seed to take deep root and develop itself; and in outward appearance, there were no infallible marks of distinction between genuine and merely apparent conversions. The example of Ananias and Sapphira, and the disputes of the Palestinian and Hellenistic Christians, evince even at that early period, that the agency of the Spirit did not preserve the church entirely pure from foreign admixtures. It happened then, as in the great religious revivals of other times, that many were borne along by the force of excited feelings, without having (as their subsequent conduct proved) their disposition effectually penetrated by the Holy Spirit.

The form of the Christian community and of the public Christian worship, the archetype of all the later Christian

Cultus. arose at first, without any preconceived plan, from the peculiar nature of the higher life that belonged to all true Christians. There was, however, this difference, that the first Christian community formed as it were one family; the power of the newly awakened feeling of Christian fellowship, the feeling of the common grace of redemption, outweighed all other personal and public feelings, and all other relations were subordinated to this one great relation. But, in later times, the distinction between the church and the family became more marked, and many things which were at first accomplished in the church as a family community, could latterly be duly attended to only in the narrower communion of Christian family life.

The first Christians assembled daily either in the Temple, or in private houses; in the latter case they met in small companies, since their numbers were already too great for one chamber to hold them all. Discourses on the doctrine of salvation were addressed to believers and to those who were just won over to the faith, and prayers were offered up. As the predominant consciousness of the enjoyment of redemption brought under its influence and sanctified the whole of earthly life, nothing earthly could remain untransformed by this relation to a higher state. The daily meal of which believers partook as members of one family was sanctified by it.¹ They commemorated the last supper of the disciples with Christ, and their brotherly union with one another. At the close of the meal, the president distributed bread and wine to the persons present, as a memorial of Christ's similar distribution to the disciples. Thus every meal was consecrated to the Lord, and, at the same time, was a meal of brotherly love. Hence the designations afterwards chosen were, *δεῖπνον Κυρίου* and *ἀγάπη*.²

¹ The hypothesis lately revived, that such institutions were borrowed from the Essenes, is so entirely gratuitous as to require no refutation.

² In Acts ii. 42, we find the first general account of what passed in the assemblies of the first Christians. Mosheim thinks, since every thing else is mentioned that is found in later meetings of the church, that the *κοινωνία* refers to the collections made on these occasions. But the context does not favour the use of the word *κοινωνία* in so restricted a signification, which, therefore, if it were the meaning intended, would require a more definite term. See Meyer's Commentary. We may most naturally consider it as referring to the whole of the social Christian intercourse, two principal parts of which were, the common meal

From ancient times an opinion has prevailed, which is apparently favoured by many passages in the Acts, that the spirit of brotherly love impelled the first Christians to renounce all their earthly possessions, and to establish a perfect intercommunity of goods. When, in later times, it was perceived how very much the Christian life had receded from the model of this fellowship of brotherly love, an earnest longing to regain it was awakened, to which we must attribute some attempts to effect what had been realized by the first glow of love in the apostolic times—such were the orders of Monkhoo, the Mendicant Friars, the Apostolici, and the Waldenses in the 12th and 13th centuries. At all events, supposing this opinion to be well founded, this practice of the apostolic church ought not to be considered as in a literal sense the ideal for imitation in all succeeding ages; it must have been a deviation from the natural course of social development, such as could agree only with the extraordinary manifestation of the divine life in the human race at that particular period. Only the *spirit* and *disposition* here manifested in thus amalgamating the earthly possessions of numbers into one common fund, are the models for the church in its development through all ages. For as Christianity never subverts the existing natural course of development in the human race, but sanctifies it by a new spirit, it necessarily recognises the division of wealth (based on that development), and the inequalities arising from it in the

and prayer. Luke mentions prayer last of all, probably because the connexion between the common meal and prayer, which made an essential part of the love-feast, was floating in his mind. Olshausen maintains (see his Commentary, 2d ed. p. 629), that this interpretation is inadmissible, because in this enumeration, every thing relates to divine worship, as may be inferred from the preceding expression διδασχῇ. But this supposition is wanting in proof. According to what we have before remarked, the communion of the church, and of the family, were not at that time separated from one another; no strict line of demarcation was drawn between what belonged to the Christian Cultus in a narrower sense, and what related to the Christian life and communion generally. Nor can the reason alleged by Olshausen be valid, that if my interpretation were correct, the word κοινωνία must have been placed first, for it is altogether in order that *that* should be placed first, which alone refers to the directive functions of the apostles, that then the mention should follow of the reciprocal Christian communion of all the members with one another, and that of this communion two particulars should be especially noticed.

social relations while it draws from these inequalities materials for the formation and exercise of Christian virtue, and strives to lessen them by the only true and never-failing means,¹ the power, namely, of love. This, we find, agrees with the practice of the churches subsequently founded by the apostles, and with the directions given by Paul for the exercise of Christian liberality, 2 Cor. viii. 13. Still, if we are disposed to consider this community of goods as only the effect of a peculiar and temporary manifestation of Christian zeal, and foreign to the later development of the church, we shall find many difficulties even in this mode of viewing it. The first Christians formed themselves into no monkish fraternities, nor lived as hermits secluded from the rest of the world, but, as history shows us, continued in the same civil relations as before their conversion; nor have we any proofs that a community of goods was universal for a time, and was then followed by a return to the usual arrangements of society. On the contrary, several circumstances mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, are at variance with the notion of such a relinquishment of private property. Peter said expressly to Ananias that it depended on himself to sell or to keep his land, and that even after the sale, the sum received for it was entirely at his own disposal, Acts v. 4. In the 6th chapter of the Acts, there is an account of a distribution of alms to the widows, but not a word is said of a common stock

¹ As the influence which Christianity exercises over mankind is not always accompanied with a clear discernment of its principles, there have been many erroneous tendencies, which, though hostile to Christianity, have derived their nourishment from it,—half-truths torn from their connexion with the whole body of revealed truth, and hence misunderstood and misapplied; of this, the St. Simonians furnish an example. They had before them an indistinct conception of the Christian idea of equality; but as it was not understood in the Christian sense, they have attempted to realize it in a different manner. They have striven to accomplish by outward arrangements, what Christianity aims at developing gradually through the mind and disposition, and have thus fallen into absurdities. Christianity tends by the spirit of love to reduce the opposition between the individual and the community, and to produce an harmonious amalgamation of both. St. Simonianism, on the contrary, practically represents the pantheistic tendency, of which the theory is so prevalent in Germany in the present day; it sacrifices the individual to the community, and thus deprives the latter of its true vital importance.

for the support of the whole body of believers. We find in Acts xii. 12, that Mary possessed a house at Jerusalem, which we cannot suppose to have been purchased at the general cost. These facts plainly show, that we are not to imagine, even in this first Christian society, a renunciation of all private property.¹ Therefore, when we are told, "The whole multitude of believers were of one heart and of one soul, and had all things common," &c., it is not to be understood literally, but as a description of that brotherly love which repressed all selfish feelings, and caused the wealthier believers to regard their property as belonging to their needy brethren, so ready were they to share it with them. And when it is added, "that they sold their possessions, and distribution was made to every man according as he had need," it is to be understood according to what has just been said. A common chest was established, from which the necessities of the poorer members of the church were supplied, and perhaps certain expenses incurred by the whole church, such as the celebration of the Agapæ, were defrayed; and in order to increase their contributions, many persons parted with their estates. Probably a union of this kind existed among the persons who attended the Saviour, and ministered to his necessities, Luke viii. 3; and a fund for

¹ Or we must assume, that as the power of the newly awakened feeling of Christian fellowship overcame every other consideration, and wholly repressed the other social relations that are based on the constitution of human nature, which after a while resumed their rights, and became appropriated as special forms of Christian fellowship, and that as the church and family life were melted into one, it would well agree with the development of a state so natural to the infancy of the church, that by the overpowering feeling of Christian fellowship, all distinction of property should cease, which would be accomplished from an inward impulse without formal consultation or legal prescription. But after experience had shown how untenable such an arrangement was, this original community of goods would gradually lead to the formation of a common fund or chest, which would not interfere with the limits of private property. But in the Acts these two gradations in the social arrangements of the church might not be distinctly marked, nor would it be in our power to trace step by step the process of development. Still, we want sufficient grounds for this assumption. The poverty of the church at Jerusalem has indeed been adduced as an ill consequence of that original community of goods. But this cannot be taken as a sure proof of the fact; for since Christianity at first found acceptance among the poorer classes, and the distress of the people at Jerusalem in those times must have been extreme, it can be explained without having recourse to such a supposition.

similar purposes was afterwards formed by public collections in the apostolic churches.¹

This practice of the first Christians, as we have remarked, has been rendered memorable by the fate of Ananias and Sapphira. Their example shows, how far the apostles were from wishing to extort by outward requirements what ought to proceed spontaneously from the power of the Spirit ; they looked only for the free actings of a pure disposition. A man named Ananias, and his wife Sapphira, were anxious not to be considered by the apostles and the church as inferior to others in the liberality of their contributions. Probably, a superstitious belief in the merit of good works was mingled with other motives, so that they wished to be at the same time meritorious in God's sight. They could not, however, prevail on themselves to surrender the whole of their property, but brought a part, and pretended that it was the whole. Peter detected the dissimulation and hypocrisy of Ananias, whether by a glance into the secret recesses of his heart, imparted by the immediate influence of God's Spirit, or by a natural sagacity derived from the same source, we cannot decide with certainty from the narrative. Nor is it a question of importance, for who can so exactly draw the line between the divine and the human, in organs animated by the Holy Spirit ? The criminality of Ananias did not consist in his not deciding to part with the whole amount of his property ; for the words of Peter addressed to him show that no exact measure of giving was prescribed ; each one was left to contribute according to his peculiar circumstances, and the degree of love that animated him. But the hypocrisy with which he attempted to make a show of greater love than he actually felt—the falsehood by which, when it took possession of his soul, the Christian life must have been utterly polluted and adulterated—this it was which Peter denounced, as a work of the spirit of Satan, for falsehood is the fountain of all evil. Peter charged him with lying to the Holy Spirit ; with lying not to men but to God ; since he must have beheld in the apostles the organs of the Holy Spirit speaking and acting in God's name—(that God who was himself present in the assembly of believers, as a witness of his

¹ This is confessedly no new view, but one adopted by Heumann, Mosheim, and others before them.

intentions)—and yet thought that he could obtain credit before God for his good works. Peter uttered his solemn rebuke with a divine confidence, springing from a regard to that holy cause which was to be preserved from all foreign mixtures, and from the consciousness of being in an office entrusted to him by God, and in which he was supported by divine power. When we reflect what Peter was in the eyes of Ananias, how the superstitious hypocrite must have been confounded and thunderstruck to see his falsehood detected, how the holy denunciations of a man speaking to his conscience with such divine confidence must have acted on his terrified feelings, we shall find it not very difficult to conceive that the words of the apostle would produce so great an effect. The divine and the natural seem here to have been closely connected. What Paul so confidently asserts in his Epistles to the Corinthians, of his ability of inflicting punishment, testifies of the conscious possession by the apostles of such divine power. And when Sapphira, without suspecting what had taken place, three hours after, entered the assembly, Peter at first endeavoured to rouse her conscience by his interrogations: but since, instead of being aroused to consideration and repentance, she was hardened in her hypocrisy, Peter accused her of having concerted with her husband, to put, as it were, the Spirit of God to the proof, whether he might not be deceived by their hypocrisy. He then menaced her with the judgment of God, which had just been inflicted on her husband. The words of the apostle were in this instance aided by the impression of her husband's fate, and striking the conscience of the hypocrite, produced the same effect as on her husband. So terrible was this judgment, in order to guard the first operations of the Holy Spirit, before the admixture of that poison which is always most prejudicial to the operations of divine power on mankind; and to secure a reverence for the apostolic authority, which was so important as an external governing power for the development of the primitive church, until it had advanced to an independent steadfastness and maturity in the faith.

The disciples had not yet attained a clear understanding of that call, which Christ had already given them by so many intimations, to form a Church entirely separated from the existing Jewish economy; to that economy they adhered

as much as possible ; all the forms of the national theocracy were sacred in their esteem, it seemed the natural element of their religious consciousness, though a higher principle of life had been imparted, by which that consciousness was to be progressively inspired and transformed. They remained outwardly Jews, although, in proportion as their faith in Jesus as the Redeemer became clearer and stronger, they would inwardly cease to be Jews, and all external rites would assume a different relation to their internal life. It was their belief, that the existing religious forms would continue till the second coming of Christ, when a new and higher order of things would be established, and this great change they expected would shortly take place. Hence the establishment of a distinct mode of worship was far from entering their thoughts. Although new ideas respecting the essence of true worship arose in their minds from the light of faith in the Redeemer, they felt as great an interest in the Temple worship as any devout Jews. They believed, however, that a sifting would take place among the members of the theocracy and that the better part would, by the acknowledgment of Jesus as the Messiah, be incorporated with the Christian community. As the believers, in opposition to the mass of the Jewish nation who remained hardened in their unbelief, now formed a community internally bound together by the one faith in Jesus as the Messiah, and by the consciousness of the higher life received from him, it was necessary that this internal union should assume a certain external form. And a model for such a smaller community within the great national theocracy already existed among the Jews, along with the Temple worship, namely, *the Synagogues*. The means of religious edification which they supplied, took account of the religious welfare of all, and consisted of united prayers and the addresses of individuals who applied themselves to the study of the Old Testament. These means of edification closely corresponded to the nature of the new Christian worship. This form of social worship, as it was copied in all the religious communities founded on Judaism, (such as the Essenes,) was also adopted to a certain extent at the first formation of the Christian church. But it may be disputed, whether the apostles, to whom Christ committed the chief direction of affairs, designed from the first that

believers should form a society exactly on the model of the synagogue, and, in pursuance of this plan, instituted particular offices for the government of the church corresponding to that model—or whether, without such a preconceived plan, distinct offices were appointed, as circumstances required, in doing which they would avail themselves of the model of the synagogue, with which they were familiar.

The advocates of the first scheme (particularly Mosheim) proceed on the undeniably correct assumption, that the existence of certain presidents at the head of the Christian societies, under the name of Elders (πρεσβύτεροι), must be presupposed, though their appointment is not expressly mentioned, as appears from Acts xi. 30. The question arises, Whether even earlier traces cannot be found of the existence of such Presbyters? The appointment of deacons is indeed first mentioned as designed to meet a special emergency, but it seems probable that their office was already in existence. It may be presumed, that the apostles, in order not to be called off from the more weighty duties of their office, appointed from the beginning such almoners; but as these officers hitherto had been chosen only from the native Jewish Christians of Palestine, the Christians of Jewish descent, who came from other parts of the Roman Empire, and to whom the Greek was almost as much their mother tongue as the Aramaic,—the Hellenists as they were termed,—believed that they were unjustly treated. On their remonstrance, deacons of Hellenistic descent were especially appointed for them, as appears by their Greek names. As the apostles declared that they were averse from being distracted in their purely spiritual employment of prayer and preaching the word by the distribution of money, we may reasonably infer that even before this time, they had not engaged in such business, but had transferred it to other persons appointed for the purpose. Still earlier, in Acts v., we find mention made of persons under the title of νεώτεροι, νεανίσκοι, who considered such an employment as carrying a corpse out of the Christian assemblies for burial as belonging to their office, so that they seem to have been no other than deacons. And as the title of younger stands in contrast with that of elders in the church, the existence of servants of the church (διάκονοι), and

of ruling elders (πρεσβύτεροι), seems here to be equally pointed out.

But though this supposition has so much plausibility, yet the evidence for it, on closer examination, appears by no means conclusive. It is far from clear that in the last quoted passage of the Acts, the narrative alludes to persons holding a distinct office in the church;¹ it may very naturally be understood of the younger members who were fitted for such manual employment, without any other eligibility than the fact of their age and bodily strength. And, therefore, we are not to suppose that a contrast is intended between the servants and ruling Elders of the church, but simply between the younger and older members. As to the Grecian names of the seven deacons, it cannot be inferred with certainty from this circumstance that they all belonged to the Hellenists for it is well known that the Jews often bore double names, one Hebrew or Aramaic, and the other Hellenistic. Still it is possible, since the complaints of the partial distribution of alms came from the Hellenistic part of the church, that, in order to infuse confidence and satisfaction, pure Hellenists were chosen on this occasion. But if these deacons were appointed only for the Hellenists, it would have been most natural to entrust their election to the Hellenistic part alone, and not to the whole church.

¹ Even after what has been urged by Meyer and Olshausen, in their Commentaries on the Acts, against this view, I cannot give it up. In accordance with the relation in which, anciently, and especially among the Jews, the young stood to their elders, it would follow as a matter of course, that the young men in an assembly would be ready to perform any service which might be required. I do not see why (as Olshausen maintains,) on that supposition, any other term than νεώτεροι should have been used—for, if Luke had wished to designate appointed servants of the church, he would not have used this indefinite appellation;—nor can I feel the force of Olshausen's objection, that in that passage of the Acts, the article would not have been used, but the pronoun τινες. Luke intended to mark, no doubt, a particular class of persons, the younger contradistinguished from the elder, without determining whether all or only some lent their assistance. But Olshausen is so far right, that if these are assumed to be regularly appointed servants of the church, they cannot be considered as the forerunners of the deacons chosen at a later period, for manifestly these νεώτεροι held a far lower place. I am glad to find an acute advocate of the view I have taken in Rothe; see his work on the Commencement of the Christian Church, p. 162.

Hence we are disposed to believe, that the church was at first composed entirely of members standing on an equality with one another, and that the apostles alone held a higher rank, and exercised a directing influence over the whole, which arose from the original position in which Christ had placed them in relation to other believers ; so that the whole arrangement and administration of the affairs of the church proceeded from them, and they were first induced by particular circumstances to appoint other church officers, as in the instance of deacons.

As in the government of the church in general the apostles at first were the sole directors, all the contributions towards the common fund were deposited with them (Acts v. 2), and its distribution, according to the wants of individuals, was altogether in their hands. From Acts vi. 2, it cannot be positively inferred, that the apostles had not hitherto been occupied with this secular concern. That passage may be understood to intimate that they had hitherto attended to this business without being distracted in their calling as preachers of the Word, as long as the confidence universally reposed in them, and the unity pervading the church, lightened this labour ; but it assumed a very different aspect when a conflict of distinct interests arose between the members. Meanwhile, the number of the believers increased so greatly, that it is probable, had there been no other reason, that the apostles could not manage the distribution alone ; but consigned a part of the business sometimes to one, sometimes to another, who either offered themselves for the purpose, or had shown themselves to be worthy of such confidence. Still this department of labour had not yet received any regular form.

But as the visible church received into its bosom various elements, the opposition existing in these elements gradually became apparent, and threatened to destroy the Christian unity, until by the might of the Christian spirit this opposition could be counterbalanced, and a higher unity developed. The strongest opposition existing in the primitive church, was that between the Palestinian or purely Jewish, and the Hellenistic converts. And though the power of Christian love at first so fused together the dispositions of these two parties, that the contrariety seemed lost, yet the original

difference soon made its appearance. It showed itself in this respect, that the Hellenists, dissatisfied with the mode of distributing the alms, were mistrustful of the others, and believed that they had cause to complain that their own poor widows were not taken such good care of in the daily distribution,¹ as the widows of the Palestinian Jews; whether the fact was, that the apostles had hitherto committed this business to Palestinian Jews, and these had either justly or unjustly incurred the suspicion of partiality, or whether the want of a regular plan for this business had occasioned much irregularity and neglect of individuals, or whether the complaint was grounded more in the natural mistrust of the Hellenists than in a real grievance, must be left undetermined, from the want of more exact information. These complaints, however, induced the apostles to establish a regular plan for conducting this business, and since they could not themselves combine the strict oversight of individuals, and the satisfaction of each one's wants,² with a proper attention to the principal object of their calling, they thought it best to institute a particular office for the purpose, the first regular one for administering the concerns of the church. Accordingly, they required the church to entrust this business to persons who enjoyed the general confidence, and were fitted for the office, animated by Christian zeal, and armed with Christian prudence.³ Seven such individuals were chosen; the number being accidentally fixed upon as a common one, or being adapted to seven sections of the church. Thus this office originated in the immediate wants of the primitive church,

¹ Neither from the expression *διακονία*, vi. 1, nor from the phrase *διακονεῖν τραπέζαις*, can it be inferred with certainty that the apostles alluded only to the distribution of food among the poor widows. We may be allowed to suppose that this was only one of the Tables of the service they performed, and that it is mentioned to mark more pointedly the distinction between the oversight of spiritual, and that of secular concerns.

² That they were required to undertake the business alone, instead of entrusting it to deputies, cannot be proved from the language in the Acts.

³ Acts vi. 3. The word *πνεῦμα* (which is the true reading, for *ἀγίου* and *κυρίου* appear to be only glosses) denotes that inspiration for the cause of the gospel which is requisite for every kind of exertion for the kingdom of God; *σοφία* signifies, that quality which is essential for this office in particular, and imports in the New Testament, wisdom or prudence

and its special mode of operation was marked out by the peculiar situation of this first union of believers, which was in some points dissimilar to that of the Jewish synagogue, or of later churches. As it was called for by the pressure of circumstances, it certainly was not intended to be perfectly correspondent to an office in the Jewish synagogue, and can by no means be considered parallel to that of a common servant of the synagogue (Luke iv. 20), termed *שָׂרֵי קָהָל*, שָׂרֵי צְבָר, שָׂרֵי שָׁבָשׁ.¹ It was of higher importance, for at first it was the only one in the church besides the apostolic, and required a special capability in the management of men's dispositions, which might be employed in services of a higher kind, and was such as without doubt belonged to the general idea of *σοφία*. Neither was this office altogether identical with that which at a later period bore the same name,² but was subordinate to the office of presbyters. And yet it would be wrong to deny that the later church office of this name developed itself from the first, and might be traced back to it.³ Although, as is usual in such affairs, when the ecclesiastical system became more complex, many changes took place in the office of deacons; for example, the original sole appointment of deacons for the distribution of alms, became afterwards subordinate to the influence of the presbyters, who assumed the whole management of church affairs,⁴ and though many other secular employments were added to the original one, yet the fundamental principle as well as the name of the office remained.⁵

¹ See Rothe's admirable Remarks, p. 166.

² As Chrysostom observes in his fourteenth Homily on the Acts, § 3.

³ As the Second Trullanian Council, c. 16, which was occasioned by a special object, that the number of deacons for large towns might not be limited to seven.

⁴ From Acts xi. 30, nothing more is to be inferred, than that when presbyters were appointed for the general superintendence of the church, the contributions intended for the church were handed over to them, as formerly to the apostles, when they held the exclusive management of affairs. It may be fairly supposed that the presbyters entrusted each of the deacons with a sum out of the common fund for distribution in his own department.

⁵ I find no reason (with Rothe, p. 166) to doubt this; for the name was well adapted to denote their particular employment, and to distinguish them from persons acting in a more subordinate capacity, as *ὑπηρεταί*. Nor is it any objection to this, that in Acts xxi. 8 they are merely called *The Seven*, for as the name of deacon was then the usual

In later times, we still find traces of the distribution of alms being considered as the peculiar employment of deacons.¹ Here, as in many other instances in the history of the church, human weakness and imperfection subserved the divine wisdom, and promoted the interests of the kingdom of God ; for by this appointment of deacons for the Hellenistic part of the church, distinguished men of Hellenistic descent and education were brought into the public service of the church, and the Hellenists, by their freer mental culture, were in many respects better qualified rightly to understand and to publish the gospel as the foundation of a method of salvation independent of Judaism, and intended for all men equally without distinction. The important consequences resulting from this event will appear in the course of the history.

The institution of the office of presbyters was similar in its origin to that of deacons. As the church was continually increasing in size, the details of its management also multiplied ; the guidance of all its affairs by the apostles could no longer be conveniently combined with the exercise of their peculiar apostolic functions ; they also wished, in accordance with the spirit of Christianity, not to govern alone, but preferred that the body of believers should govern themselves under their guidance ; thus they divided the government of the church, which hitherto they had exercised alone, with tried men, who formed a presiding council of elders, similar to that which was known in the Jewish synagogues under the title of *ἐγκληροβύτεροι*.² Possibly, as the formal appointment of deacons

appellation of a certain class of officers in the church, Luke uses this expression to distinguish them from others of the same name, just as *The Twelve* denoted the apostles.

¹ Hence, at the appointment of deacons, it was required, that they should "not be greedy of filthy lucre," 1 Tim. iii. 8. Origen, in Matt. t. xvi. § 22, οἱ διάκονοι διοικούντες τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας χρήματα ; and Cyprian says of the deacon Felicissimus, *pecuniæ commissæ sibi fraudator*. Even in the apostolic age, the deacon's office appears to have extended to many other outward employments, and most probably the word ἀντιλήψεις, 'Helps,' denotes the serviceableness of their office 1 Cor. xii. 28.

² Bauer has lately maintained, that the general government of the affairs of the church did not enter originally and essentially into the idea of *πρεσβύτεροι*, but that originally every *πρεσβύτερος* presided over a small distinct Christian society. From this, one consequence would follow which Bauer also deduces from it, that not a *republican*, but a

arose from a specific outward occasion, a similar, though to us unknown, event occasioned that of presbyters. They were originally chosen as in the Synagogue, not so much for the instruction and edification of the church, as for taking the lead in its general government.

But as to the provision made in the primitive church for religious instruction and edification, we have no precise in-

monarchical element entered originally into the constitution of the church, a position from which most important consequences would follow. But against this assertion, we have many things to urge. Since the appointment of presbyters in the Christian church entirely corresponded with that of presbyters in the Jewish synagogue, at least in their original constitution, so we may conclude, that if a plurality of elders stood at the head of the synagogue, the same was the case with the first Christian church. But as the synagogue according to the ancient Jewish constitution, was organized on the plan of the great Sanhedrim at Jerusalem, we might expect that a whole college of elders would have the direction of the synagogues, as such a college of elders was really at the head of the Jews in a city. Luke vii. 3. The passages in which one is distinguished by the title of *ἀρχισυνάγωγος*, Luke viii. 41, 49; xiii. 14, may signify, that the individual mentioned stood at the head of the Jewish congregation as *רֹאשׁ הַכִּנְסָה*, and that the form of government was rather monarchical. But admitting this, still the supposition of a college of presbyters, presiding over the synagogue, would not be invalidated, since we meet with a plurality of *ἀρχισυνάγωγοι* = *πρεσβύτεροι*, Acts xiii. 15; xviii. 8—18. Yet we must make the limitation, that in smaller places an individual, as in larger towns a plurality, stood at the head of the synagogue. It is most probable, that although all presbyters were called *ἀρχισυνάγωγοι*, yet one who acted as president was distinguished by the title of *ἀρχισυνάγωγος*, as *primus inter pares*. In evidence of this, compare the first passage quoted from Luke with Mark v. 22. This is important in reference to the later relation of bishops to presbyters. The analogy to the Jewish synagogue allows us to conclude, that at the head of the first church at Jerusalem, a general deliberative college was placed from the beginning; a notion which is favoured by a comparison with the college of apostles; and in the Acts, a plurality of presbyters always appears next in rank to the apostles, as representatives of the church at Jerusalem. If any one is disposed to maintain, that each of these presbyters presided over a smaller part of the church at its special meetings, still it must be thereby established, that notwithstanding these divided meetings, the church formed a whole, over which this deliberative college of presbyters presided, and therefore, the form of government was still republican. But if it is probable that the whole church, which could not meet in one place, divided itself into several companies, still the assumption, that from the beginning the number of presbyters was equal to the number of places of assembling, and to these subdivisions of the collective body of believers, is entirely groundless, and in the highest degree improbable.

formation. If we are justified in assuming that the mode adopted in the assemblies of Gentile Christians—which, in accordance with the enlightened spirit and nature of Christianity, was not confined to one station of life, or to one form of mental cultivation—was also the original one, we might from *that* conclude, that from the first, any one who had the ability and an inward call to utter his thoughts on Christian topics in a public assembly, was permitted to speak for the general improvement and edification.¹ But the first church differed from the churches subsequently formed among the Gentiles in one important respect, that in the latter there were no teachers of that degree of illumination, and claiming that respect to which the apostles had a right, from the position in which Christ himself had placed them. Meanwhile, though the apostles principally attended to the advancement of Christian knowledge, and as teachers possessed a preponderating and distinguished influence, it by no means follows, that they monopolized the right of instructing the church. In proportion as they were influenced by the spirit of the Gospel, it must have been their aim to lead believers by their teaching to that spiritual maturity, which would enable them to contribute (by virtue of the divine life communicated to all by the Holy Spirit) to their mutual awakening, instruction, and improvement. Viewing the occurrences of the day of Pentecost as an illustration of the agency of the Divine Spirit in the new dispensation, we might conclude that, on subsequent occasions, that spiritual excitement which impelled believers to testify of the divine life, could not be confined to the apostles. Accordingly, we find that individuals came forward, who had already devoted themselves to the study and interpretation of the Old Testament, and to meditation on divine things; and when, by the illumination of the Holy Spirit, they had become familiar with the nature of the gospel, they could with comparative ease develop and apply its truths in public addresses. They received the gift for which there

¹ That in the Jewish Christian churches, public speaking in their assemblies was not confined to certain authorized persons, is evident from the fact, that James, in addressing believers of that class who were too apt to substitute talking for practising, censured them, because so many without an inward call, prompted by self-conceit, put themselves forward in their assemblies as teachers.

was an adaptation in their minds—the *χάρισμα διδασκαλίας*, and, in consequence of it, were inferior only to the apostles in aptitude for giving public instruction. Besides that connected intellectual development of truth, there were also addresses, which proceeded not so much from an aptness of the understanding improved by exercise, and acting with a certain uniformity of operation, as from an instantaneous, immediate, inward awakening by the power of the Holy Spirit, in which a divine afflatus was felt both by the speaker and hearers: to this class belonged the *προφητεῖαι*, the *χάρισμα προφητείας*. To the prophets also were ascribed the exhortations (*παρακλήσεις*), which struck with the force of instantaneous impression on the minds of the hearers.¹ The *διδάσκαλοι* might also possess the gift of *προφητεία*, but not all who uttered particular instantaneous exhortations as prophets in the church, were capable of holding the office of *διδάσκαλοι*.² We have no precise information concerning the relation of the *διδάσκαλοι* to the presbyters in the primitive church, whether in the appointment of presbyters, care was taken that only those who were furnished with the gift of teaching should be admitted into the college of presbyters. Yet, in all cases, the oversight of the propagation of the Christian faith—of the administration of teaching and of devotional exercises in the social meetings of believers, belonged to that general superintendence of the church which was entrusted to them, as in the Jewish synagogues; although it was not the special and exclusive office of the elders to give public exhortations, yet whoever might speak in their assemblies, they exercised an inspection over them Acts xiii. 15. In an epistle written towards the end of the apostolic era to an early church composed of Christians of Jewish descent in Palestine (the Epistle to the Hebrews), it is presupposed that the rulers of the church had from the first provided for the delivery of divine truth, and watched over the spiritual welfare of the church, and therefore had the care of souls.

¹ The Levite Joses, who distinguished himself by his powerful addresses in the church, was reckoned among the prophets, and hence was called by the apostles *Ἰησοῦς ὁ καλεῖται Βαρνάβας*, and this is translated in the Acts (iv. 36) *υἱὸς παρακλήσεως* = *υἱὸς προφητείας*.

² In Acts xix. 6, as a manifestation of the spiritual gifts that followed conversion, *προφητεῖν* is put next to *γλώσσαις λαλεῖν*.

Relative to the spread of Christianity among the Jews, the most remarkable feature is the gradual transition from Judaism to Christianity as a new independent creation, Christianity presenting itself as the crowning-point of Judaism in its consummation accomplished by the Messiah; the transfiguration and spiritualization of Judaism, the new, perfect law given by the Messiah as the fulfilling of the old; the new spirit of the higher life communicated by the Messiah, gradually developing itself in the old religious forms, to which it gave a real vitality. Such is that representation of Christianity which is given in the Sermon on the Mount. First of all, Peter appears before us, and then after he had passed over the limits of the old national theocracy to publish the gospel among the heathen, James presents himself as the representative of this first step in the development of Christianity in its most perfect form.

The transition from Judaism to Christianity in general gradually developed itself, beginning with the acknowledgment of Jesus as the Messiah promised in the Old Testament; and hence many erroneous mixtures of the religious spirit prevalent among the Jews were formed with Christianity, in which the Jewish element predominated, and the Christian principle was depressed and hindered from distinctly unfolding itself. There were many to whom faith in the Messiahship of Jesus was added to their former religious views, only as an insulated outward fact, without developing a new principle in their inward life and disposition—baptized Jews who acknowledged Jesus as the Messiah, and expected his speedy return for the establishment of the Messianic kingdom in a temporal form, as they were wont to represent it to themselves from their carnal Jewish standing-point; they received some new precepts from Him as so many positive commands, without rightly understanding their sense and spirit, and were little distinguished in their lives from the common Jews. That Jesus faithfully observed the form of the Jewish law, was assumed by them as a proof that that form would always retain its value. They clung to the letter, the spirit was always a mystery: they could not understand in what sense he declared that he came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it. They adhered to *not destroying* it according to the letter, without understanding what this meant according to the spirit, since what was meant by *fulfilling* it was equally unknown to them.

Such persons would easily fall away from the faith we sh^d had never been in them a truly living one, when they found that their carnal expectations were not fulfilled, as is noticed in the language of the Epistle to the Hebrews. As the common Jewish spirit manifested itself to be a one-sided attachment to externals in religion, a cleaving to the letter and outward forms, without any development and appropriation of the spirit, a preference for the shell without the kernel; so it appeared in the Jews as an opponent to the reception of the gospel, and to the renovation of the heart by it, as an over-valuation of the outward observance of the law, whether in ceremonies or in a certain outward propriety, and an undue estimate of a merely historical faith, something external to the soul, consisting only in outward profession, either of faith in one God as creator and governor, or in Jesus as the Messiah, as if the essence of religion were placed in either one or the other, or as if a righteousness before God could be thereby obtained. The genius of the gospel presented itself in opposition to both kinds of *opus operum* and dependence on works, as we shall see in the sequel. At first it was the element of Pharisaic Judaism, which mingled itself with, and distorted the pure Christian truth; at a later period Christianity aroused the attention of those mystical or theosophic tendencies which had developed themselves in opposition to the Pharisaism cleaving rigidly to the letter, and a carnal Judaism, partly and more immediately as a reaction from the inward religious element and spirit of Judaism, partly under the influence of Oriental and Grecian mental tendencies, by which the unbending and rugged Judaism was weakened and modified; and from this quarter other erroneous mixtures with Christianity proceeded, which cramped and depressed the pure development of the Word and Spirit.

We shall now pass on from the first internal development of the Christian Church among the Jews to its outward condition.

CHAPTER III.

THE OUTWARD CONDITION OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH: ITS PERSECUTIONS
AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES.

It does not appear that the Pharisees, though they had taken the lead in the condemnation of Christ, were eager, after that event, to persecute his followers. They looked on the illiterate Galileans as worthy of no further attention, especially since they strictly observed the ceremonial law, and at first abstained from controverting the peculiar tenets of their party; they allowed them to remain undisturbed, like some other sects by whom their own interests were not affected. Meanwhile, the church was enabled continually to enlarge itself. An increasing number were attracted and won by the overpowering energy of spiritual influence which was manifested in the primitive church; the apostles also, by the miracles they wrought in the confidence and power of faith, first aroused the attention of carnal men, and then made use of this impression to bring them to an acknowledgment of the divine power of Him in whose name such wonders were performed, and to hold him forth to them as the deliverer from evil. Peter, especially, possessed in an extraordinary degree that gift of faith which enabled him to perform cures, of which a remarkable example is recorded in the third chapter of the Acts.

When Peter and John, at one of the usual hours of prayer, about three in the afternoon, were going into the temple, they found at one of the gates of the temple (whose precincts, as afterwards those of Christian churches, were a common resort of beggars) a man who had been lame from his birth. While he was looking for alms from them, Peter uttered the memorable words, which plainly testified the conscious possession of a divine power that could go far beyond the common powers of man and of nature; and which, pronounced with such confidence, carried the pledge of their fulfilment: "Silver and gold have I none; but such as I have, give I thee; In the name of Jesus of Nazareth, rise up and walk." When the man, who had been universally known as a lame beggar, was seen standing with joy by the side of his two benefactors, to

whom he clung with overflowing gratitude, a crowd full of curiosity and astonishment collected around the apostles as they were leaving the temple, and were ready to pay them homage as persons of peculiar sanctity. But Peter said to them, "Why do you look full of wonder on us, as if we had done this by our own power and holiness? It is not our work, but the work of the Holy One whom ye rejected and delivered up to the Gentiles, whose death ye demanded, though a heathen judge wished to let him go, and felt compelled to acknowledge his innocence." We here meet with the charge which ever since the day of Pentecost, Peter had been used to bring forward, in order to lead the Jews to a consciousness of their guilt, to repentance, and to faith. "God himself has by subsequent events justified Him whom ye condemned, and proved your guilt. That God who was with our fathers, and revealed his presence by miraculous events, has now revealed himself by the glorification of Him whom ye condemned. Ye have put him to death, whom God destined thereto, to bestow on us a divine life of everlasting blessedness; but God raised him from the dead, and we are the eye-witnesses of his resurrection. The believing confidence implanted in our hearts by him, has effected this miracle before your eyes." Peter would have spoken in a different strain to obstinate unbelievers. But here he hoped to meet with minds open to conviction. He therefore avoided saying what would only exasperate and repel their feelings. After he had said what tended to convince them of their guilt, he adopted a milder tone, to infuse confidence and to revive the contrite. He brought forward what might be said in extenuation of those who had united in the condemnation of Christ, "that in ignorance they had denied the Messiah,"¹ and that as far as they and their rulers had acted in ignorance, it was in consequence of a higher necessity. It was the eternal counsel of God, that the Messiah should suffer for the salvation of men, as had been predicted by the prophets. But now is the time for you to prove, that you have erred only through ignorance, if

¹ Peter by no means acquits them of all criminality, as the connexion of his words with what he had before said plainly shows; for he had brought forward the example of Pilate to point out how great was the criminality of those who, even in their blindness, condemned Jesus; but ignorance may be more or less culpable, according to the difference of the persons.

you now allow yourselves to be brought to a sense of your unrighteousness by the fact of which you are witnesses ; if you now repent and believe in Jesus as the Messiah, and seek through him that forgiveness of your sins which he is ready to bestow. Thus only you can expect deliverance from all evil, and full salvation ; for he is now hidden from your bodily eyes, and, exalted to heaven, reveals himself as invisibly efficient by miracles, such as those you have witnessed ; but when the time arrives for the completion of all things, that great period to which all the prophecies of the Old Testament point from the beginning, then will he appear again on earth to effect that completion ; for Moses¹ and the prophets have spoken beforehand of what is to be performed by the Messiah, as the consummation of all things. And you are the persons to whom these promises of the prophets will be fulfilled ; to you belong the promises which God gave to your fathers, the promise given to Abraham, that through his posterity all the families of the earth should be blessed.² As one day a blessing from this promised seed of Abraham shall extend to all the nations of the earth,³ so shall it first be fulfilled to you, if you turn from your sins to him.

The commotion produced among the people who gathered round the apostles in the precincts of the temple, at last aroused the attention and suspicion of the priests, whose office it was to perform the service in the temple, and to preserve order there. The two apostles, with the cured cripple who kept close to them, were apprehended, and as it

¹ Peter here appeals to the passage in Deuteronomy xviii. 15, 18, where certainly, according to the connexion, only the prophets in general, by whom God continually enlightened and guided his people, are contrasted with the false soothsayers and magicians of idolatrous nations. But yet, as the Messiah was the last of these promised prophets, to be followed by no other, in whom the whole prophetic system found its centre and consummation, so far this passage in its spirit may justly be applied to the Messiah ; though we cannot affirm that Peter himself was distinctly aware of the difference between the right interpretation of the letter, according to grammatical and logical rules, and its application in spirit, not arbitrary indeed, but grounded on an historical necessity.

² This promise, Gen. xii. 3 ; xviii. 18 ; xxii. 18, according to its highest relation, which must be found in the organic development of the kingdom of God, is fulfilled by the Messiah.

³ On the sense in which, at that time, Peter understood this, see above.

was now evening, too late for any judicial proceedings were put in confinement till the next day.¹ When brought before the Sanhedrim, Peter, full of holy inspiration, and raised by it above the fear of man, testified to the rulers of the Jewish nation that only by the might of Him whom they had crucified, but whom God had raised from the dead, it had come to pass, that they beheld this man standing in perfect soundness before them. He was the stone despised by the builders,

¹ Gfrörer imagines that he can show that this narrative was only a legendary echo of the accounts in the Gospels, a transference of the miracles of Christ to the apostles, and often applies this mode of interpretation to the first part of the Acts. Thus he maintains, that the words in Acts iv. 7, "By what power and by what name have ye done this?" are copied from the question addressed to Christ, Luke xx. 2: "Tell us by what authority thou doest these things?" and that this is proved to be a false transference, because the question stands in its right place in the Gospel history, but not in the narrative of the Acts; "for, according to the Jewish notions, every one might cure diseases." But though the cure of a disease need not occasion any further inquiries, yet a cure, which appeared to be accomplished by supernatural power, might properly call forth the inquiry, Whence did he who performed it profess to receive the power? As it was understood by Peter, the question involved an accusation that he professed to have received power for performing such things, through his connexion with an individual who had been condemned by the Sanhedrim. This question was intended to call forth a confession of guilt. Equally groundless is Gfrörer's supposition, that the quotation in Acts iv. 11, "This is the stone which was set at nought of you builders," refers to Matt. xxi. 42, and can only be understood by such a reference. The connexion of the passage is sufficiently explicit, and is as follows: "If ye call us to account for the testimony we bear to Jesus as the Messiah, ye will verify what was predicted in that passage of the Psalms. The Jesus of Nazareth condemned by the heads of the Jewish polity, is honoured by God to be made the foundation on which the whole kingdom of God rests. He has received from God the power by which we effect such miracles."

Gfrörer further remarks, that the plainest proof that this narrative is defective in historical truth lies in verse 16, "What shall we do to these men? for that indeed a notable miracle hath been done by them is manifest to all them that dwell in Jerusalem, and we cannot deny it;" he asserts that these persons could not have so expressed themselves. But if the author of this account has put in the mouth of the Sanhedrim what he believed might be presumed to be the thoughts that influenced their conduct, can it on that account be reasonably inferred, that the narrative is in the main unhistorical? On the same plan by which Gfrörer thinks he can show that such narratives in the Acts are only imitations of those in the Gospels, we might easily nullify much in later history, as merely legendary copies of earlier history.

those who wished to be the leaders of God's people, who would become the foundation on which the whole building of God's kingdom would rest. Psalm cxviii. 22. There was no other means of obtaining salvation, but faith in him alone. The members of the Sanhedrim were astonished to hear men, who had not been educated in the Jewish schools, and whom they despised as illiterate, speak with such confidence and power, and they knew not what to make of the undeniable fact, the cure of the lame man; but their prejudices and spiritual pride would not allow them to investigate more closely the cause of the fact which had taken place before their eyes. They only wished to suppress the excitement which the event had occasioned, for they could not charge any false doctrine on the apostles, who taught a strict observance of the law. Perhaps also the secret though not altogether decided friends, whom the cause of Christ had from the first among the members of the Sanhedrim, exerted an influence in favour of the accused. The schism likewise between the Pharisaic and the Sadducean parties in the Sanhedrim, might have a favourable influence on the conduct of that assembly towards the Christians. The Sadducees, who were exasperated with the apostles for so zealously advocating the doctrine of the resurrection, and who were the chief authors of the machinations against them at this time, were yet so far obliged to yield to the prevalent popular belief, as not to venture to allege that against the disciples which most excited their enmity. Hence, without making any specific charge against the apostles, they satisfied themselves with imposing silence upon them by a peremptory mandate; which, according to the existing ecclesiastical constitution of the Jews, the Sanhedrim was competent to issue, being the highest tribunal in matters of faith, without whose sanction no one could be acknowledged as having a divine commission. The apostles protested that they could not comply with a human injunction, if it was at variance with the laws of God, and that they could not be silent respecting what they had seen and heard; the Sanhedrim, however, repeated the prohibition, and added threats of punishment in case of disobedience.

Meanwhile this miracle, so publicly wrought—the force of Peter's address—and the vain attempt to silence him by threats, had the effect of increasing the number of Christian

professors to about two thousand. As the apostles, without giving themselves any concern about the injunction of the Sanhedrim, laboured according to the intention they had publicly avowed, both by word and deed, for the spread of the gospel, it is not surprising that they were soon brought again before the Sanhedrim as contumacious. When the president reproached them for their disobedience, Peter renewed his former protestation. "We must obey God rather than man. And the God of our fathers," he proceeded to say, "is he who has called us to testify of what ye have forbidden us to speak. By his omnipotence, he has raised that Jesus whom ye crucified, and has exalted him to be the leader and redeemer of his people, and through him all may be called to repentance, and receive from him the forgiveness of their sins. This we testify, and this the Holy Spirit testifies in the hearts of those who believe on him."¹ These words of Peter at once aroused the wrath of the Sudducees and Fanatics, and many of them were clamorous for putting the apostles to death; but amidst the throng of infuriated zealots, *one* voice of temperate wisdom might be heard. Gamaliel, one of the seven most distinguished teachers of the Law (the Rabbanim), thus addressed the members of the Sanhedrim: "Consider well what ye do to these men. Many founders of sects and party-leaders have appeared in our day; they have at first acquired great notoriety, but in a short time they and their cause have come to nothing." He proved his assertion by several examples of

¹ These words (Acts v. 32) are by many understood, as if by the term *πειθαρχοῦντες* the apostles were intended, and as if the sense of the passage were this: We testify of these things, as the eye-witnesses chosen by Him; and the Holy Spirit, in whose power we have performed this cure, testifies by the works which we accomplish in his name. Such an interpretation is certainly possible. But it is more natural, as we apply the first clause to the apostles, to apply the second to those who received their message in faith, and to whom the truth of this message was verified, independently of their human testimony, by the divine witness of the Holy Spirit in their hearts; to whom the Holy Spirit himself gave a pledge, that, by faith in Jesus, they had received forgiveness of sins and a divine life. This interpretation is also to be preferred, because Peter, after the day of Pentecost, was always wont to appeal to that objective testimony which the Holy Spirit produced in all believers. If the first interpretation were correct, the emphasis would lie on *ἡμεῖς*—*we*, and the Holy Spirit by us; indeed, the last clause should have been *ἡμῖν τοῖς πειθαρχοῦσιν*.

commotions and insurrections which happened about that period among the Jews.¹ They might safely leave this affair also to itself. If of human origin, it would speedily come to an end ; but if it should be something divine, vain would be the attempt to put it down by human power, and let them see to it, that they were not guilty of rebellion against God.

Too much has been attributed to these words of Gamaliel, when it has been inferred from them, that he was a secret adherent of the gospel ;² the connexion he kept up with the Jewish schools of theology precludes such a supposition. By the traditions of the Gemara we are justified in considering him as one of the freethinking Jewish theologians, which we also learn from his being in favour of the cultivation of Grecian literature ;³ and from his peculiar mental constitution we might likewise infer, that he could be more easily moved by an impression of the divine, even in appearances which did not bear the stamp of his party. But many of his expressions which are preserved in the Mishna, mark him plainly enough to have been a strict Pharisee, such as he is described by his pupil Paul ; the great respect, too, in which he has ever been held by the Jews is a sufficient proof that they never doubted the soundness of his creed, that he could not be accused of any suspicious connexion with the heretical sect. On the one hand, he had a clear perception of the fact, that all fanatical movements are generally rendered more violent by opposition,

¹ The mention of Theudas in Gamaliel's speech, occasions, as is well known, a great difficulty, since his insurrection seems as if it could be no other than that mentioned by Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 5, 1 ; but to admit this would involve an anachronism. It is very possible that, at different times, two persons named Theudas raised a sedition among the Jews, as the name was by no means uncommon. Origen (against Celsus, i. 57) mentions a Theudas before the birth of Christ, but his testimony is not of great weight, for perhaps he fixed the time by the account in the Acts. It is also possible that Luke, in the relation of the event which he had before him, found the example of Theudas adduced as something analogous, or that one name has happened to be substituted for another. In either case it is of little importance.

² In the Clementines, i. 65, on the principle of *fraus pia*, it is supposed that, by the advice of the apostles, he remained a member of the Sanhedrim, and concealed his real faith in order to act for the advantage of the Christians, and to give them secret informations of all the designs formed against them.

³ See Jost's *History of the Israelites*, vol. iii. p. 170.

and that what in itself is insignificant, is often raised into importance by forcible attempts to suppress it. On the other hand, the manner in which the apostles spoke and acted made some impression on a man not wholly prejudiced; while their exact observance of the law, and hostile attitude towards Sadduceism, must have disposed him more strongly in their favour, and hence the thought might arise in his mind, that after all there was something divine in the cause they advocated. His counsel prevailed; no heavier punishment than scourging was inflicted on the apostles for their disobedience, and they were dismissed after the former prohibition had been repeated.

Up to this time, the members of the new sect, being strict observers of the law, and agreeing with the Pharisees in their opposition to the Sadducees, appeared in a favourable light to at least the moderate of the former.¹ But this amicable relation was at an end as soon as they came, or threatened to come, into open conflict with the principles of Pharisaism itself: when the spirit of the new doctrine was more distinctly felt in that quarter, an effect produced by an individual memorable on this account in the early annals of Christianity, the proto-martyr Stephen.

The deacons, as we have already remarked, were primarily appointed for a secular object, but in the discharge of their special duty frequently came in contact with home and foreign Jews; and since men had been chosen for this office who were full of Christian zeal, full of Christian faith, and full of Christian wisdom and prudence, they possessed both the inward call, and the ability to make use of these numerous opportunities for the spread of the gospel among the Jews. In these attempts, Stephen particularly distinguished himself. As a man of Hellenistic descent and education, he was better fitted than a native of Palestine for entering into the views of those foreign Jews who had synagogues for their exclusive use at Jerusalem, and thus leading them to receive the gospel. The Holy Spirit, who hitherto had employed as instruments for the spread of the gospel only Palestinian Jews, now fitted for his service an individual of very different mental training,

¹ See Schneckenburger's Essay in his *Beitragen zur Einleitung in's Neue Testament*, p. 87.

the Hellenistic Stephen ; and the result of this choice was very important. Although the Holy Spirit alone, according to the Saviour's promise, could lead the apostles to a clear perception of the contents of the whole truth¹ announced by himself ; yet the quicker or slower development of this perception was in many respects dependent on the mental peculiarity, and the special standing-point of general and religious culture, of the individuals who were thus to be enlightened by the Holy Spirit. In one individual, the development of Christian knowledge was prepared for by his previous standing-point ; and hence, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, a knowledge (*γνώσις*) of Christian truth rapidly developed itself from faith (*πίστις*) ; whereas, for another to attain the same insight, the bounds which confined his previous standing-point must be first broken down by the power of the Holy Spirit operating in a more immediate manner, by a new additional revelation (*ἀποκάλυψις*.) When Christ spoke to his apostles of certain things which they could not yet comprehend, but which must be first revealed to them by the Holy Spirit, he, no doubt, referred to the essence of religion, to that worshipping of God in spirit and in truth, which is not necessarily confined to place or time, or to any kind whatever of outward observances ; and with which the abolition of the Mosaic ceremonial law (that wall of separation between the chosen people of God and other nations, Eph. ii. 14), and the union of all nations in one spiritual worship and one faith—were closely connected. The apostles had by this time understood, through the illumination of the Holy Spirit, the nature of the spiritual worship founded on faith, but the consequences flowing from it in relation to outward Judaism they had not yet clearly apprehended. In this respect, their standing-point resembled Luther's—after he had attained a living faith in justification, in reference to outward Catholicism, ere he had, by the further maturing of his Christian knowledge, abjured that also—and that of many who before and since the Reformation have attained to vital Christianity, though still to a degree enthralled in the fetters of Catholicism. Thus the apostles first

¹ Christ did not promise the apostles indefinitely that the Holy Spirit should guide them into all things, but into the whole of the truth, which he came to announce for the salvation of mankind ; John xvi. 13.

attained to a full development of their Christian knowledge, to a clear perception of the truth on this side, when by the power of the Holy Spirit they were freed from the fetters of their strictly Jewish training, which obscured this perception. On the other hand, the Hellenistic Stephen needed not to attain this mental freedom by a new immediate operation of the Holy Spirit, for he was already, by his early development in Hellenistic culture, more free from these fetters, he was not so much entangled in Jewish nationality, and hence his Christian knowledge could on this side more easily and quickly attain to clearness of perception. In short, Stephen was the forerunner of the great Paul, in his perception of Christian truth and the testimony he bore to it, as well as in his conflict for it with the carnal Jews, who obstinately adhered to their ancient standing-point. It is highly probable, that he was first induced by his disputations with the Hellenists, to present the gospel on the side of its opposition to the Mosaic law ; to combat the belief in the necessity of that law for the justification and sanctification of men, and, what was connected therewith, its perpetual obligation, and then to show that the new spirit of the gospel freed it altogether from the outward forms of Judaism ; that the new spirit of religion required an entirely new form. As, agreeably to the prophecy of Christ, the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem, with which the Jews had hitherto considered the worship of God as necessarily and essentially connected, was now about to take place by means of the divine judgments on the degenerate earthly kingdom of God, through the victorious divine power of the Messiah, exalted to the right hand of his heavenly Father—so would the whole outward system of Judaism fall with this its only earthly sanctuary, and the theocracy arise glorified and spiritualized from its earthly trammels. We cannot determine with confidence, to what extent Stephen, in his disputations with the Jews, developed all this, but we may infer with certainty from the consequences, that it would be more or less explicitly stated by this enlightened man. Hence it came to pass, that the rage of the Pharisees was now excited, as it had never yet been against the promulgators of the new doctrine ; hence an accusation such as had never yet been brought against them—that Stephen had uttered blasphemous words against Jehovah and against Moses. We are

told, indeed, that *false* witnesses deposed against him that he ceased not to speak against the Holy City (the Temple) and the Law—that he had declared that Jesus of Nazareth would destroy the Temple, and abrogate the usages handed down from Moses. But although these accusations are represented as the depositions of *false* witnesses, it does not follow, that all that they said was a fabrication, but only that they had, on many points, distorted the assertions of Stephen, with an evil intention. They accused him of attacking the divine origin and holiness of the law, and of blaspheming Moses ; all which was very far from his design. Yet he must, by what he said, have given them some ground for their misrepresentations, for before this time, nothing similar had been brought against the publishers of the gospel ; hence we may make use of their allegations to find out what Stephen really said. And his defence plainly indicates that he by no means intended to repel the accusation as altogether a falsity, but rather to acknowledge that there was truth mixed up with it ; that what he had really spoken, and what was already so obnoxious to the Jews, he had no wish to deny, but only to develop and establish it in its right connexion. And thus we gain the true point of view for understanding this memorable and often misunderstood speech.

Stephen was seized by his embittered enemies, brought before the Sanhedrim, and accused of blasphemy. But though the minds of his judges were so deeply prejudiced by the reports spread against him, and they waited with intense eagerness to see the man who had uttered such unheard-of things—when he actually came before them, and began to speak, they were struck with the commanding expression of his whole figure, with the inspired confidence—the heavenly repose and serenity which beamed in all his features. In the Acts we are told, that he stood before them with a glorified countenance, “ as it were the face of an angel ;” and it is very probable, that many members of the Sanhedrim had thus described the impression which his appearance made upon them. The topics and arrangement of his discourse were suited to confirm this impression, and to turn it to good account, to fix the attention of his judges, and to put their minds in a more favourable position towards the speaker, thus gradually preparing them for that which he

wished to make the main subject of his discourse. That discourse perfectly corresponds with the leading qualities ascribed to his character in the Acts. In his frank manner of expressing what he had learnt by the light of the Divine Spirit, we recognise the man full of the power of faith, without the fear of man, or deference to human opinion ; in his manner of constantly keeping one end in view, and yet, instead of abruptly urging it, gradually preparing his hearers for it, we recognise the man full of Christian prudence.

The object of Stephen's discourse was not simple but complex ; yet it was so constructed, that the different topics were linked together in the closest manner. Its primary object was certainly apologetical, but as he forgot himself in the subject with which he was inspired, his apologetic efforts relate to the truths maintained by him, and impugned by his adversaries, rather than to himself ; hence, not satisfied with defending, he developed and enforced the truths he had proclaimed ; and at the same time, condemned the carnal ungodly temper of the Jews, which was little disposed to receive the truth. Thus with the apologetic element, the didactic and polemic were combined. Stephen first refutes the charges made against him of enmity against the people of God, of contempt of their sacred institutions, and of blaspheming Moses. He traces the procedure of the divine providence, in guiding the people of God from the times of their progenitors ; he notices the promises and their progressive fulfilment, to the end of all the promises, the end of the whole development of the theocracy—the advent of the Messiah, and the work to be accomplished by him. But with this narrative, he blends his charges against the Jewish nation. He shows that their ingratitude and unbelief, proceeding from a carnal mind, became more flagrant in proportion as the promises were fulfilled, or given with greater fulness ; and their conduct in the various preceding periods of the development of God's kingdom, was a specimen of the disposition they now evinced towards the publication of the gospel.¹ The first promise

¹ In this species of polemical discussion, Stephen was a forerunner of Paul. De Wette justly notices, as a peculiarity of the Hebrew nation, that conscience was more alive among them than any other people : often, indeed, an evil conscience, the feeling of guilt, the feeling of the high office assigned to it which it cannot and will not relinquish, the feeling of a schism between knowledge (the law) and the will, so that sin accumu-

which God made to the patriarchs, was that respecting the land which he would give to their posterity for a possession, where they were to worship him. In faith, the patriarchs went forth under the constant guidance of God himself, which, however, did not bring them to the fulfilment of the promise. This promise was brought to the eve of its accomplishment by Moses. His divine call, the miracles God wrought for him and by him, are especially brought forward, and likewise the conduct of the Jews while under his guidance, as unbelieving, ungrateful and rebellious towards this highly accredited servant of God, through whom they had received such great benefits: and yet Moses was not the end of the divine revelation. His calling was to point to that prophet whom God would raise up after him, whom they were to obey like himself. The conduct of the Jews towards Moses is therefore a type of their conduct towards that last great prophet whom he announced and prefigured. The Jews gave themselves up to idolatry, when God first established among them by Moses a symbolical sanctuary for his worship. This sanctuary was in the strictest sense of divine origin. Moses superintended its erection according to the pattern shown to him by God, in a symbolic higher manifestation.¹ The sanctuary was a moveable one, till at last Solomon was permitted to erect an abiding edifice for divine worship on a similar plan. With this historical survey, Stephen concludes his argument against the superstitious reverence for the temple felt by the carnally-minded Jews, their narrow-hearted sensuous tendency to confine the essence of religion to the temple-worship. Having expressed this in the words of the prophet Isaiah, it was a natural transition to speak of the essential nature of true spiritual worship, and of the prophets who in opposition to the stiff-necked, carnal dispositions of the Jews had testified concerning it, and the Messiah by whom it was to be established

lates and comes distinctly into view; Rom. v. 20. See "*Studien und Kritiken*," 1837, p. 1003. On this account, the history of the Hebrew nation is the type of the history of mankind, and of men in general.

¹ Stephen probably wished to intimate that, in order to guard against idolatry, to which the Jews were so prone, it was necessary to confine the worship of God to a fixed visible sanctuary, and, on the other hand, which is an idea that pervades the Epistle to the Hebrews, that this sanctuary could not communicate the divine, but could only represent it in a figure.

among the whole human race. A vast prospect now opened before him ; but he could not complete the delineation of the august vision of the divine dispensations which was present to his imagination ; while gazing at it, the emotions it excited carried him away ; his holy indignation gushed forth in a torrent of rebuke against the ungodly, unbelieving, hypocritical disposition of the Jews, whose conduct in reference to the divine communications had been the same from the time of Moses up to that very moment. “Ye stiff-necked, although boasting of your circumcision, yet who have never received the true circumcision. Ye uncircumcised in heart and ear (who want the disposition to feel and to understand what is divine), ye always withstand the workings of the Holy Ghost. Ye do as your fathers did. As your fathers murdered the prophets who predicted the appearance of the Holy One, so have ye yourselves given Him up to the Gentiles, and thus are become his murderers. Ye who boast of a law given by God through the ministry of angels,¹ (as organs of making known the divine will,) and yet are so little observant of this law !”

Till this rebuke was uttered, Stephen had been quietly heard. But as soon as they perceived the drift of his discourse, their blind zeal and spiritual pride were roused. He observed the symptoms of their rage, but instead of being terrified thereby, he looked up to heaven, full of believing confidence in the power of Him of whom he testified, and saw with a prophetic glance, in opposition to the machinations of men against the cause of God, the glorified Messiah, denied by these men, but exalted to heaven, armed with divine power, and about to conquer all who dared to oppose his kingdom. This prophetic view was presented to him in the form of a symbolic vision. As he looked up to heaven it appeared to open before his eyes. In more than earthly splendour, there appeared to him a form of divine majesty ; he beheld Christ (whose glorious image was probably present to him from actual early recollection) glorified and enthroned at the right

¹ This was confessedly a frequent mode among the Jews of marking the superhuman origin of the law ; so that, according to Josephus, Herod, in a speech to the Jewish army, made use of this universally acknowledged fact, that the Jews had received their law from God (δὲ ἀγγέλων παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μαθόντων), in order to show how holy the ambassadors sent to them must be, who filled the same office as that of the angels between God and men ; ἄγγελοι = πρέσβεις, κήρυκες. Joseph. Antiq. xv. 5, 3.

hand of God. Already in spirit raised to heaven, he testified with full confidence of what he beheld. In all periods of the church, a blind zeal for adherence to the letter and ceremonial services has been wont to interpret a highly spiritual state, which will not follow the rules of the reigning theological school, nor suffer it to be confined by ancient maxims, as mere fanaticism or blasphemy;¹ and so it was on this occasion. The members of the Sanhedrim stopped their ears, that they might not be defiled by his supposed blasphemies. They threw themselves on Stephen, and dragged him out of the city in order to stone him as a blasphemer. It was sentence and execution all at once; an act of violence without regular judicial examination; besides, that according to the existing laws, the Sanhedrim could decide only on disciplinary punishment, but was not allowed to execute a capital sentence without the concurrence of the Roman governor. With the same confidence with which Stephen, amidst the rage and fury of his enemies, saw the Saviour of whom he testified, ruling victorious—with the same confidence he directed his eyes towards him in the prospect of death, and said, “Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!” And as he had only Him before his eyes, it was his Spirit which led him to adopt the Saviour’s last words, thus making him a pattern in death, as he had been in life. He who, when carried away with holy zeal for the cause of God, had so emphatically censured the baseness of the Jews, now that their fury attacked his own person, prayed only for this, that their sins might be forgiven.

Thus we see in the death of Stephen the new development of Christian truth apparently stopped; he died a martyr, not only for the truth of the gospel in general, but in particular for this free and wider application of it, which began with him and seemed to expire with him. Yet from the beginning, it has been the law of the development of the Christian life, and will continue to be the same down to the last glorious result, which will consummate the whole with the final triumph over death—that out of death a new life comes forth, and martyrdom for the divine truth, both in its general and particular forms, prepares its victory. Such was the issue here. This first new development of evangelical truth was

¹ Thus, at the Council of Constance, it was condemned as a violation of ecclesiastical subordination, that Huss had dared to appeal to Christ.

checked in the germ in order to shoot forth with greater vigour, and to a wider extent, in the person of Paul, and the martyrdom of Stephen was one step in the process. If this new development had been fully exhibited at this time, the other publishers of the gospel would have been found unprepared for it, and not yet capable of receiving it. But in the meantime, these persons, by a variety of circumstances concurring in a natural way under the constant guidance of the Holy Spirit, were prepared for this deeper insight into the truth.

The martyrdom of Stephen was important in its direct effects for the spreading of the faith, since it might be expected that, under the immediate impression made by the sight of such a witness, and of such a death, many minds not altogether unsusceptible, nor altogether deluded by the power of error, would be led to the faith; but yet the indirect consequences were still more important, by which the third violent persecution was raised against the new church at Jerusalem. This persecution must have been more severe and extensive, than the former; for by the manner in which Stephen entered into conflict with Pharisaism, he had roused to hostilities against the teachers of the new doctrine the sect of the Pharisees, who had the most credit with the common people, and were powerful and active, and ready to leave no means untried to attain their object whatever it might be. The persecution proceeding from this quarter would naturally mark as its special victims those who were colleagues in office with Stephen, as deacons, and who resembled him in their Hellenistic origin and education. It was, however, the occasion of spreading the gospel beyond the bounds of Jerusalem and Judea, and even among the Gentiles. With this progressive outward development of the gospel was also connected its progressive inward development, the consciousness of the independence and intrinsic capacity of Christianity as a doctrine destined without foreign aid to impart divine life and salvation to all men, among all nations without distinction. Here, then, we stand on the boundary-line of a new era, both of the outward and inward development of Christianity.

BOOK II.

THE FIRST SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY FROM THE CHURCH AT
JERUSALEM TO OTHER PARTS, AND ESPECIALLY AMONG HEATHEN
NATIONS.

SAMARIA, which had been a scene of Christ's personal ministry, was the first place out of Judea where the gospel was preached by his apostles. Though the people of this country received no part of the Old Testament as sacred excepting the Pentateuch, yet from this portion of the Scriptures they formed themselves to faith in a Messiah who was to come ; on him they placed their hopes, as the personage who was to bring back all things to their right relations, and thus to be the universal Restorer. Political considerations did not here, as among the Jews, obstruct the right apprehension of the idea of the Messiah ; an idea which was specially awakened among this people by feelings of mental and bodily misery, though they were deficient in that right understanding of it which could only be obtained from its progressive development in the Old Testament ; nor could the deep feeling of the need of redemption and restoration be clearly developed among them. A lively but indefinite obscure excitement of the religious feeling, always exposes men to a variety of dangerous delusions. This was the case with the Samaritans. As at that time, in other parts of the East, a similar indefinite longing after a new communication from Heaven,—an ominous restlessness in the minds of men, such as generally precedes great changes in the history of mankind, was diffused abroad ; so this indistinct anxiety did not fail to lead astray and to deceive many, who were not rightly prepared for it, while they adopted a false method of allaying it. A mixture of unconscious self-deception and intentional falsehood moved certain Goëtæ, who, with mystical ideas, proceeding from an amalgamation of Jewish, Oriental, and Grecian elements, boasted of a special

connexion with the invisible world ; and by taking advantage of the unknown powers of nature, and by various arts of conjuration, excited the astonishment of credulous people, and obtained credit for their boastful pretensions. Such persons found at that time an easy access to the Samaritans in their state of mental excitement. To this class of men belonged a Jewish or Samaritan Goës, named Simon, who, by his extraordinary magical powers, so fascinated the people, that they said he must be more than man, that he was the great power which emanated from the invisible God, by which he brought forth the universe, now appearing on earth in a bodily form.¹

The idea of such an Intelligence emanating from God, as proceeding from the first act of the divine self-revelation, the first link in the chain of developed life was spread, abroad in various oriental-Alexandrian and Alexandrian-oriental forms. The idea also of the incarnation of higher intelligences generally, and of this intelligence in particular, was by no means foreign to the notions prevalent in those parts. We can hardly consider everything of this kind as a mere copy of the Christian idea of the incarnation, or recognise in it a symptom of the transforming power which the new Christian spirit exercised over the intellectual world ; for we find earlier traces of such ideas.² But the prevalence of such ideas proves nothing against the originality of Christianity, or of any of its particular doctrines. On the one hand, we dare

¹ Possibly the words of which this Goës made use, are contained in the apocryphal writings of the Simonians ; see Jerome's Commentary on Matt. xxiv. "Ego sum sermo Dei (ὁ λόγος), ego sum speciosus, ego paracletus,"—(according to Philo, the Logos Advocate, *παράκλητος, ἱκέτης*, through the divine reason revealing itself in the phenomenal world (the *νοητὸν παρ᾽δειγμα τοῦ κόσμου*), forms the connexion between God and the phenomena, what is defective in the latter is supplied. *De Vita Mosis*, i. iii. 673 ; *De Migratione Abrahami*, 406,)—ego omnipotens, ego omnia Dei (according to Philo the Logos is the *μητρόπολις πασῶν τῶν δυνάμεων τοῦ Θεοῦ*). Still this is uncertain, for the sect of the Simonians might easily borrow these expressions, as they had borrowed other things, from Christianity, and attribute them to Simon.

² In a Jewish apocryphal writing, the *προσευχὴ Ἰωσήφ*, the patriarch Jacob is represented as an incarnation of the highest spirit living in the presence of the divine Original Being, whose true divine name was *Ἰσραήλ, ἀνὴρ ὁρῶν θεόν*, the *πρωτόγονος πάντος ζῶντος ζωομένου ὑπὸ θεοῦ*, (similar expressions to those used by Philo respecting the Logos), who was begotten before all angels, *ὁ ἐν προσώπῳ θεοῦ λειτουργῶν πρῶτος*. See Origen, t. ii. Joh. § 25.

not refuse to acknowledge what could already form itself from the germs already given in the Old Testament, which was the preparative covering of the New, or from its spirit and leading ideas, which were directed to Christ as the end of all the divine revelations. On the other hand, we must recollect, that as from the new creation effected by Christianity, a powerful excitement was caused both of kindred and hostile minds, so also a great excitement of these minds preceded the great crisis, unconsciously anticipating and yearning after it ; a presentiment that there would be such a revelation of the spiritual world as had not yet been made relating to the destinies of the human race. And from a teleological point of view, we recognise Christianity as the final aim of Divine Wisdom in conducting the course of human development, when at this period we find the spiritual atmosphere pregnant with ideas, which served to prepare a more susceptible soil for Christianity and its leading doctrines, and to form a back-ground for giving relief to the exhibition of the divine transactions which it announced.

Philip the Deacon, being compelled to leave Jerusalem by the persecution which ensued on Stephen's death, was induced to take refuge in Samaria. He came to a city of that country,¹ where Simon was universally esteemed, and looked upon with wonder and reverence as a supernatural being. When he saw the people so devoted to a destructive delusion, he felt impelled by his zeal for the cause of God and the salvation of men, to impart that to them which alone could give substantial relief to their spiritual necessities. But men in this situation were not yet susceptible of the spiritual power of truth ; it was needful to pave a way to their hearts by preparatory impressions on the senses. As Philip, by the divine aid, performed things which Simon with all his magical arts could not effect, especially healing the sick (which he accomplished by prayer and calling on the name of Christ), he thus attracted the attention of men to Him in whose name

¹ It is not quite clear that the city of Samaria is intended ; for there is no reason, with some expositors of Acts viii. 5, to consider the genitive as the sign of apposition. As in the whole chapter, Samaria is the designation of the country, it is most natural to understand it so in this passage. In the 14th verse, by Samaria is certainly meant the country, and yet it does not follow that absolutely the whole land had received the gospel.

and power he had effected such things for them, and in their sight ; he then took occasion to discourse more fully of Him, his works, and the kingdom that he had established among men, and by degrees the divine power of truth laid hold of their hearts. When Simon saw his followers deserting him, and was himself astounded at the works performed by Philip, he thought it best to acknowledge a power so superior to his own. He therefore professed himself a disciple of Philip, and was baptized by him like the rest ; but as the sequel proves, we cannot infer from this, that the publication of the gospel had made an impression on his heart ; it seems most probable that he secretly interpreted what had occurred according to his own views. The miracles performed by Philip had led him to the conviction, that he was in league with some super-human spirit ; he looked on baptism as an initiation into the compact, and hoped that, by forming such a compact, he might obtain an interest in such higher power, and use it for his own ends ; he wished, in short, to combine the new magic or theurgy with his own. As we have already remarked, it was a standing regulation in primitive times, that all those who professed to believe the announcement of Jesus as the Messiah should be baptized. And when Simon renounced his magical arts, which were now quite out of repute, there was no ground for rejecting him.

The information that despised Samaria was the first province out of Judea where the gospel found acceptance, caused great surprise among the Christians at Jerusalem. As the ancient prejudice against the Samaritans had not quite worn away, and no account had been received that, among the baptized believers, those wonderful works were manifested which, since the day of Pentecost, were considered as necessary concomitants of a reception into the Christian communion, the apostles Peter and John were sent thither to investigate what had transpired, and, by virtue of their apostolic calling, to complete whatever might be wanting for the establishment of a Christian community. We find, in the narrative of the Acts, no reason to impute the want of these operations of the Divine Spirit among the Samaritans in any degree to Philip's being only a deacon, as if he could not found a Christian society, and by preaching the gospel, and by prayer in the name of Christ, produce effects similar

to those wrought by the apostles. But as in the reverse case, namely, the conversion of Cornelius, when the effects that commonly followed baptism then followed the preaching of the word, and preceded baptism, there was an internal reason for the order observed; a longer prepared susceptibility of disposition promoted the more rapid operations of living faith; so we naturally seek an internal reason for a different procedure among the Samaritans. The effects to which we refer proceeded from the power of a living consciousness of redemption obtained, and at the commencement of the new spiritual creation were a mark of vital Christianity. If all were not influenced in an equal degree, yet all were to a certain extent moved by the power of the Divine, and susceptible enough to be vitally aroused and borne along by the impression of that Christian inspiration which they saw before them, for the germ with which these manifestations of the Spirit connected themselves already existed in their bosoms. It was, in a spiritual respect, as when a flame once broken forth detects and kindles all the inflammable materials in its neighbourhood. But among these Samaritans, the feeling of their religious and moral necessities, which living faith in the Redeemer presupposes and unites with, was not yet awakened, in consequence of their being drawn aside and disturbed by the influence of Simon. At first, they believed the declarations of Philip as they had believed in the magical illusions of Simon, since these gross sensible miracles demanded their belief. Those who had thus attained to faith, were still entirely dependent on the person of Philip as a worker of miracles. They had not yet attained the consciousness of a vital communion with the Christ whom Philip preached, nor yet to the consciousness of a personal divine life. The indwelling of the Spirit was as yet something foreign to them, known only by the wonderful operations which they saw taking place around them. We have not a full account in the Acts of what was done by Peter and John, but simply the general results. No doubt these apostles carried on the work of Philip by preaching and prayer. After such a preparation, the believers were assembled, and the apostles prayed that Christ might glorify himself in them, as in all believers, by marks of the communication of divine life, employing the usual sign of Christian consecration, the

laying on of hands. Manifestations now followed similar to those on the day of Pentecost, and the believers were thus recognised and attested to be a Christian church, standing in an equal rank with the first church at Jerusalem. But Simon was naturally incapable of understanding the spiritual connexion of these manifestations; he saw in all of them merely the workings of magical forms and charms, a magic differing not in nature but only in degree from what he practised himself. Hence he imagined, that the apostles might communicate these magical powers to him also, by virtue of which all those on whom he laid hands would become filled with divine power, and with this view he offered them money. Peter spurned this proposal with detestation, and now first saw in its true light the real character of Simon, who, in joining himself to believers, had pretended to be what he was not. Peter's terrible rebuke presents him to us as a faithful preacher of the gospel, insisting most impressively on the supreme importance of *disposition* in everything which is imparted by Christianity, in direct opposition to the art of magic, which disregards the necessary connexion of the divine and supernatural with the disposition of the heart, drags them down into the circle of the natural, and attempts to appropriate to itself divine power by means of something else than that which is allied to it in human nature, and the only possible point of connexion for it.¹ These were Peter's words: "Thy gold, with which thou attemptest to traffic in impiety, perish with thee. Do not deceive thyself, as if with this disposition thou couldst have any part in what is promised to believers. Thou hast no share in this matter,"² for God, who sees what is within, is not deceived by thy hypo-

¹ The poetical fancies of Christian antiquity, which make Peter the representative of the principle of simple faith in revelation, and Simon the representative of the magical and theosophic tendency in the human mind, have important truths for their basis.

² I cannot agree with those who understand *λόγος* (Acts viii. 21) in the sense of the Hebrew *דָּבָר* = *ῥῆμα*, and suppose that Peter only told Simon that he could have no share in that thing, in that higher power which he hankered after. In this general sense, *ῥῆμα* is indeed used in the New Testament, but not the more definite term *λόγος*. And according to this interpretation, Peter would say less than the context requires; for looking at the connexion of v. 21 with 20 and 22, it is plain, he did not merely say, that Simon with such a disposition was excluded from participating in this higher power, but als

critical professions. Before his eyes thy intentions are manifest. With sincere repentance for such wickedness, pray to God that he would be pleased to forgive thee this wicked design." This rebuke made a great impression at the time on Simon's conscience, inclined more to superstition than to faith, and awakened a feeling not of repentance for the sinfulness of his disposition, but of apprehension of the divine vengeance. He entreated the apostles that they would pray to the Lord for him, that what they had threatened him with might not come to pass.

As is usual with such sudden impressions on the senses, the effect on Simon was only transient, for all the further notices we have of him show that he soon returned to his former courses. About ten or twenty years later, we meet with a Simon in the company of Felix the Roman Procurator of Palestine, so strikingly resembling this man, that we are tempted to consider them as identical. The latter Simon¹ appears as a heartless magician,² to whom all persons, whatever their character, were welcome, provided they gave credit

from the kingdom of God, and thereby bring condemnation on himself. Hence we understand the word λόγος in the common New Testament meaning of the divine doctrine—"the doctrine or truth announced by us"—at the same time including συνεχδοχικῶς, all that a person would be authorized to receive by the appropriation of this doctrine. I am not convinced by what Meyer in his commentary urges against this interpretation, that it is at variance with the connexion, in which there is no mention made of the doctrine. For in the mind of the speaker, the power of working miracles could not be separated from the publication of the gospel and faith in it; and as Simon in the disposition of his mind was far from the gospel, and could stand in no sort of fellowship with it, it followed as a matter of course, that he could have no share in the ability to work such miracles.

¹ On the other hand, there is the difference of country, for the Simon to whom we refer, and whom Josephus mentions (Antiq. book xx. ch. vii. § 2), was a Jew from Cyprus; but Simon Magus, according to Justin Martyr, himself a native of Samaria, was born at a place called Gittim, in Samaria. Yet this evidence is not decisive, for a tradition so long after the time, though prevalent in the country where Simon made his appearance, might be erroneous. What has been said since I wrote the above, against the identity of the two Simons, is not demonstrative, though I willingly allow, that since the name of Simon was a very common one among the Jews, and such itinerant γόηται were not seldom to be met with, the time also not perfectly agreeing, the identity must be left rather doubtful.

² μάγον εἶναι σκηπτόμενον, says Josephus.

to his enchantments. With equal arrogance, he disclaimed all respect for the ancient forms of religion, and for the laws of morality. He was a confidant of the Roman Procurator Felix, and therefore could never have opposed his vicious inclinations, but on the contrary made his magic subservient to their gratification; he thus bound him more closely to himself, as a single example will show. The immoral Felix had indulged a passion for Drusilla, sister of King Herod Agrippa, and wife of King Azizus of Emesa. Simon allowed himself to be the tool of Felix, for gratifying his unlawful desires. He persuaded Drusilla that by his superhuman power he could ensure great happiness for her, provided she married Felix, and managed to overcome her scruples of conscience against marrying a heathen. The character of this Simon is stamped on the later theosophic goëtic sect of the Simonians, whose tenets were a mixture of the Oriental, Jewish, Samaritan, and Grecian religious elements. The germ of their principles may be plainly traced back to this Simon, though we cannot attribute to him the complete system of this sect as it existed in the second century.

The two apostles returned again to Jerusalem, and as what they had witnessed convinced them of the susceptibility of the Samaritans for receiving the gospel, they availed themselves of the opportunity of publishing it in all the parts of the country through which they passed. But Philip extended his missionary journey further, and became the instrument of bringing the first seeds of the gospel into Ethiopia, (the kingdom of Candace at Meroe,) though, as far as our knowledge of history goes,¹ without any important consequences. But, what is more deserving of notice, he published the gospel in the cities of Palestine, on the southern and northern coasts of the Mediterranean, till at last, probably after a considerable time, he settled at Cæsarea Stratonis, where on his

¹ It is still a question whether the introduction of Christianity was not partially made before the mission of Frumentius on another side, and in a different part of Ethiopia; whether many things in the doctrine and usages of the present Abyssinian church, with which we have been better acquainted by means of Gobat's Journal, do not indicate a Jewish-Christian origin. If I am not mistaken, the late Rettig has brought forward these questions in the "*Studien und Kritiken*." Perhaps intercourse with that ancient church will open to us some sources of information for answering them.

arrival he found a Christian society already formed, which he built up in the faith.

Though the Christians of Jewish descent, who were driven by persecution from Jerusalem, were by that event induced to spread the gospel in Syria and the neighbouring districts, yet their labours were confined to Jews. On the other hand, the Hellenists, such as Philip and others, who originally came from Cyprus and Cyrene, made their way among the Gentiles¹ also, to whom they were allied in language and education, which was not the case with the Jews. They presented them with the gospel independent of the Mosaic law, without attempting to make them Jews before they became Christians. Thus the principles held by the enlightened Stephen, the truths for which, in part, he had suffered martyrdom, were by them first brought into practice and realized. And if in this way, independently of the exertions of the apostles in Judea, and the development of Christianity in a Jewish form, churches had been raised of purely Hellenistic materials among the heathen, free altogether from Judaism, and if Paul had then appeared to confirm and extend this mode of operation, one consequence might have been, that the older apostles would have maintained with greater stiffness their former standing-point, in opposition to this freer direction of Christianity, and thus, by the overweight of human peculiarities in the first publishers of the gospel, a violent and irreconcilable opposition might have divided the church into two hostile parties. It could not have happened otherwise if the germinating differences, left altogether to themselves, as in later times, had been so developed as to exclude all hopes of a reconciliation; and the idea of an universal church, overcoming by its higher unity all human differences, could never have been realized. But this disturbing influence, with which the self-seeking and one-sided bias of human nature threatened from the beginning to destroy the unity of the divine work, was counteracted by the still mightier influence of the Holy Spirit, who never allows human differences to develop themselves to such an extreme, but is able to maintain unity in manifoldness. We may distinctly recognise the attractive divine power which

¹ In Acts xi. 20, the common reading ἐλληνιστὰς is evidently to be rejected, as formed from a false gloss, and the reading which refers to the Gentiles (ἐλλήνας) must be substituted as undoubtedly correct.

gives scope to the free agency of man, but knows exactly when it is needful, for the success of the divine work, to impart its immediate illumination, if we observe that at the precise moment when the apostles needed a wider development of their Christian knowledge for the exercise of their calling, and their former contracted views would have been highly injurious, what had been hitherto wanting was imparted to them, by a memorable coincidence of an internal revelation with a train of outward circumstances. The apostle Peter was the chosen instrument on this occasion.

Peter made a visitation from Jerusalem to the churches founded in Judea, Samaria, and towards the west near the Mediterranean. The cures effected by him in Christ's name in the large town of Lydda,¹ and in the city of Joppa (Jaffa), a few miles distant, drew upon him the universal attention of that very populous and extensive district on the coast of the Mediterranean, (the plain of Saron.) Many were converted by him to Christianity, and the city of Joppa became the central point of his labours. As the publication of his new doctrine made such an impression in these parts, information respecting it would easily spread to Cæsarea Stratonis, a town on the sea-coast about eight miles distant. In the Roman cohort which formed the garrison of this place, was a centurion, Cornelius² by name, a Gentile who, dissatisfied with

¹ According to Josephus (Antiq. xx. 6, § 2), a town as large as a city, in later times a considerable city under the name of Diospolis.

² We must here take notice of what Gfrörer alleges against the historical truth of this narrative. He maintains, "that the principle, that the heathens were to be incorporated with the Christian church by baptism, without the observance of the Mosaic law, was first expressed by Paul, and that Peter was brought to acknowledge it by his influence. The conduct of Peter at Antioch, as it is described in the 2d chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians, is inexplicable, if he attained his knowledge on this subject, in an independent manner, by a divine revelation. If, on the contrary, it was only impressed upon him from without, by the preponderating influence of Paul, it is then easy to account for his again wavering under the opposite influences of the adherents of James." But whoever understands the relation of the divine and the human to one another, in the development of the religious life, cannot be surprised, if in the soul of a man, who in general held a truth with divine confidence and clearness, the apprehension of it should, in an unfavourable moment, undergo a transient obscuration, by the influence of foreign elements, which would afterwards be removed by the return of divine light. But it is by no means evident, that Peter at that time

the old popular religion, and seeking after one that would tranquillize his mind, was led by acquaintance with Judaism to the foundation of a living faith in the one God. Having with his whole family professed the worship of Jehovah, he testified by his benefactions the sympathy he felt with his fellow-worshippers of the Jewish nation, and observed the hours of prayer customary to the Jews; so that there is scarcely any room to doubt that he belonged to the class of Proselytes of the Gate. Nor can we infer the contrary from

held an erroneous conviction. It was only the violence of a sudden impression, which, through the peculiarity of his natural temperament, had too much power over Peter, and made him practically faithless to those principles which he had by no means abandoned from deliberate reflection. Paul even reproached him with thus acting in contradiction to his principles, that he who was living as a Gentile (*ἔθνικῶς ζῆς*), now practically laid an injunction on the Gentile Christians, that they must submit to the Mosaic law. Certainly, a great change must have passed on Peter, if he had been brought so to act, that Paul could say to him that he himself had been living as a Gentile. But if this was not connected with some previous preparation in the peculiar religious development of Peter, it would be difficult to attribute it solely to Paul's influence. Paul nowhere asserts that Peter was first led by him to adopt these views: on the contrary, he speaks of a revelation made by the Divine Spirit on this point to the apostles and prophets. Eph. iii. 5. If we look at the question in a purely psychological point of view, we may indeed presume, that Peter could not have arrived at a conviction of Christian truth on this point, without a severe mental struggle; and in this struggle of the divine and the human in his soul, that ecstatic vision would find its natural point of connexion, and occur at a critical juncture, to accomplish the victory of Christian truth, over the reaction of his Jewish mode of thinking. Nor can I with Gfrörer perceive in Acts xi. 3 the traces of a more correct account bearing evidence against the narrative. That Peter made no scruple of incorporating Gentiles by baptism with the Christian church, might unquestionably be inferred, if he shunned not to eat and drink with them. Still, we might with equal confidence infer, that a Jewish teacher, who had no scruple to administer baptism to Gentiles, might not come to the conclusion to consider them of equal rank in the Christian theocracy, and admit them to every kind of intercourse. But though Peter afterwards reckoned the publication of the gospel among the heathen as the special calling of Paul, and the publication of it among native Jews as his own, it is by no means contradictory, that he, when a special demand was made upon him, should exercise his ministry among the Gentiles; just as Paul, although the apostle of the Gentiles, gladly embraced the opportunity, when he could find an entrance among the Jews. But in Acts xi. 9 a different spirit speaks from that of the Petrine party, from whom, according to Gfrörer, this narrative, and in general the first part of the Acts, was derived.

the circumstance that Peter and the stricter Jewish Christians looked on Cornelius as an unclean person, and in many respects the same as a heathen. The Proselytes of the Gate were certainly permitted to attend the synagogue worship, which was a means of gradually bringing them to a full reception of Judaism. Yet the Jews who adopted the stricter maxims of the Pharisees, placed all the uncircumcised in the class of the unclean, and avoided living and eating with such persons as defiling. Unless we suppose this to have been the case, what afterwards occurred in reference to the stricter pharisaical-minded Jewish Christians, and the Gentile Christians who had been partly Proselytes of the Gate, would appear altogether enigmatical.

As to the remarkable manner in which this devout truth-seeking man (in whose heart God's Spirit had awakened so lively a sense of his spiritual necessities) was led to mental peace, in order to have a clear conception of the whole proceeding, we must bear in mind that the Acts of the Apostles is not intended to develop all the circumstances which belong to the representation of the exact historical connexion of events ; and that in reference to the manner in which Cornelius was prompted to seek out Peter, his own narrative is the only immediate source of information. But we are not justified to assume that Cornelius, who certainly could best testify of the facts relating to his own state of mind, of what he had himself experienced, was equally capable of clearly distinguishing the objective, the external matter-of-fact from the subjective of his own mental state, in what presented itself to him as an object of his own experience and perception. It was natural also for him not to think of tracing out the connexion of the higher revelations made to him, with the preparative natural circumstances ; but that the divine in the affair which wholly occupied his thoughts should remain alone in his remembrance, and be brought forward in his narrative, while the preparatives in the natural connexion of causes and effects retired into the back-ground. We are also permitted and justified to supply many circumstances, which, though not expressly mentioned, are yet to be supposed ; not in order to obscure what was divine in the event, but to glorify the manifold wisdom of God as shown in the way men are led to a participation of redemption, in the connexion of the divine

and the natural, and in the harmony that subsists between nature and grace. Eph. iii. 10.

Cornelius had devoted himself for some days to fasting and prayer, which were frequently used conjointly by the Jews and first Christians—the former as the means of making the soul more capable (by detaching it from sense) for undisturbed converse with divine things. This they were wont to do when, in an emergency from inward or outward distress, they sought relief and illumination from God. We may, therefore, presume that something similar was the case with Cornelius; and naturally ask, What it was that so troubled him? From the whole narrative we see that his ardent longing was for religious truth that would bring peace and repose to his heart. Hence it is most probable, that on that account he sought illumination from God by fervent prayer. And what occasioned his seeking it precisely at this time? From the words of the angel to Cornelius, it is by no means certain that the apostle Peter was wholly unknown to him. Peter himself, in his discourse before the family of Cornelius, Acts x. 37, appears to have presumed that he had already heard of the doctrine of Christ. It is also probable, that a matter which had already excited such great attention in this district, and which was so closely related to his religious wants, had not escaped his notice. He had probably heard very various opinions respecting Christianity; from many zealous Jews judgments altogether condemnatory; from others, sentiments which led him to expect that in the new doctrine he would at last find what he had been so long seeking: thus a conflict would naturally arise in his mind which would impel him to seek illumination from God on a question that so anxiously occupied his thoughts.

It was the fourth day¹ since Cornelius had been in this state

¹ It will be proper here to give the right interpretation of Acts x. 30. Many have interpreted the words as equivalent to—"Four days ago I fasted to this time,"—namely, the ninth hour when he was speaking, and then only one fast-day was kept by Cornelius, in the ninth hour of which this happened. This agrees perfectly with the reckoning of the time. But the meaning of *ἀπὸ* favours our rendering the passage, "I fasted to the ninth hour of the fourth day," in which this happened. Kuinoel's objection to this interpretation is not pertinent; for, from the manner in which Cornelius expressed himself, it must be evident that the vision happened on the ninth hour of the fourth fast-day. Now, this passage can be understood to mean, either that Cornelius was wont to fast four days throughout to three o'clock, or that for four days he fasted entirely

of mind, when, about three in the afternoon, one of the customary Jewish hours of prayer, while he was calling on God with earnest supplication, he received by a voice from heaven an answer to his prayers. The appearance of the angel may be considered as an objective event. The soul belongs in its essence to a higher than the sensible and temporal order of things, and none but a contracted and arrogant reason can deny the possibility of a communication between the higher world and the soul which is allied to it by its very nature. The Holy Scriptures teach us, that such communications from a higher spiritual world to individuals used to occur in the history of mankind, until the central point of all communications from heaven to earth, the Divine Fountain of life itself, appeared among us, and thereby established for ever the communion between heaven and earth ; John i. 52. We need not suppose any sensible appearance, for we know not whether a higher spirit cannot communicate itself to men living in a world of sense, by an operation on the inward sense, so that this communication should appear under the form of a sensuous perception. Meanwhile, Cornelius himself is the only witness for the objective reality of the angelic appearance, and he can only be taken as a credible witness of what he *believed* that he had perceived. By the influence of the Divine Spirit, an elevation of mind might be naturally connected with his devotion, in which the internal communication from heaven might be represented to the higher self-consciousness under the form of a vision.¹ Although, in the words of the angel, "Thy prayers and alms are come up before God," &c., the expression is anthropopathic, and adapted to the then Jewish mode of expression, this relates only to the form of the expression. It is the divine in human form. It is marked throughout by the thought so worthy of God, that the striving of the devout anxiety of Cornelius, which was shown to the extent of his ability by prayer and works of love

to the ninth hour of the fourth day, when this happened. But fasts, according to the Jewish Christian mode of speaking, did not imply an entire abstinence from all nourishment. I cannot agree with Meyer's interpretation, as I understand it, that Peter meant that he had fasted four days, and on the fourth day, reckoning backwards, that is, the day on which the fast began, about three o'clock, this event happened.

¹ The word *ὄραμα* (Acts x. 3) cannot here be decisive, since it may be used in speaking of an ecstatic vision or of a vision as an objective fact.

towards the worshippers of Jehovah,—of this germ of goodness, the fostering fatherly love of God had not been unmindful,—that God had heard the prayer of his longing after heavenly truth, and had sent him, in the person of Peter, a teacher of this truth. From the whole form of this narrative, it may be inferred that Cornelius considered the pointing out of Peter's place of residence, not as something that came to his knowledge in a natural way, but by a supernatural communication. It is indeed possible that he had heard it mentioned by others casually in conversation, but, as he had not thought further about it, it had completely escaped his recollection, and now in this elevated state of mind what had been forgotten was brought back again to his consciousness, without his thinking of the natural connexion. After all, this is only possible, and we are by no means justified in considering it necessary. The possibility therefore remains, that this information was communicated in a supernatural way.

No sooner had Cornelius obtained this important and joyful certainty, than he sent two of his slaves, and a soldier that waited on him, who also was a Proselyte of the Gate, to fetch the longed-for teacher of divine truth. But this divine leading would not have attained its end. Peter would not have complied with the request of Cornelius, if he had not been prepared exactly at the same time, by the inward enlightening of the Divine Spirit, to acknowledge and rightly interpret this outward call of God. In the conjunction of remarkable circumstances which it was necessary should meet so critically, in order to bring about this important result for the historical development of Christianity, the guiding wisdom of eternal Love undoubtedly manifests itself.

It was about noon, on the next day, when Peter withdrew to the roof of the house (built flat, in the oriental style) where he lodged at Joppa, in order to offer up his mid-day devotions. We can easily suppose, that the prayer of the man who had been so zealously occupied in publishing the gospel in that region, would especially relate to this great object, the extension of the kingdom of Christ. He might have heard frequent reports that here and there heathens had shown themselves susceptible of the gospel, when proclaimed to them by the scattered Christian Hellenists; he might have called to mind many intimations in the discourses of Christ ;

new views respecting the spread of the gospel might have opened to his mind ; but he ventured not to surrender himself to these impressions, he was as yet too much fettered by the power of Jewish prejudices, and hence, probably, a conflict was raised in his mind. While thus occupied in prayer, the demands of animal nature pressed upon him. He arose for the noon-tide meal, which must have been just ready. In the mean time, the meditations which had occupied him in prayer, abstracted him from sensible objects. Two tendencies of his nature came into collision. The higher, the power of the divine, had the mastery over his spirit, and the power of sensuous wants over his lower nature. Thus, it came to pass, that the divine and the natural were mingled together,¹ not so as to obscure the divine ; but the divine availed itself of the reflection of the natural as an image, a symbolic vehicle for the truth about to be revealed to Peter. The divine light that was breaking through the atmosphere of traditionary representations, and making its way to his spirit, revealed itself in the mirror of sensible images which proceeded from the existing state of his bodily frame. Absorbed in divine meditations, and forgetting himself in the Divine, Peter saw heaven open, and from thence a vessel, “as it had been a great sheet knit at four corners,”² corresponding to the four quarters of the heavens, was let down to the earth. In this vessel he saw birds, four-footed beasts, and edible creeping things of various kinds, and a voice from heaven called upon

¹ What Plutarch says of such an appearance of the higher life is remarkable : *ὡς οἱ δῖνοι τῶν ἅμα κύκλῳ καταφερομένων σωμάτων οὐκ ἐπικρατοῦσι βεβαίως, ἀλλὰ κύκλῳ μὲν ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης φερομένων, κάτω δὲ φύσει ῥεπόντων, γίνεται τις ἐξ ἀμφοῖν παραχώδης καὶ παράφορος ἐλιγμὸς, οὕτως ὁ καλούμενος ἐνθουσιασμὸς, ἔοικε μίξις εἶναι κινήσεων δυοῖν, τὴν μὲν ὡς πέπονθε τῆς ψυχῆς ἅμα τὴν δὲ ὡς πέφυκε κινουμένης.*—De Pyth. Orac. c. 21.

² If the words *δεδεμένον καὶ* (Acts x. 11) are genuine, yet, on comparing them with xi. 5, we must, with Meyer, interpret them, not, “bound together at the four corners,” but, “bound to four corners.” But it is a question, whether these words, which are wanting in the Cod. Alex. *ρ. ε.* and in the Vulgate, are not to be considered as a gloss, and left out, as in Lachman’s edition, and then the clause will be equivalent to “letting itself down at four corners from heaven,” as the Vulgate translates it, “*quatuor initiis submitti de cœlo.*” At all events, these four corners are not unimportant. As they corresponded to the four quarters of the heavens, they convey an intimation that men from the north and south, the east and the west, would appear as clean before God, and be called to a participation of the kingdom of God.

him to slay one or other of these creatures, and to prepare them for food. But against this requirement his Jewish notions revolted, accustomed as he was to distinguish between clean and unclean meats. He now heard a voice from heaven which refuted his scruples with these very significant words "What God hath cleansed, that call not thou common." It is clear, that in the explanation of these pregnant words many circumstances conspired. First, in their application to the objects here sensibly represented. "Thou must not by human perversity make a distinction of clean and unclean between creatures, all of which God has declared to be clean, by letting them down to thee from heaven." This letting down from heaven is partly a symbol, that all are alike clean as being the creatures of God,—partly, that by the new revelation, the new creation from heaven presents all as pure. Then the higher application of these words intended by the Spirit of God, is in reference to the relation of man to God, intimating that every distinction of clean and unclean would be taken away from among men; that all men as the creatures of God would be considered as alike clean, and again become so as at their original creation, by the redemption that related to all.

After Peter had again expressed his scruples, this voice was repeated a third time, and he saw the vessel taken up again to heaven. He now returned from the state of ecstatic vision, to that of ordinary consciousness. While he was endeavouring to trace the connexion between the vision and the subject of his late meditations, the event that now occurred taught him what the Spirit of God intended by that vision. Voices of strangers in the court of the house, by whom his own name was repeated, excited his attention. They were the three messengers of Cornelius who were inquiring for him. They had left Cæsarea the day before at three o'clock, and arrived at Joppa that very day about noon. While Peter was observing the men, who by their appearance were evidently not Jews, the Spirit of God imparted to him a knowledge of the connexion between the symbolic vision and the errand of these persons. A voice within said, God has sent these men to seek thee out, that thou mayest preach the gospel to the heathen. Go confidently with them; without dreading intercourse with the Gentiles as unclean, for thou hast been taught

by a voice from heaven, that they must not dare to consider those unclean whom God himself has pronounced clean, and whom he now sends to thee. On the next day, he departed with the messengers from Joppa, accompanied by six other Christians of Jewish descent, to whom he had told what had happened, and who awaited the result with eager expectation. As the distance for one day's journey was too great, they made two short days' journeys of it. On the day after their departure, (the fourth after the messengers had been despatched by Cornelius,) about three in the afternoon, they arrived at Caesarea. They found Cornelius assembled with his family and friends, whom he had informed of the expected arrival of the teacher sent to him from heaven: for he doubted not that he whom the voice of the angel had notified as the appointed divine teacher, would obey the divine call. After what had passed, Peter appeared to Cornelius as a super-earthly being. He fell reverentially before him as he entered the chamber: but Peter bade him stand up, and said, "Stand up, I myself also am a man." He narrated to the persons assembled, by what means he had been induced not to regard the common scruples of the Jews respecting intercourse with heathens, and expressed his desire to hear from Cornelius what had determined them to call him thither. Cornelius explained this, and ended with saying, "Now therefore are we all here present before God, to hear all things that are commanded thee of God." Peter was astonished at the pure disposition so susceptible of divine truth, which appeared in the words of Cornelius, and formed so striking a contrast to the obstinate unsusceptibility of many Jews; and perceived the hand of God in the way Cornelius had been led, since he had sought the truths of salvation with upright desire: he therefore said, "Now I perceive of a truth that God is no respecter of persons: but in every nation, he that feareth him and worketh righteousness is accepted of him." As to these memorable words of Peter, the sense cannot be, that in every nation, every one who only rightly employs his own moral power, will obtain salvation: for had Peter meant this, he would, in what he added, announcing Jesus as him by whom alone men could obtain forgiveness of sin and salvation, have contradicted himself. On that supposition, he ought rather to have told Cornelius, that he had only to

remain in his present disposition, that was enough, and he needed no new doctrine of salvation. But, on the other hand, it is impossible, according to the connexion, to understand by "every one that feareth God and worketh righteousness," those who had attained true piety through Christianity, and to make the words mean no more than this—that Christians of all nations are acceptable to God: for the words plainly import that Cornelius, on account of his upright pious striving, was deemed worthy of having his prayers heard, and being led to faith in the Redeemer. Nor can these words relate only to such who already believed in the revelation of God in the Old Testament, and according to its guidance, honoured God, and expected the Messiah. But evidently Peter spoke in opposition to the Jewish nationalism—God judgeth men not according to their descent or non-descent from the theocratic nation, but according to their disposition. All who, like Cornelius, honour God uprightly according to the measure of the gift entrusted to them, are acceptable to him, and he prepares by his grace a way for them, by which they are led to faith in Him, who alone can bestow salvation. This is what Peter meant to announce to them.¹

It was natural that, since the minds of these persons were so much more prepared than others for the appropriation of saving truth, and for living faith by their inward want and earnest longing, that the word would make a much quicker and more powerful impression on them. While Peter was speaking to them, they were impelled to express their feelings in inspired praises of that God, who in so wonderful a manner

¹ Cornelius belonged to that class of persons who are pointed out in John iii. 21. We are by no means authorized to maintain that Peter, from the general position laid down by him, intended to draw the inference, that God would certainly lead to salvation those among all nations, to whom the marks belonged which he here specified, even if they did not during their earthly life obtain a participation in redemption. He expressed that truth, which at the moment manifested itself to him in a consciousness enlightened by the Holy Spirit, without reflecting on all the consequences deducible from it. We must ever carefully distinguish between what enlightened men consciously intend to say, according to historical conditions, and in relation to interests immediately affected by existing circumstances,—and what forms the contents of eternal truth, to be developed with all the consequences involved. To develop the first is the province of exegesis and historical apprehension; the second, that of Christian doctrine and morals.

had led them to salvation. One inspiration seized all, and with amazement the Jewish Christians present beheld their prejudices against the Gentiles contradicted by the fact. What an impression must it have made upon them, when they heard the Gentile who had been considered by them as unclean, testify with such inspiration of Jehovah and the Messiah! And now Peter could appeal to this transaction, in order to nullify all the scruples of the Jews, respecting the baptism of such uncircumcised persons, and ask, "Who can forbid water that these should be baptized, who have already received the baptism of the Spirit like ourselves?" And when he returned to Jerusalem, and the manner in which he had held intercourse with the Gentiles had raised a stumbling-block among the strict pharisaical believers, he was able to silence them by a similar appeal. "Forasmuch then," said he, "as God gave them the like gift as he did unto us, who believed on the Lord Jesus Christ; what was I, that I could withstand God?" Acts xi. 17.

BOOK III.

THE SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY AND FOUNDING OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AMONG THE GENTILES BY THE INSTRUMENTALITY OF THE APOSTLE PAUL.

CHAPTER I.

PAUL'S PREPARATION AND CALL TO BE THE APOSTLE OF THE GENTILES.

IN this manner, Christianity, independently of Judaism, began to be propagated among the Gentiles ; the appointment of the gospel as a distinct means of forming all nations for the kingdom of God, was now acknowledged by the apostles ; and consequently, on *their* part, no opposition could be made to employing it for this purpose. While, by the arrangements of the Divine wisdom, the principal obstacle to the conversion of the heathen was taken out of the way, and the first impulse was given to that work ; by the same wisdom, that great champion of the faith who was to carry it on, and lay the foundation for the salvation of the heathen through all ages, was called forth, to take the position assigned him in the development of the kingdom of God. This was no other than the apostle Paul ; a man distinguished, not only for the wide extent of his apostolic labours, but for his development of the fundamental truths of the gospel in their living organic connexion, and their formation into a compact system. The essence of the gospel in relation to human nature, on one side especially, the relation namely to its need of redemption, was **set** by him in the clearest light ; so that when the sense of that need has been long repressed or perverted, and a **revival** of Christian consciousness has followed a state of

spiritual death, the newly awakened Christian life, whether in the church at large, or in individuals, has always drawn its nourishment from *his* writings. As he has presented Christianity under this aspect especially, and has so impressively shown the immediate relation of religious knowledge and experience to the Lord Jesus, in opposition to all dependence on any human mediation whatever, thus drawing the line of demarcation most clearly between the Christian and Jewish standing-point ;—he may be considered as the representative among the apostles of the Protestant principle. And history, though it furnishes only a few hints respecting the early life of Paul before his call to the apostleship, has recorded enough to make it evident, that by the whole course of his previous development, he was formed for what he was to become, and for what he was to effect.

Saul, or Paul (the former the original Hebrew, the latter the Hellenistic form of his name),¹ was a native of the city of Tarsus in Cilicia. This we learn from his own expressions

¹ The latter was his usual appellation, from the time of his being devoted entirely to the conversion of the heathen ; Acts xiii. 9. Although the ancient supposition, that he changed his own name for that of his convert Sergius Paulus, has been recently advocated by Meyer and Olshausen, I cannot approve of it. I cannot imagine that the conversion of a proconsul would be thought so much more of by him than the conversion of any other man (and he was far from being his first convert), as to induce him to assume his name. It is more agreeable to the usage of ancient times, for the scholar to be named after his teacher, (as Cyprian after Cæcilius, Eusebius after Pamphilus,) rather than for the teacher to be named after the scholar ; for no one could think of finding a parallel in the instance of Scipio Africanus. And had this really been the reason why Paul assumed the name, we might have expected, as it was closely connected with the whole narrative, that Luke would have expressly assigned it. And Fritzsche is correct in saying (see his Commentary on the Romans, Proleg. p. 11), that, in this case, not Acts xiii. 9, but xiii. 13, would have been a natural place for mentioning it. Still I cannot, with Fritzsche, think it probable, that Luke was accidentally led, by the mention of Sergius Paulus, to remark that Paul also bore the same name. The most natural way of viewing the matter seems to be this ; Luke had hitherto designated him by the name which he found in the memoirs lying before him on the early history of Christianity. But he was now induced to distinguish him by the name which he found in the memoirs of his labours among the heathen, and by which he had personally known him during that later period ; and, therefore, took the opportunity of remarking, that this Paul was no other than the individual whom he had hitherto called Saul.

in Acts xxi. 39, xxii. 3, and the contradictory tradition reported by Jerome, that he was born in the small town of Gischala, in Galilee, cannot appear credible, though it is not improbable that his parents once resided there,¹ which may have given rise to the report. As we do not know how long he remained under the paternal roof, it is impossible to determine what influence his education in the metropolis of Cilicia (which as a seat of literature vied with Athens and Alexandria)² had on the formation of his character. Certainly, his early acquaintance with the language and national peculiarities of the Greeks was of some advantage in preparing him to be a teacher of Christianity among nations of Grecian origin. Yet the few passages from the Greek poets which we meet with in his discourse at Athens, and in his Epistles, do not prove that his education had made him familiar with Grecian literature : nor is it probable that such would be the

¹ If we were justified in understanding with Paulus (in his work on the Apostle Paul's Epistles to the Galatians and Romans, p. 323) the word *ἑβραῖος*, Phil. iii. 5, 2 Cor. xi. 22, as used in contradistinction to *ἑλληνιστής*, it would serve to confirm this tradition, since it would imply that Paul could boast of a descent from a Palestinian-Jewish and not Hellenistic family. But since Paul calls himself *ἑβραῖος*, though he was certainly by birth a Hellenist, it is evident that the word cannot be used in so restricted a sense; and in the second passage quoted above, where it is equivalent to an Israelite, a descendant of Abraham, it plainly has a wider meaning; see Bleek's admirable Introduction to the Epistle to the Hebrews, p. 32. This tradition too, reported by Jerome, is, as Fritzsche justly remarks, very suspicious, not only on account of the gross anachronism, which makes the taking of Gischala by the Romans the cause of Paul's removal thence with his parents,—since this event happened much later in the Jewish war, but also because Jerome, in his Commentary on the Epistle to Philemon (verse 23), makes use of this tradition to explain why Paul, though a citizen of Tarsus, calls himself, 2 Cor. xi. 22, Philip. iii. 5, "*Hebræus ex Hebræis*, et cætera quæ illum Judæum magis indicant quam Tarsensem," which yet, as we have remarked above, proceeds only from a misunderstanding of the epithet which Paul applies to himself. Jerome must have, therefore, taken up this false account ("talem fabulam accepimus," are his own words), without proof, in a very thoughtless manner.

² Strabo, who wrote in the time of Augustus, places Tarsus in this respect above these two cities: *τοσαύτη τοῖς ἐνθάδε ἀνθρώποις σπουδῇ πρὸς τε φιλοσοφίαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἐγκύκλιον ἅπασαν παιδείαν γέγονεν, ὥσθ' ὑπερβέβληνται καὶ Ἀθήνας καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείαν καὶ εἴ τινα ἄλλον τόπον δυνατόν εἰπεῖν ἐν ᾧ σχολαὶ καὶ διατριβαὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων γεγόνουσιν.* Geogr. i. 14, c. 5.

case. As his parents designed him to be a teacher of the law, or Jewish theologian, his studies must have been confined in his early years to the Old Testament, and about the age of twelve or thirteen, he must have entered the school of Gamaliel.¹ It is possible, though, considering Paul's pharisaic zeal, not probable, that the more liberal views of his tolerant-minded teacher Gamaliel might induce him to turn his attention to Grecian literature. A man of his mental energy, whose zeal overcame all difficulties in his career, and whose love prompted him to make himself familiar with all the mental habitudes of the men among whom he laboured, that he might sympathise more completely with their wants and infirmities, might be induced, while among people of Grecian culture, to acquire some knowledge of their principal writers. But in the style of his representations, the Jewish element evidently predominates. His peculiar mode of argumentation was not formed in the Grecian, but in the Jewish school. The name Saul, שָׁאוּל,² the desired one, the one prayed for, perhaps indicates, that he was the first-born of his parents.³ granted in answer to their earnest prayers: and hence it may be inferred, that he was devoted by his father, a Pharisee, to the service of religion, and sent in early youth to Jerusalem, that he might be trained to become a learned expounder of the law and of tradition; not to add, that it was usual for the youth of Tarsus⁴ to complete their education at some foreign school. Most advantageously for him, he acquired in the pharisaic schools at Jerusalem that systematic form of intellect, which afterwards rendered him such good service in developing the contents of the Christian doctrine; so that, like Luther, he became thoroughly conversant with the theological system, which afterwards, by the power of the gospel, he uprooted and destroyed. A youth so ardent and energetic as Paul, would throw his whole soul into whatever he undertook; his natural temperament would dispose him to an overflowing impetuous zeal, and for such a propensity Pharisaism supplied abundant

¹ See Tholuck's admirable remarks in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1835, 2d part, p. 366.

² We cannot attach much importance to so uncertain an inference.

³ Like the names Theodorus, Theodoret, common among Christians in the first century.

⁴ See Strabo.

alment. We may also infer from his peculiar disposition, as well as from various hints he gives of himself, that in legal piety, according to the notions of the strictest Pharisaism, he strove to go beyond all his companions. But in proportion to the earnestness of his striving after holiness—the more he combated the refractory impulses of an ardent and powerful nature, which refused to be held in by the reins of the law—so much more ample were his opportunities for understanding from his own experience the woful discord in human nature which arises when the moral consciousness asserts its claims as a controlling law, while the man feels himself constantly carried away, in defiance of his better longing and willing, by the force of ungodly inclination. Paul could not have depicted this condition so strikingly and to the life, in the seventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, if he had not gained the knowledge of it from personal experience. It was advantageous for him that he passed over to Christianity from a position where, by various artificial restraints and prohibitions, he had attempted to guard against the incursions of unlawful desires and passions, and to compel himself to goodness;¹ for thus he was enabled to testify from his own experience, (in which he appears as the representative of all men of deep moral feeling,) how deeply the sense of the need of redemption is grounded in the moral constitution of man; and thus likewise from personal experience, he could describe the relation of that inward freedom which results from faith in redemption, to the servitude of the legal standing-point. In his conflict with himself while a Pharisee, Paul's experiences resemble Luther's in the cloisters of Erfurt: though in the Pharisaic dialectics and exposition of the law, he was a zealous and faithful disciple of Gamaliel, we cannot from this conclude that he imbibed that spirit of moderation for which his master was so distinguished, and which he showed in his judgment of the new sect at the first, before it came into direct conflict with the theology of his party. For the scholar, especially a scholar of so energetic and marked a character, would imbibe the mental in-

¹ As, for example, from the standing-point of Pharisaism, it has been said, "Instead of leaving every thing to the free movements of the disposition, a man should force himself to do this or that good by a direct vow. Vows are the enclosures of holiness." נְזִירִים קִיִּי לְפָרִישָׁה. See Pirke Avoth. § 13.

fluences of his teacher, only so far as they accorded with his own peculiarities. His unyielding disposition, the fire of his nature, and the fire of his youth, made him a vehement persecuting zealot against all who opposed the system that was sacred in his eyes. Accordingly, no sooner did the new doctrine in the hands of Stephen assume a hostile aspect¹ against the Pharisaic theo-

¹ The question has been raised, whether Paul saw and heard Jesus during his earthly life! We have not the data for answering the question. In his Epistles, we find nothing conclusive either one way or the other. Olshausen thinks that it may be inferred from 2 Cor. v. 16, that Paul really knew Jesus during his earthly life, *κατὰ σάρκα*. Paul, in that passage, he understands as saying, "But if I knew Christ, as indeed I did know him, according to the flesh, in his bodily earthly appearance, yet now I know him so no more." Against this interpretation I will not object with Baur, in his Essay "On the Party of Christ in the Corinthian Church," in the Tübingen *Zeitschrift für Theologie*, 1831, part iv. p. 35, that he could not mean this, because it would have been undervaluing Christ in his state of humiliation, which would be in contradiction to those passages in which he attributes to that state the highest abiding importance, and says he is determined to know nothing save Christ and him crucified. For though the remembrance of Christ in the form of a servant could never vanish from his mind, though he never could forget what he owed to Christ the Crucified, yet now he knew him no longer as living in human weakness, and subject to death, but as having risen victoriously from death, the glorified one, now living in divine power and majesty; 2 Cor. xiii. 4. The relation in which it would have been possible to stand to Christ while he lived in the form of a servant on earth, could no longer exist. No one could now stand nearer to him, simply for being a Jew; no one could hold converse with him in an outward manner, as a being present to the senses: henceforth it was only possible to enter into union with Christ as the glorified one, as he presented himself to the religious consciousness in a spiritual, internal manner, by believing on him as crucified for the salvation of mankind. In this respect, Paul might well say that *now* there could no longer be for him such "a knowledge of Christ after the flesh." And we grant that he might have said *hypothetically*, If I had known Christ heretofore after the flesh, had I stood in any such outward communion with him as manifest in the flesh, yet *now* such a communion would have lost all its importance for me (such a value as those Judaizers attribute to it who make it the sign of genuine apostleship); but now I know Christ after the spirit, like all those who enjoy spiritual communion with him. But Paul could only say this in a purely hypothetical form, supposing something to be which really was not: for allowing that he had seen and heard Jesus with his bodily senses, his opponents would have been far from attaching any importance to such seeing and hearing, as it could have been affirmed with equal truth of many Jews, who stood in an indifferent or even hostile position towards Christ. The reference in this passage can be only to such a "knowing of Christ after the flesh," as belonged to the other apo-

logy, than he became its most vehement persecutor. After the martyrdom of Stephen, when many adherents of the gospel sought for safety by flight, Paul felt himself called to counterwork them in the famed city of Damascus, where the new sect was gaining ground. And he hastened thither, after receiving full powers for committing all the Christians to prison from the Sanhedrim, who, as the highest ecclesiastical authority among the Jews, were allowed by the Romans to inflict all disciplinary punishment against the violators of the law.¹

As for the great mental change which Paul experienced in the course of this journey, undertaken for the extinction of the Christian faith, it is quite possible that this event may strike us as sudden and marvellous, only because the history records the mere fact, without the various preparatory and connecting circumstances which led to it; but, by making use of the hints which the narrative furnishes to fill up the outline, we may attempt to gain the explanation of the whole, on purely natural principles.

Paul—(it would be said by a person adopting this view of the event)—had received many impressions which disturbed the repose of his truth-loving soul; he had heard the temperate counsels of his revered instructor Gamaliel; he had listened to the address of Stephen, to whom he was allied in natural temperament, and had witnessed his martyrdom. But he was still too deeply imbued with the spirit of Phari-

stles, since only to this could any religious value be attached against which Paul might feel himself called to protest. For this reason I must agree with Baur, who understands *χριστός* here, not of the person of Jesus, but of the Messiah, a Messiah known after the flesh, as from the early Jewish standing-point. I also believe with Baur, that if Paul had intended a personal reference, he would have said *Ἰησοῦν χριστόν*, and I cannot admit the force of the objection which Olshausen makes to this interpretation, that it would require the article before *χριστόν*, for it means not *the* Messiah definitively, but generally *a* Messiah.

¹ If Damascus at that time still belonged to a Roman province, the Sanhedrim could exercise its authority there, in virtue of the right secured every where to the Jews to practise their worship in their own manner. If the city was brought under the government of the Arabian King Aretas, the Sanhedrim could still reckon on his support, in consequence of the connexion he had formed with the Jews; perhaps he himself had gone over to Judaism. The Jews in Damascus might also possess great influence by means of the women, who were almost all converts to Judaism. Josephus, *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 20, 2.

saism, to surrender himself to these impressions, so contrary to the prevailing bent of his mind. He forcibly repressed them ; he rejected the thoughts that involuntarily rose in his mind in favour of the new doctrine, as the suggestions of Satan, whom he regarded as the sole contriver of this rebellion against the authority of the ancient traditions, and accordingly set himself with so much the greater ardour against the new sect. Yet he could not succeed altogether in suppressing these rising thoughts, and in silencing the voice of conscience, which rebuked his fanaticism. A conflict arose in his soul. While in this state, an outward impression was added, which brought the internal process to maturity. Not far from Damascus he and his followers were overtaken by a violent storm ; the lightning struck Paul, and he fell senseless to the ground. He attributed this catastrophe to the avenging power of the Messiah, whom in the person of his disciples he was persecuting, and, confounding the objective and subjective, converted this internal impression into an outward appearance of Christ to him : blinded by the lightning, and stunned by the fall, he came to Damascus.—But admitting this explanation as correct, how are we to explain by natural causes the meeting of Paul with Ananias ? Even here we may supply many particulars which are not expressly mentioned in the narrative. Since Ananias was noted even among the Jews as a man of strict legal piety, it is not improbable that he and Paul were previously acquainted with one another at Jerusalem. At all events, Paul had heard of the extraordinary spiritual gifts said to be possessed by Ananias, and the thought naturally arose in his mind, that a man held in so much repute among the Christians, might be able to heal him and recover him from his present unfortunate condition ; and while occupied with this thought, his imagination formed it into a vision. On the other hand, we may suppose, that Ananias had heard something of the great change that had taken place in Paul ; and yet might not give full credence to the report, till a vision corresponding to Paul's, and explicable on similar psychological principles, had overcome his mistrust.

In reference to this explanation, we must certainly allow the possibility that a change like that which took place in Paul might have been prepared by impressions of the kind

mentioned ; but the narrative will not countenance either the necessity or probability of such a supposition. History furnishes us with numerous examples of the power of religious fanaticism over minds that in other respects have been susceptible of the true and the good, and yet, while under its influence, have used those very things to confirm them in their delusion which might seem fitted to rescue them from it. It is, therefore, quite consistent with the powerful character of Paul to believe that, in the martyrdom of Stephen, he saw only the power of the evil spirit over the mind of one who had been seduced from the pure faith of his fathers ; and that hence he felt a stronger impulse to counterwork the propagation of a doctrine which could involve in such ruin men distinguished by their disposition and their talents. Besides, if only the impression which a storm with its attendant circumstances made upon him, was the fact that formed the groundwork of that vision of Christ, it would ill agree with this, that Paul's followers believed that they perceived something similar to what befell him ; for this is only admissible, if we suppose them to have been like-minded with Paul, which could not be unless they were already Christians, or on the way to Christianity. But such persons would hardly attach themselves to a persecutor of Christians.¹

Such attempts at explaining the narrative are suspicious, because unusual natural appearances are made use of to bring

¹ The variations in the narrative of these events contained in Acts ix. xxii. and xxvi. prove nothing against the reality of the fact. Such unimportant differences might easily arise in the repetition of the narrative of an event so far removed from the circle of ordinary occurrences ; and these differences need not be attributed to alterations in the narrative by Paul himself, but may be supposed to originate in the incorrectness of others in repeating it. As for the rest, if we assume that his attendants received only a general impression of the phenomenon, not so definite as Paul's, for whom it was mainly intended ; that they saw a light, but no precise shape or figure ; that they heard a voice, without distinguishing or understanding the words ;—it is easy to perceive, that various representations would naturally be given of the event. As this phenomenon, from its very nature, cannot be judged of according to the laws of ordinary earthly communications and perceptions, the difference in the perceptions of Paul and his attendants argues nothing against its objective reality. We are too ignorant of the laws which regulate the communications between a higher spiritual world and men living in a world of the senses, to determine anything precisely on these points.

down what is extraordinary into the circle of common events. Instead, therefore, of following this explanation, which is attended with great difficulties—we might rather conceive the whole, independently of all outward phenomena, as an inward transaction in Paul's mind, a spiritual revelation of Christ to his higher self-consciousness ; and, in this light, we may view the experiences which he had in his conflicts with himself while a Pharisee, and the impression of the discourse and martyrdom of Stephen, as forming a preparation by which his heart was rendered capable of receiving these internal revelations of the Redeemer. The divine origin and the reality of the fact will not be in the slightest degree affected by this explanation ; for though we may conceive of outward supernatural appearances—still there would be nothing more than the means by which Paul would be prepared for that internal revelation of Christ, which formed the basis of his apostleship. The perceptions of the senses cannot have greater certainty and reality than the facts of a higher self-consciousness, whereby a man receives revelations of an order of things in which his true life has its root, far above the sensible world, which he experiences and apprehends spiritually. And that this was no self-illusion, capable of being psychologically explained,¹ that extraordinary change would testify which was

¹ Dr. Strauss says, in his "Leben Jesu," vol. ii. p. 656, "Neander merely ventures to maintain an internal operation of Christ on the mind of Paul, and only adds the supposition of an outward appearance, as if it were a favour for his readers to grant it ; and even the internal operation he makes superfluous, by particularising various influences which in a natural way might bring about such a revolution in such an individual's mind." But as to what concerns the latter, the conclusion from a possibility under certain presupposed circumstances, to that which actually took place, in the absence of any historical proof of its taking place, is by no means justifiable, unless a person argues on an assumption which I do not admit, namely, that every thing must proceed according to the laws of natural psychological development, and that a supernatural operation cannot take place. But according to a mode of viewing this subject, which is as different from the caricature of supernaturalism, drawn by Dr. Strauss and others, (let my readers compare the words of truth in Twisten's Preface to the second volume of his "Dogmatik,") as from the views of Dr. Strauss himself on the relation of God to the world—a supernatural operation by no means excludes a preparation in the natural development of man, nor does the latter make the former superfluous. With respect to the other point, the outward appearance of Christ, I do not indeed hold this as absolutely

the result in Paul of this internal transaction—this the whole course of his apostolic ministry testifies, which may be traced to his inward experience, as the effect to its cause. But yet the manner in which his attendants were affected by what happened on this occasion contradicts the supposition of a merely internal transaction, even if we could resolve on ascribing the state in which Paul came to Damascus to the power of an internal impression.¹

It will be of great service to compare with the narrative in the Acts the expressions used by Paul in his Epistles in reference to this event, so important to him as the commencement of a new era in his life. As he often refers to it in opposition to his Jewish adversaries, who were unwilling to acknowledge him as an apostle; so he had a confident persuasion that the apostolic commission was given him by Christ in the same manner as to the other apostles; this is expressed most fully and strongly in Gal. i. 1. Yet here we need not suppose an outward event to be meant, but may rather understand it of an internal transaction such as we have described. In the sixteenth verse, Paul evidently speaks of an internal communication of Christ, of an inward revelation of him to his self-consciousness,² whereby, independently requisite for explaining the great revolution in the spiritual life of Paul, but the circumstances mentioned in the text, compared with the expressions of Paul himself, compel me to admit its reality, and I recognise the importance of it for Paul, in order that, like the other apostles, he might be able to testify of Christ as risen from the dead.

¹ The notion, that the vision which immediately preceded Paul's conversion is the one described by himself in 2 Cor. xii. 2, which in modern times has been revived by several distinguished theologians, has every thing against it: in the latter, Paul describes his elevation in spirit to a higher region of the spiritual world; in the vision which occasioned his conversion, there was a revelation of Christ coming down to him while consciously living on the earth. The immediate impression of the first was depressing and humiliating; the second was connected with an extraordinary mental elevation, a tendency to pride and vain-glory. With the first his Christian consciousness began; the second marked one of the most exalted moments of his inward life, after he had long lived in communion with Christ; and by such a foretaste of heavenly existence, he was refreshed under his manifold conflicts, and animated to renew his earthly labours. The date of fourteen years mentioned here, is of no chronological use, further than to satisfy us, that the date of Paul's conversion must be false, according to which he must have written this exactly fourteen years later.

² It is most natural to understand the phrase *ἐν ἑμὸν* as denoting something internal.

of all human instruction, he was qualified to preach Christ. But something in addition to this is intended where Paul, in 1 Cor. ix. 1, appeals to his having seen Christ as a mark of his apostleship.¹ But this might refer to an ecstatic vision, similar to what Paul himself describes in 2 Cor. xii. 2. On the contrary, something different from this must be intended in the 15th chapter of 1st Corinthians, where he places the appearance of Christ to himself on an equality with all the other appearances of the risen Saviour. And this declaration

¹ It must be evident to every unprejudiced person, that this cannot refer to Paul's having seen Jesus during his earthly life, (though a possible occurrence,) for it would have added nothing to his apostolic authority; nor yet to the mere knowledge of the doctrine of Christ. Rückert, in his Com. on this passage, maintains that it refers rather to one of the appearances of Christ, which were granted to him in a state of ecstatic vision, Acts xviii. 9, xxii. 17, than to that which occasioned his conversion, especially since an appearance of Christ of this kind is not mentioned either in Acts ix. xxii. xxvi. nor in Gal. i. 12—26. On the other hand, the following considerations deserve attention. Since, as Rückert himself acknowledges, the reading in that passage is to be preferred, in which the words, "Am I not an apostle?" are immediately followed by, "Have I not seen Christ?" we may infer that Paul adduced his having seen Christ as a confirmation of his apostleship; as afterwards, for the same purpose, he adduces the success of his efforts in founding the Corinthian church. Without doubt, he urged this against his Judaizing opponents, who disputed his call to the apostleship on the ground, that he had not been appointed by Christ himself like the other apostles. In this connexion it is most natural to expect, that Paul would speak of that appearance of Christ which marked the commencement of his apostolic career, that real appearance of Christ which he classes with the other appearances of the risen Saviour, 1 Cor. xv. 8, and not a mere vision. Rückert indeed maintains, that Paul made no distinction between the two kinds of appearances, for "otherwise he would have attributed no value to visions, as mere figments of the imagination." But this conclusion is not correct; for we may suppose something between a real objective appearance, and a natural creation of the imagination formed in the usual psychological manner,—such an operation of the Divine Spirit on the higher self-consciousness, in virtue of which what is inwardly apprehended presents itself to the person so influenced under a sensible image, whereby the imagination is turned into an organ, for what is inwardly apprehended by the operation of the Divine Spirit. That such a communication of the Divine Spirit may be distinguished both from a real appearance to the senses, and from a mere result of the imagination, is evident from many passages of Holy Writ, as for example, Peter's vision, Acts x. 12. The passage Gal. i. 16, does not exclude an appearance of Christ, but it was foreign to the apostle's object to specify it. But the word *μηδένα* not *μηδέν*, Acts ix. 7, certainly implies, that Paul, in distinction from his attendants, had seen *a person*.

of Paul has additional weight, because, as is apparent from the passages before quoted in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, he could so accurately distinguish an ecstatic state from a state of ordinary self-consciousness. Hence we also see how important it was for him, as well as the other apostles, to be enabled to testify, on the evidence of their own senses, of that great fact, the foundation of Christian faith and Christian hope—the real resurrection of Christ and his glorified personal existence.

Lastly, we by no means suppose a magical influence on Paul, by which he was carried away, and converted against his will. According to the view we have taken of this event, we suppose an internal point of connexion, without which, no outward revelation or appearance could have become an inward one ; without which, any outward impression that could have been made, however powerful, would have been transient in its results. But in his case, the love for the true and the good discernible even through his errors, though repressed by the power of his passions and prejudices, was to be set free from its thralldom only by a mighty impression. Yet no external miracle whatever could have converted a Caiaphas into a preacher of the gospel.

It might be expected, that Paul could not at once, after such an impression, enter on a new course of action. Every thing which hitherto had been the motive and aim of his conduct, now seemed as nothing. Sorrow must have been the predominant feeling of his crushed spirit. He could not instantaneously recover from so overwhelming an impression, which gave a new direction to his whole being. He was reduced to a state of mental and bodily weakness, from which he could not restore himself. He passed three days without food. This was for him the point of transition from death to a new life ; and nothing can so vividly express his feelings at this awful crisis, as the exclamation which he himself, reverting to his earlier state, puts in the lips of the man who, with the deepest consciousness of inward slavery under the violated law, and with earnest aspirations after freedom, pours forth his whole heart in the words, "O wretched man that I am ! who shall deliver me ?"—Nor is it at all probable that, in this state, he would seek for social intercourse. Nothing could less agree with his feelings than intercourse with the Jews ;

nor could he easily prevail on himself to seek out the Christians, whom he had hitherto persecuted. To a man in this state of mind, nothing could be so welcome as solitude. Hence it is by no means probable, that information of the great change that had passed upon him would be conveyed by other persons to Ananias. It is worthy of notice, that, in order to attain a full consciousness of his new life, and to make the transition from this intermediate state of contrition, to a new life of active exertion in communion with Christ, he was brought into connexion with the existing Christian church, by the instrumentality of one of its members. In communion with other believers, he first obtained what he could not find in his solitude. When he prayed to Christ who had appeared to him, that he would help him in his distress, that he would enlighten both his bodily and mental eyes; it was promised to him in a vision, that a well-known enlightened man, belonging to the church at Damascus, whom he probably knew by name and sight, should be the instrument of his spiritual and bodily restoration. When Ananias, in obedience to a divine call, visited him, Paul recognised the person to whom the vision had referred him, and hence felt the fullest assurance, that in communion with him he should be made partaker of a new and higher principle of life. Ananias introduced Paul to the other Christians in the city; after he had been strengthened by spending several days in their society, he felt himself impelled to enter the synagogues, and testify in behalf of that cause, which heretofore he had fiercely persecuted.¹ Whether he considered it best, after bearing this first testimony among the Jews, to

¹ It is difficult to consider *ἡμέραι τινές* in Acts ix. 19, and *ἡμέραις ἱκαναῖς* in the 23d verse, as equivalent terms. Yet it cannot be proved from these words, that Luke by the latter meant to make a break in Paul's residence at Damascus, occasioned by a journey into Arabia, but the succession of events as narrated in the Acts leads to consider this as most natural. The *ἡμέραι τινές* merely expresses the few days which Paul, just after his baptism, spent in the fellowship of the Christians at Damascus. The following phrase, *καὶ εὐθέως*, intimates, that immediately after he had spent some days with the disciples he entered into the synagogues; and the *ἡμέραι ἱκαναί* denote the whole period of Paul's stay at Damascus. Within this whole period of *ἡμέραι ἱκαναί*, of which nothing more is told in the Acts, we must place Paul's journey into Arabia, of which we should not have known but for the mention of it in the Epistle to the Galatians.

allow its impression to work silently on their minds, without personally attempting to enforce it ; or whether the plots of the Jews induced him to quit the place, we are not certain ;¹ be this as it may, he visited the neighbouring parts of Arabia, where he found opportunities for publishing the gospel among the Jews, who were spread over the country. He then returned again to Damascus. Whether the Jews, whose anger he had already excited by his former preaching, as soon as they heard of his coming, endeavoured to lay hold of a person who was so capable of injuring Judaism ; or whether they were exasperated by his renewed addresses in their synagogues, he was obliged to consult his safety by flight, as his life was threatened by their machinations.—So far was this man, who shunned no danger in his subsequent career, though now in the first glow of conversion, a season when the mind is generally most prone to extravagance—so far was he from indulging in that enthusiastic ardour which seeks and craves for martyrdom!² He was let down by his friends in a basket, through the window of a house, built

¹ Schrader, in his *Chronological Remarks on the Life of Paul*, has lately maintained that the words of Paul in Gal. i. 16, must be thus explained by means of the antithesis ; he had not been instructed by men for his apostolic calling, but had retired to the neighbouring district of Arabia, in order to prepare himself in an independent manner, and in solitude. But had he meant to say this, he would scarcely have chosen the general designation *Ἀραβία*, but rather have substituted for it *ἐρημον Ἀραβίας*, or simply *ἐρημον*, by which he would have marked more distinctly the object of this *ἀπέρχεσθαι*. It is psychologically most probable that Paul, after Ananias had visited him in his solitude, and revived his spirit, would not go again into retirement, but rather would seek the communion of other believers, and, after he had been edified and strengthened by them, would feel himself impelled forthwith to bear his testimony before those who held his former faith. This view is also strongly confirmed by the passage in the Epistle to the Galatians, for the connected sense seems to be as follows : As soon as God revealed his Son to me, that I might publish him among the Gentiles, I published the gospel in an independent manner, according to this revelation. Paul expresses this sentiment both in a positive and negative form. I was not intrusted for my calling, by any human authority whatever, by none of the apostles at Jerusalem, but immediately travelled into Arabia, there to proclaim the gospel. Compare Auger's profound and acute inquiry, "*De Temporum in Actis Apostolorum Ratione*," Lipsiæ, 1833, p. 23.

² "The glorying in infirmities," (among which he reckons this flight,) *τὰ τῆς ἀσθενείας καυχᾶσθαι*, is one feature in his character which distinguished him from enthusiasts : 2 Cor. xi. 30.

against the wall of the city, that he might escape unnoticed by the Jews, who were lying in wait for him at the gates. After three years had thus expired from the time of his conversion,¹ he resolved, about the year 39,² once more to return to Jerusalem, that he might become personally acquainted

¹ Three years after his conversion, namely, on the supposition that the *terminus a quo* the years are reckoned in the passage of the Epistle to the Galatians, is the date of his conversion.

² This circumstance in Paul's life furnishes one of the few chronological marks for its history. When Paul fled from Damascus three years after his conversion, that city was under the government of King Aretas of Arabia Petraea, 2 Cor. xi. 32. But since Damascus belonged to a Roman Province, Aretas must have been in possession of this city under very peculiar circumstances. Süsskind in his essay in Bengel's *Archiv.* l. 2. p. 314; Wurm in his essay on the Chronology of Paul's life, in the *Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie*, 1833, 1st part, p. 27; and Auger, p. 161, agree in thinking, that we are not quite justified in admitting that Aretas was at that time in possession of Damascus, as it is a conclusion nowise favoured by other historical accounts; for if Damascus was then under the Roman government, the Ethnarch of Aretas might have ventured to place a watch before the gates of the city, or, through his influence with the Roman authorities, have obtained permission for the Jews to do this. Yet it is difficult to believe, that if Damascus belonged to a Roman province, the Arabian Ethnarch would venture to surround the city with a watch, in order to get the Roman citizen into his power; or that the Roman authorities would allow of his doing so, or at his request expose a Roman citizen to the wrath of the Jews. Although the history, in which there are besides so many breaks, does not inform us of such an occupancy of Damascus, yet the consideration of this passage favours this supposition. Now the circumstances by which Aretas might have gained possession of the city were probably these. The Emperor Tiberius, as the ally of King Herod Agrippa, whose army had been defeated by Aretas, commanded Vitellius, the governor of Syria, to get possession of him either dead or alive. But while Vitellius was preparing to execute these orders, and various circumstances delaying his entering on the campaign, news arrived of the Emperor's death, which took place in March of the year 37, and Vitellius was thus stopped in his military movements. Aretas might take advantage of this interval to gain possession of the city. But we must not suppose that the city thus snatched from the Romans remained long in his hands, and it is probable that, as in the second year of the reign of the Emperor Caligula, A.D. 38-39, the affairs of Arabia were settled, Damascus also was not left unnoticed. If we place the flight of Paul from Damascus in 39, then his conversion must have been in A.D. 36, since it must have occurred three years before, and we also fix the same date for Stephen's martyrdom. From the absence of chronological information respecting the events of those times, we cannot fix with certainty the date of Paul's conversion; yet the computation which places it in A.D. 36 has this in its favour, that it allows neither too long nor

with Peter, as the individual who at that time maintained the highest reputation in the new church, and exercised the greatest influence in all its concerns. But as he was known at Jerusalem only as the persecutor, every one avoided him, till Barnabas, a distinguished teacher of the church, who, as a Hellenist, felt less a stranger to him, and might formerly have had some connexion with him, introduced him to the rest. His Hellenistic origin occasioned his holding many conversations and disputations on Judaism and the Christian doctrine with the Hellenistic Jews.

It may be asked, whether Paul took the same ground in his controversies with his countrymen at this early period, as in later times ; and this is connected with the mode of the development of his Christian convictions and doctrinal views. When he first came to the knowledge of the gospel, did he recognise at the same time its independence of the Mosaic law ? To do this, must have been most difficult for one who had so lately renounced the principles of Pharisaism : for we generally find that others of this sect who embraced Christianity, attempted to combine their former tenets with those of the gospel. Ananias, the first instructor of the apostle, was universally revered on account of his legal piety, such an individual, therefore, must have been very far from wishing to effect a disruption of Christianity from the Mosaic ceremonial law. At the time of Paul's conversion, this was the tone of sentiment universally prevalent among Christians ; for, as we have remarked, it was only after the martyrdom of Stephen, and owing to the results of that event, that new light on this subject from various quarters gradually broke in upon them. But we are not justified in assuming, that the same causes led Paul to the views he adopted. We cannot attribute much efficacy to influences from without, by the communication of doctrines and views, in the case of a man so distinguished for his great independent peculiarity of character. We are compelled to believe him, when he testifies so undoubtingly, that he received the gospel, *in* the manner he was wont to publish it, not by human instruction, but only by a communication of the Spirit of Christ. Some exception,

short a time for the events which took place in the Christian church, from the period of Christ's Ascension, to the martyrdom of Stephen and the conversion of Paul.

however, must be made in reference to the historical records, containing the discourses and precepts of Christ; with these he became acquainted through the ordinary channel of human tradition, and we find him accordingly appealing on certain occasions to such traditions, or to words uttered by the Lord.¹

As Paul felt himself compelled to examine, independently of others, the depths of the truth made known by Christ, he must have thought it a matter of importance to obtain a collection of the sayings of Christ, on which all further developments of the new doctrine must depend, and from which they must proceed. We cannot suppose that he would satisfy himself with single expressions casually obtained from oral intercourse with the apostles, whom he met so seldom, and for so short a time. Besides, he says expressly in his Epistle to the Galatians, that these interviews with the other apostles were of no service towards his acquiring a deeper insight into Christian doctrines. We are led to the supposition, that he obtained written memoirs of the life of Christ, or at least, a written collection of the sayings of Christ, if such existed, or that he compiled one himself. But it is very probable that such a collection, or several such collections, and written memoirs of Christ's ministry, were in existence; for, however highly we may estimate the power of the living word in this youthful period of the church, we cannot allow ourselves to forget that we are not speaking of the age of rhapsodies, but of one in which—especially wherever Grecian cultivation had found its way—historical composition was much practised. Might we not expect, then, that some memorials would be speedily committed to writing of what moved their hearts, and occupied their thoughts so intensely; although a longer time

¹ 1 Cor. xi. 23. On this passage, Schulz justly remarks, that Paul uses ἀπὸ not παρὰ to signify that what he "received" was not *immediately* but *mediately* from the Lord. What has been said by Olshausen and Meyer (on different grounds) against this interpretation, has not induced me to give it up. The expression παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου is also by no means unimportant. It was not so much the apostle's design to mark the manner in which this tradition came to him, but only for what purpose it was given, to represent as certain that this was the form in which the Lord had instituted the Last Supper; hence also the repetition of the term κύριος is not improper. Had Paul been speaking of a special revelation, by which this information was imparted, he would scarcely have signified it by παρέλαβον, but rather by ἀπεκαλύφθη.

might elapse before any one resolved to attempt a delineation of the whole life of Christ? ¹ Many allusions to expressions of Christ in the Pauline Epistles, besides his direct quotations of Christ's words, point to such a collection of his discourses, of which the apostle availed himself, ² and probably Marcion, who

¹ Eusebius narrates (v. 10), probably in consequence of information derived from Pantænus, that the apostle Bartholomew had communicated to the so-called Indians to whom he published the gospel, a Hebrew original document of the Evangelical History drawn up by Matthew, which account we are plainly not justified to call in question. This original document may indeed be the same which Papias entitles (Eusebius, iii. 39) *σύνταξις τῶν λόγιων τοῦ κυρίου*. And I should by no means object to understanding this to be a collection of the discourses of the Lord—for it is in itself very probable that such a compilation would be early made, as a store of materials for the development of Christian doctrine—if what he had before said of Mark's writings did not intimate that he meant both the discourses and actions of Christ; for I cannot, with Schneckenburger, trace the distinction, that Mark had compiled a report of the discourses *and actions* of Christ, but Matthew only of his *discourses*. In this case, Papias would have laid the emphasis on *λόγια*, and have said *τῶν λόγιων τοῦ κυρίου σύνταξιν*; but now the emphasis rests on the word *σύνταξιν*, an orderly collection, not mere insulated fragments; (*note to 2d edition*). To this 3d edition, I must add, in limitation of what I have here said, and of what Dr. Lucke has said before me in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1833, p. 501, certainly the emphasis rests upon the word *σύνταξις*, as contrasted with a rhapsodical description; it may be intended that Papias wished to contrast the work of Mark as a rhapsodical collection of the actions and discourses of Christ, with the work of Matthew as an arranged collection of the sayings of the Lord alone. Lastly, he says this only in a secondary sense of Mark. The words peculiarly apply to Peter, from whose discourses Mark must have borrowed the materials and the form of his work. Of Peter, he says, *ὅς περὶ τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λόγιων*. Peter had composed his addresses according to the wants of his hearers at the time, and not with the intention of giving an orderly account of the discourses or sayings of Christ. For this reason, Mark, who drew all his information from these addresses, could compile nothing of that kind. The words of Papias are therefore rather favourable than unfavourable to the supposition, that the original work of Matthew was only a collection of the *sayings* of Christ, as Schleiermacher maintained. As to Bartholomew's taking such a document with him for his mission, something similar may have occurred with other preachers of the gospel, whether Paul obtained the same document or another. The Judaizing tendency of the document derived from Matthew, alleged by many, by no means prevents me from admitting this; it contains expressions which, by Ebionites cleaving to the letter, might be interpreted according to their mind; but in which Paul, who penetrated deeper into the spirit, would find an entirely different idea.—See *Das Leben Jesu*, pp. 9, 131, 140.

² *Das Leben Jesu*, pp. 157, 238, 241, 474.

zealous confessor ; that Paul who, as he describes it in the seventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, after the sense of slavery had been excited to the utmost intensity in his bosom, was at once transported into a state of freedom, by believing in the Redeemer. The bonds of Pharisaism were in his case loosened instantaneously ; in his mind opposition against Pharisaic Judaism took the place of opposition against the gospel, as he says of himself (Philip. iii. 8), that for Christ's sake he had suffered the loss of all those things which he once prized, and all that once appeared to him so splendid "he counted but as dung," that he might win Christ. Thus from the beginning, by the illumination of the Spirit alone, and according to the guidance of Christ's words, he had been taught, in all its freedom and depth, the genius of the gospel in relation to Judaism, without having his views modified by the influence of Peter,¹ and those Christians of Hellenistic descent, who had already preached the gospel among the Gentiles. It was in consequence of this, that Paul (since, like his precursor Stephen, he more freely developed evangelical truth under this aspect in disputations with

¹ That is, on the supposition that the conversion of Cornelius had already taken place, which, taking into account its connexion with other events, is most probable. The interest which the conversion of Cornelius and his family excited at Jerusalem, and the manner of Peter's reception there, it would not be easy to explain, if they had already been made acquainted with the effects of Christianity among the Gentiles at Antioch. On the contrary, it is by no means apparent from the mission of Barnabas to Antioch (Acts xi. 22), that they had still so decided a scruple against the reception of believing Gentiles into the Christian church. It would agree very well with the disposition they manifested on that occasion, if we suppose that, by the example of Cornelius and his family, and by the influence of Peter, they had been induced to give up their decided opposition. But they might wish to convince themselves by the investigations of an apostolic man, that every thing was right in this church, consisting for the most part of Gentile Christians. Even when they had adopted more liberal views on this subject, still there might be so much of their former feeling left, that they could not place the same confidence in a church founded among the Gentiles as in one among the Jews. Though it is possible that they sent so able a teacher thither, not from any feeling of distrust, but for the establishment and furtherance of the work already begun ; and chose a Hellenist as better fitted to publish the gospel among people of Grecian descent. Auger's remarks, in his work already quoted, p. 188, have occasioned an alteration in my former views.

the Hellenists) excited so strongly the indignation of the Jews. On the other hand, the prospect opened to him of a wider sphere of action among heathen nations. As he was one day in the temple, and by prayer lifting up his soul to the Lord, he was borne aloft from earthly things. In a vision he received an assurance from the Lord, that though he would be able to effect nothing at Jerusalem, on account of the animosity of the Jews, he was destined to carry the doctrine of salvation to other nations, even in remote regions; Acts xxii. 21. Accordingly, after staying in Jerusalem not more than fourteen days, he was obliged to leave it, through the machinations of the Jews. He now returned to his native place, Tarsus, where he spent several years, certainly not in inactivity; for by his labours the gospel was spread among both Jews and Gentiles in Tarsus and throughout Cilicia; there is good reason for believing, that to him the Gentile churches, which in a short time we find in Cilicia, owed their origin.¹

¹ The silence of the Acts respecting the labours of Paul in Cilicia, cannot be brought as evidence against the fact, for the account it gives of this period has many *lacunæ*. From the manner in which Paul is mentioned as secondary to Barnabas, till the time of their first missionary journey, an argument might be drawn for his not having previously entered on any independent sphere of labour. But the case may be, that though Paul, as the younger and less known, was at first spoken of as subordinate to Barnabas, the elder and approved publisher of the gospel; yet, by degrees, Paul's extraordinary exertions gave a different aspect to their relative position. In Jerusalem they continued for a longer time to assign the priority to Barnabas, as appears from the apostolic Epistle in Acts xv. 25, a circumstance which Bleek very justly adduces as a mark of the unaltered originality of this document; v. *Studien und Kritiken*, 1836, part iv. p. 1037. At all events, one would rather assign a date some years later to the conversion of Paul, (on which, too, we can never come to a decisive conclusion,) than suppose that he could spend several years in his native place without exerting himself for the propagation of Christianity,—he who solemnly declares, that, from the time of his conversion, he felt so strongly the impulse of an inward call to preach the gospel.

CHAPTER II

THE CHURCH AT ANTIOCH THE GENTILE MOTHER-CHURCH, AND ITS RELATION TO THE JEWISH MOTHER-CHURCH.

IN the mean time, as we have already remarked, Christianity was propagated among the Gentiles by Hellenist teachers in Antioch, the metropolis of Eastern Roman Asia. The news of this event excited great interest among the Christians at Jerusalem. It is true, the information was not received in exactly the same manner as it would have been, if the account of the operation of Christianity among the Gentiles in the conversion of Cornelius had not materially contributed to allay their prejudices. But still a measure of mistrust was prevalent against the Gentile believers who were non-observant of the Mosaic law, a feeling which, after many repeated exhibitions of the divine power of the gospel among Gentile Christians, lingered for a long time in the majority of Jewish believers. On this account, Barnabas, a teacher who stood high in the general confidence, and who as a Hellenist was better fitted to deal with Christians of the same class, was commissioned to visit the new Gentile converts. On his arrival he rejoiced in witnessing the genuine effects of the gospel, and used his utmost endeavours to advance the work. The extensive prospect which opened here for the advancement of the kingdom of God, occasioned his inviting Paul, who had been active among the Gentiles in Cilicia, to become his fellow-labourer. One evidence of the power with which Christianity in an independent manner spread itself among the Gentiles, was the new name of Christians which was here given to believers. Among themselves they were called, the Disciples of the Lord, the Disciples of Jesus, the Brethren, the Believers. By the Jews names were imposed upon them which implied undervaluation or contempt, such as the Galileans, the Nazarenes, the Paupers; and Jews would of course not give them a name meaning the adherents of the Messiah. The Gentiles had hitherto, on account of their observance of the ceremonial law, not known how to distinguish them from Jews. But now, when Christianity was

spread among the Gentiles apart from the observance of the ceremonial law, its professors appeared as an entirely new religious sect (a *genus tertium*, as they were sometimes termed, being neither Jews nor Gentiles); and as the term Christ was held to be a proper name, the adherents of the new religious teacher were distinguished by a word formed from it, as the adherents of any school of philosophy were wont to be named after its founder.

Antioch from this time occupied a most important place in the propagation of Christianity, for which there were now two central points; what Jerusalem had hitherto been for this purpose among the Jews, that Antioch now became among the Gentiles. Here first the two representations of Christianity, distinguished from one another by the predominance of the Jewish or Gentile element, came into collision. As at Alexandria, at a later period, the development of Christianity had to experience the effect of various mixtures of the ancient oriental modes of thinking with the mental cultivation of the Grecian schools, so in this Roman metropolis of Eastern Asia, it met with various mixtures of the oriental forms of religious belief. From Antioch, at the beginning of the second century, proceeded the system of an oriental-anti-Jewish Gnosis, which opposed Christianity to Judaism.

As there was considerable intercourse between the two churches at Jerusalem and Antioch, Christian teachers frequently came from the former to the latter; among these was a prophet named Agabus, who prophesied of an approaching famine, which would be felt severely by a great number of poor Christians in Jerusalem, and he called upon the believers in Antioch to assist their poorer brethren. This famine actually occurred in Palestine about A.D. 44.¹

The faculty of foretelling a future event, did not necessarily enter into the New Testament idea of a prophet, if we assume

¹ We cannot fix the exact time when this famine began. It is mentioned by Josephus in his *Antiq.* book xx. ch. 2. § 5. It was so great that numbers died in it from want. Queen Helena of Adiabene in Syria, a convert to Judaism, sent a vessel laden with corn, which she had purchased at Alexandria. and with figs procured in the island of Cyprus, to Jerusalem, and caused these provisions to be distributed among the poor. Luke, indeed, speaks of a famine that spread itself over the whole *οἰκουμένη*, which was not the case with this. To understand by *οἰκουμένη* in this passage, Palestine only, is not justified by the

that Luke wrote from his own standing-point. An address fitted to produce a powerful effect on an audience, one by which Christians would be excited to deeds of beneficence, would agree with the marks of a prophetic address in the New Testament sense ; but as in the Acts it is expressly added that the famine foretold by the prophet actually came to pass ; we must doubtless admit, in this instance, that there was a prediction of an impending famine, although it is possible that the prophecy was founded on the observation of natural prognostics.

The Christians at Antioch felt themselves bound to assist, in its temporal distress, that church from which they had received the highest spiritual benefits, and probably sent their contributions before the beginning of the famine, by the hands of Paul and Barnabas, to the presiding elders of the church at Jerusalem. This church, after enjoying about eight years' peace, since the persecution that ensued on Stephen's martyrdom, was once more assailed by a violent but transient tempest. King Herod Agrippa, to whom the Emperor Claudius had granted the government of Judea, affected great zeal for the strict observance of the ancient ritual,¹ although on many occasions he acted contrary to it, on purpose to ingratiate himself with the Gentiles, just as by his zeal for Judaism he tried to attach the Jewish people to himself. Actuated by such motives, he thought it expedient to manifest hostility to the teachers of the new doctrine, of whom he had received unfavourable reports. He caused James the son of Zebedee, and a brother of the apostle John, who probably, by some particular act or discourse, had excited the anger of the Jewish zealots, to be put to death ; and during the Passover in the year 44,² he cast Peter into

New Testament phraseology ; but it is possible that the famine extended to other parts, and we must then suppose the word to be used somewhat rhetorically, and not with literal exactness, especially if we consider it as spoken by a prophet come from Jerusalem.

¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* book xix. ch. 6 and 7.

² For it was the last year of Herod Agrippa's reign, who held for at least three whole years the sovereignty of Judea, (*Joseph.* xix. 8, 2;) and, therefore, certainly reigned from the end of January 41, to the beginning of the reign of Claudius, the end of January 44 ; so that only the Passover of this last year could be intended, that which took place after Herod had reigned three whole years.

prison, intending that he should meet with the same fate after the feast. But by the special providence of God, Peter was delivered from prison, and the death of the king, which shortly followed, once more gave peace to the church.

If Paul and Barnabas arrived at Jerusalem during this disturbed state of things, their stay was necessarily shortened by it, and they could accomplish nothing of consequence.¹ But if we compare the account in the Acts, with the narrative of the apostle Paul in the Epistle to the Galatians, and if we assume that the journey to Jerusalem, which he there mentions as the second, was really the second, this journey would acquire great importance.² We must then assume,

¹ As the words *κατ' ἐκείνον τὴν καιρὸν*, in Acts xii. 1, cannot serve for fixing the exact date, the coincidence of this journey of Paul's with the events at Jerusalem, and the whole chronology founded upon it of the apostle's history, is not absolutely certain. Yet there is no valid argument against this arrangement.

² Irenæus adv. Hæres. lib. iii. c. 13, seems to consider it as settled that this was Paul's third journey. But what Tertullian says (contra Marcion, i. 20), goes on the supposition that it was his second journey. He alleges the same reason for thinking so, as Keil, in his essay on the subject lately published in his *Opuscula*; that Paul, in the first glow of his conversion, was more violent against Judaism, but latterly his feelings towards it were mollified. Thus he explains the dispute with Peter at Antioch. "Paulus adhuc in gratia rudis, ferventer ut adhuc neophytus adversus Judaismum." (It is contradictory to this supposition that he allows Paul to have given way to the Judaizers at Jerusalem, in reference to the circumcision of Titus, cont. Marcion, v. 3;) and it would entirely correspond with the character of Paul and the mode of his conversion, that, at first, he should engage in fiercer opposition to the observance of the law, than that his mind should gradually be developed in that freer direction. Yet this supposition, as we shall afterwards show, is by no means supported by historical evidence. What is advanced by Wurm, in his essay already quoted, in the Tübingen *Zeitschrift für Theologie*, against my application of the first passage from Tertullian, is not correct. I have here remarked on the contradiction between the two passages, and in a writer of Tertullian's cast of mind—highly as we esteem the depth, fire, and vigour of his genius—such a contradiction is not very surprising.—But from Tertull. c. Marcion, lib. v. 2, 3, it is by no means clear, that he considered the second journey mentioned in the Epistle to the Galatians, as the same with that which was followed by the resolutions of the apostolic assembly at Jerusalem. Tertullian only says, that the Acts of the Apostles—whose credibility was not acknowledged by Marcion—represented the principles on which Paul acted, not differently from what Paul states them to be in an Epistle admitted as genuine by Marcion; consequently, the account of Luke, in this respect, must be credible.

that although the conveyance of the collection to Jerusalem was the avowed object and motive of this journey, yet Paul himself had another and more important end in view, which probably induced him to be the bearer of the contributions. As the strictly Pharisaical Jews held it absolutely necessary for the Gentiles to submit to the whole ceremonial law, and particularly to circumcision,¹ in order to enjoy the blessings of theocracy; as the mistrust of the Jewish Christians had already, as we have before remarked, manifested itself against the Gentile converts; and as the consequences of this state of feeling might have already appeared in the church at Antioch, which stood in so close a connexion with the parent church at Jerusalem; it is not at all improbable, that Paul and Barnabas felt it to be their imperative duty, in order to guard against a dangerous disagreement, to come to an understanding with the apostles at Jerusalem on this subject, and to unite with them in establishing fixed principles respecting it. Yet in itself it is more probable, that such a mutual explanation took place earlier, than that it occurred at so late a period.² Such a conference of Paul and Barnabas with the three most eminent of the apostles, could not well be held at that time, since one of them was cast into prison; but too great an uncertainty is attached to the dates of these events, to render this objection of much weight. And it agrees with

So then, Tertullian, i. 9, by *rudis fides* means the same as in the passage first quoted. The *rudis fides* in that passage, is a faith still young and not fully tried, which hence could not possess so independent an authority; "*hoc enim* (the temporary concession in reference to the circumcision of Titus) *rudis fidei et adhuc de legis observatione suspensæ* (in reference to which it was still disputed whether they were not bound to the observance of the law) *competebat*," namely, until Paul had succeeded in having his independent call to the apostleship and its peculiar grounds, acknowledged by the other apostles.

¹ A Jewish merchant, named Ananias, who had converted King Izates of Adiabene, the son of Queen Helena, to Judaism, assured him that he might worship Jehovah without being circumcised, and even sought to dissuade him from it, that it might not cause an insurrection of his people. But when another stricter Jew, Eleazar, came thither, he declared to the king that since he acknowledged the divine authority of the Mosaic law, he would sin by neglecting any of its commands, and therefore no consideration ought to prevent his compliance. Joseph. Archæol. lib. xx. c. 2, § 4. And such was the opinion of the converts to Christianity from among the Jews, who, to use the words of Josephus, were ἀκριβεῖς περὶ τὰ πάτρα.

² As Dr. Paulus remarks in his Exegetical Manual, i. 1, p. 238.

the existing circumstances of the church. that this conference is represented as a private transaction of Paul's with the most eminent of the apostles ;¹ partly because the matter did not appear sufficiently ripe for a public discussion ; partly because, by the persecution set on foot by King Agrippa, the intended public conference might be prevented. By this supposition, we therefore gain a connecting link in the history of the transactions between the Jewish and Gentile converts, and thus the two historical documents, the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistle to the Galatians, serve to supply what is necessary for the completion of each. But, in the first place, the chronology of the common reading, supported by the authority of all the manuscripts,² is irreconcilable with this hypothesis, for we must reckon Paul's conversion to have taken place fourteen years earlier, which would be a computation wholly untenable. And, secondly, the relation in which Paul, according to the description in the Acts, stood at any given time to Barnabas, the elder preacher of the gospel, will not agree with this view. For at an earlier period, according to the slight notices furnished us by the Acts, Paul appears in a subordinate relation, both of age and discipleship, to the elder preacher of the gospel. It was not till he undertook the missionary journey with Barnabas from An-

¹ The κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ, Gal. ii. 2, which contains an antithesis to δημοσίᾳ. Yet public conferences are by no means excluded ; for it is not clear that the words κατ' ἰδίαν follow what was before said merely as a limiting explanatory clause. Paul, perhaps, might not except some special topic of importance from the ἀνέθεμεν αὐτοῖς (which must principally relate to his Christian brethren in Jerusalem),—his private conferences with James, Peter, and John ; or he might design to notice only the public, and afterwards the important private conferences, altogether passing over the former. Compare Wurm, p. 31 ; Auger, p. 149.

² The *Chronicon Paschale Alexandrinum*, ed. Niebuhr, p. 436, certainly forms an exception, according to which Paul took this second journey *four* years after his conversion ; and this computation supposes the reading to be τεσσάρων ἐτῶν, instead of δεκατεσσ. Such a reading being assumed, we may easily understand how ΙΔ was formed from Δ. And according to this reading, if we refer it to the second journey of Paul mentioned in the Acts, everything will readily agree with such a computation ; only, if we reckon these four years from the conversion of St. Paul, that event must be placed about the year 40. But still it remains uncertain, whether the computation in the *Chronicon Paschale* is founded on a critical conjecture, or on the authority of a manuscript ; and, at all events, the opposing evidence of all manuscripts and quotations from the Fathers is too important.

tioch, in which he was the most prominent agent, that that apostolic superiority developed itself, which was afterwards exhibited in the transactions at Jerusalem. Still we cannot consider this remark as decisive of the question ; for we may feel confident that such a man as Paul, especially if we grant his independent labours in Cilicia, must have come forward, even before the period of his apostolic superiority, with extraordinary efficiency when the occasion demanded it.

Since there was no deficiency of teachers in the church at Antioch, we may presume that, after the conversion of the Gentiles had once begun, the publication of the gospel would be extended from Syria to other heathen nations. Barnabas and Paul had probably at an early period expressed their desire to be employed in a wider sphere for the conversion of the Gentiles, as Paul had been assured by the Lord of his appointment to carry the gospel to distant nations. And as Barnabas had brought his nephew Mark with him from Jerusalem to Antioch, it is not unlikely that he was prompted to this step by the prospect of a more extensive field in which he might employ his relation as a fellow-labourer. The teachers who were assembled at Antioch appointed a day of fasting and prayer, to lay this matter before the Lord, and to pray for his illumination to direct them what to do. A firm persuasion was imparted to them all by the Spirit of God, that they ought to set apart and send forth Barnabas and Paul to the work to which they were called by the Lord.

CHAPTER III.

THE PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY FROM ANTIOCH BY PAUL AND BARNABAS.

ACCOMPANIED by Mark, they first visited the island of Cyprus, the native country of Barnabas, whose ancient connexion with it facilitated the introduction of the gospel. They traversed the island from east to west, from Salamis to Paphos. In their teaching they followed the track which history had marked out for them, that method by which the gospel must spread

itself among the heathen. As the Jews, in virtue of their connexion with the theocratic development, and of the promises intrusted to them, had the first claim to the announcement of the Messiah ;¹ as they were in a state of the greatest prepara-

¹ *πρῶτον Ἰουδαίῳ*, Rom. i. 16. compared with John iv. 22. The credibility of what is narrated in the Acts on this and other occasions, respecting the manner in which Paul turned to the Gentiles, immediately after the ill reception which he met with from the Jews assembled in the synagogue, would be shaken, if Dr. Bauer were correct in his assertion, (see his Essay on the Object and Occasion of the Epistle to the Romans, in the Tübingen *Zeitschrift für Theologie*, 1836, part iii. p. 101,) that the author of the Acts did not give a faithful relation of objective facts, but modified them according to his peculiar views and design; that this is to be explained from the apologetic design with which he maintains the position, that the gospel reached the Gentiles only through the criminality and unbelief of the Jews. This is connected with Bauer's idea of an anti-Pauline party, consisting of persons who took offence at the Pauline universalism, (his preaching the gospel both to Jews and Gentiles,) and which had its seat at Rome. For this party, such an apologetic representation of Paul's ministry must be designed. We might be allowed to cast such a suspicion on the representations in the Acts, if any thing artificial was to be found in them, any thing not corresponding to what might be expected from the circumstances of the times. But if the line of conduct ascribed to the apostle, and its consequences, appear altogether natural under the circumstances, it does not appear how we can be justified in deducing the repetition (of Paul's mode of acting) grounded in the nature of the thing, not from that but from the subjective manner of the narrator. Now, in all the cities where synagogues existed, they formed the most convenient places for making known the gospel, when Paul was not disposed to appear in the public market-places as a preacher. Here he found the proselytes assembled, who formed a channel of communication with the Gentiles; and in the passage quoted from the Epistle to the Romans, the principle is stated according to which the Jews had the first claim to the publication of the gospel. Love to his own people produced the earnest desire to effect as much as possible for their salvation, along with his calling as an apostle of the Gentiles, Rom. xi. 13. That I have brought forward this from the Epistle to the Romans, which Bauer has made use of as a proof of the existence of such an apologetic interest, is not on my part a mere *petitio principii*, for I cannot in any way reconcile it with the character of the apostle, that he could express such principles and such desires merely from motives of expediency. But it was natural that he should turn away from the great mass of the carnally-minded Jews, if he found only here and there individuals among them of susceptible dispositions, and devote himself to the Gentiles alone. It does not follow from this that his call to the apostleship among the heathen was determined merely by accidental circumstances; for if he found a greater number of Jews in a city disposed to believe, yet his other calling would not thereby have been frustrated; but among the converted Hellenistic

tion, and places already existed among them for the purposes of religious instruction ; it was on these accounts natural that the apostles should first enter the synagogues, and the proselytes of the gate, whom they here met with, afforded them the most convenient point of transition from the Jews to the Gentiles. In Paphos, they found in the proconsul, Sergius Paulus, a man dissatisfied with all that philosophy and the popular religion could offer for his religious wants, and anxious to receive every thing which presented itself as a new communication from heaven ; hence, he was eager to hear what Paul and Barnabas announced as a new divine doctrine. But, owing to that sense of religious need, unsatisfied by any clear knowledge, he had given ear to the deceptive arts of an itinerant Jewish Goës, Barjesus. These Goëtæ were in succeeding times¹ the most virulent opposers of Christianity, because it threatened to deprive them of their domination over the minds of men ;² and for the same reason, this man

Jews, who were more closely related to those who were Greeks by birth or education, he would have found assistance for establishing the Christian church among the Gentiles ; and when after so many painful experiences, he had little hopes of success among the Jews, still he could not give up the attempt to do something for his countrymen, if by any means he might save some ; especially since he could so well unite this with the interests of his calling, and could find no more convenient and unostentatious method of paving his way to the Gentiles. And does not the peculiar mixture in the churches of Gentile-Christians, the influence of Judaizers upon them, give evidence of their origination ? Rom. xi. 12 will also establish this point. And that the author of the Acts has given a narrative consistent with facts and the actual state of things, is shown by this, that when describing the entrance of Paul at Athens, he does not repeat the same method of proceeding, but represents him as acting in a different manner, adapted to the local peculiarities. Throughout the Acts, I can perceive no traces of any thing but an historical object, which the author has pursued according to the means of information within his reach.

¹ On this account, it was not at all uncommon for such sorcerers to find access to men of the highest rank. Thus Lucian narrates, that the most distinguished men in Rome most eagerly inquired after the prophecies of a sorcerer, Alexander of Abonateichos, in Pontus, who acquired great notoriety in the reign of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius ; among the zealous adherents of Alexander, he mentions especially an eminent Roman statesman, Rutilianus, of whom he says—*ἀνὴρ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καλῶς καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἐν πολλαῖς πράξεσι ῥωμαϊκαῖς ἐξητασμέως, τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς πάνυ νοσῶν*. Lucian. Alexand. § 30.

² Of which the Alexander mentioned in the preceding note is an example.

took the utmost pains to hinder the spread of the gospel, and to prejudice the proconsul against it. But Paul, full of holy indignation, declared with divine confidence, that the Lord would punish him with the loss of that eye-sight which he only abused, by attempting with his arts of deception to stop the progress of divine truth. The threatening was immediately fulfilled ; and by this sensible evidence of the operation of a higher power, the proconsul was withdrawn from the influence of the Goës, and rendered more susceptible of divine instruction.

Thence they directed their course further northward ; passed over to Pamphylia, and along the borders of Phrygia, Isauria, and Pisidia, and made a longer stay at the considerable city of Antioch,¹ (which, as a border-city, was at different periods reckoned as belonging to different provinces,) in order to allow time for making known the gospel. Paul's discourse in the synagogue is a specimen of the peculiar wisdom and skill of the great apostle in the management of men's dispositions, and of his peculiar antithetical mode of developing Christian truth. He sought first to win the attention and confidence of his hearers, by reminding them how God had chosen their fathers to be his people, and then gave an outline of God's dealings with them, to the times of David, the individual from whose posterity, according to the promises, the Messiah was to spring. After the introduction he came to the main object of his address, to the appearance of the Messiah, and to what he had effected for the salvation of mankind. Then turning to the Jews and proselytes present, he proceeded to say, that for them this announcement of salvation was designed, since those to whom it was first proposed, the Jews at Jerusalem, and their rulers, had been unwilling to receive it ; they had not acknowledged the Messiah, nor understood the prophecies, which they heard read every Sabbath-day in their synagogues.² Yet, while in their blindness they condemned the Messiah to death, they could not retard the fulfilment of the prophecies, but against their design and will, contributed

¹ To distinguish it from the Asiatic metropolis, it is called *Ἀντιοχία πρὸς Πισιδίαν*.

² Only using milder expressions, Paul here says the same things of the blindness of the Jews, which he often says in stronger and more severe language in his Epistles, accusing them of obduracy.

to it ; for after he had suffered all things which according to the predictions of the prophets he was to suffer, he rose from the dead. By faith in him they could obtain forgiveness of sins and justification, which they could never have obtained by the law.¹ And after announcing this promise to them, Paul closed with a threatening warning to unbelievers. This discourse, uttered with all the impressiveness of firm faith, and yet evincing so much tenderness towards the Jews, made at first a favourable impression upon them, and, in the name of the whole assembly, they requested him to expound his doctrine more fully on the next Sabbath.² Such was the

¹ To justify my views of this passage, I must make a few remarks on the right interpretation of Acts xiii. 39. I cannot so understand it as if the apostle meant to say—"Through Christ men obtain forgiveness of *all* sins, even of *those* of which forgiveness could not be obtained through the law. The apostle certainly knew only one forgiveness of sins and one justification ; and he used the term πάντων only to mark the completeness of the removal of guilt, as the idea of δικαιοσύνη presupposes this ; but the preceding πάντων, to refer the relative pronoun by a kind of logical attraction to this term of universality, rather than to the whole idea of δικαιοσύνη, which he had especially in view. What Meyer says in his commentary in defence of the common interpretation, does not convince me. "Paul," he remarks, "specifies one part of the universal ἀφεσις ἁμαρτιῶν as particularly worthy of notice, but this does not at all injure the unity of the forgiveness of sins and justification." I do not perceive how Paul, from his point of view, could render one special part more prominent than another ; I know indeed of *no* sin from which a man could be justified on the standing-point of the law ; in Paul's mind, there could be here no difference whatever. The peculiarly Pauline style of carrying out the opposition between faith and the law here appears in the germ.

² If, in Acts xiii. 42, we take μεταξὺ in its usual acceptation, we must understand the passage thus : Paul and Barnabas were requested to explain the Christian doctrine to them during the week between this and the next Sabbath, therefore before the next celebration of the Sabbath. Such a request would be very suitable, if we understand it as that of individuals who wished to hear discourses on the doctrine in their private circles during the week. But it does not appear so proper as a wish expressed by the whole congregation at the synagogue. We should most naturally refer it to the Gentiles, and on that account must consider the reading τὰ ἑθνη in the 42d verse as correct, though it has the appearance of a gloss. Also the word σάββατον in the Acts is never used in the sense of *a week* ; for the phrase μία σαββάτων cannot be brought as a voucher for this meaning. But if we understand τὸ μεταξὺ σάββατον, of the next Sabbath, all will be clear ; and a comparison with verse 44 favours this interpretation, which is also sanctioned by the ancient glosses and scholia in Griesbach and Matthai. From the earlier Greek

impression made by his words on the assembly in general. But there were many among the Jews present, and especially the proselytes, who were more deeply affected than the rest by the power of truth, and who longed after the redemption announced by Paul. They could not wait till the next Sabbath, but hastened after Paul, who had left the synagogue with Barnabas; they informed them of the impressions they had received, and earnestly requested more ample instruction. Paul and Barnabas consequently availed themselves of many opportunities to explain the divine doctrine in private houses during the course of the week, and likewise to make it known among the Gentiles. Hence, by the next Sabbath, the new doctrine of salvation had obtained notoriety through the whole city, and a multitude of the Gentile inhabitants flocked to the synagogue in order to hear Paul's discourse. This was a spectacle sufficient to stir up the wrath of the Jews, who were filled with spiritual pride, and a delusive notion of their superiority as members of the ancient theocracy, and hence this discourse of Paul's was not heard with the same favourable disposition and calmness as the first. He was interrupted by violent contradictions and reproaches. He then declared to them, that since they were not disposed to receive the salvation announced to them, and excluded themselves from it to their own condemnation, the preachers of the gospel had discharged their obligations, and would now turn to the Gentiles, who had shown themselves disposed to receive their instruc-

writers it is certainly difficult to find an authority for this meaning of *μεταξὺ*, but not from the later. In Plutarch's *Instituta Laconica*, c. 42, *μεταξὺ* occurs twice in this sense, and especially in the second passage, *τοῖς μεταξὺ Μακεδονικοῖς βασιλεῶν*, ("the Macedonian kings after Philip and Alexander,") for it cannot be otherwise understood; and so likewise in Josephus, *De Bello Jud.* lib. v. c. 4, § 2, where, after speaking of David and Solomon, he says, *τῶν μεταξὺ τούτων βασιλεῶν*, which can only mean: "the kings after these."—I consider the words *ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων* and the words *τὰ ἔθνη* as glosses, founded on a misunderstanding; but I cannot, with Kuinoel, take the whole of the verse, so strongly accredited as genuine, to be only a gloss. What is said in this verse, may be considered as marking the vivid representation of an event by an eye-witness. As Paul and Barnabas were going away before the whole of the congregation had separated, they were requested by the elders of the synagogue to repeat their addresses on the next Sabbath. But after the whole congregation had separated, many individuals ran after them to open their hearts to them more unreservedly.

tions, and that the gospel was designed to be a fountain of light and salvation to nations in the uttermost parts of the earth. Thus Paul and Barnabas left the synagogue with the believing Gentiles, and a suitable chamber in the dwelling of one of their number, probably, was the first place of assembling for the church that was now formed. Christianity spread itself through the whole circumjacent district; but the Jews contrived, by means of the female proselytes belonging to the most respectable families in the city,¹ and their influence on their husbands, to raise a persecution against Paul and Barnabas, so that they were obliged to leave the place. They proceeded to the city of Iconium, about ten miles to the east, in Lycaonia,² where they had access to both Jews and Gentiles. But by the influence of the hostilely disposed among the former, who also here had gained over to their side a part of the people and the magistrates, they were driven from this city also. They now betook themselves to other cities in the same province, and first tarried in the neighbouring town of Lystra. As in this place there was no synagogue, and scarcely any Jews dwelt in it, they could make known the gospel only by entering into conversation³ in places of public resort, and thus leading persons to religious subjects; gradually small groups were formed, which were increased by many, who were attracted by curiosity or interest in the subject of conversation. Paul was one day thus instructing in divine truth a company who had gathered round him, when a man who had been lame from his birth, and probably was used to sit for alms in a thoroughfare of the city, listened to him with great attention. The divine in the appearance and discourse of Paul deeply impressed him, and caused him to look up with confidence as if he expected a cure from him. When Paul noticed this, he said to him with a loud voice, "Stand upright on thy feet;" and he stood up and walked.⁴

¹ Here, as at Damascus, (and other instances might be mentioned,) Judaism found most acceptance with females, as Christianity did afterwards.

² In other times it was considered as belonging to Phrygia or Pisidia.

³ A frequent practice of modern missionaries in Asia.

⁴ Only *he* will feel compelled to believe this who acknowledges the new divine powers of life, which through Christ have been introduced to the human race. But whoever is not entangled in a mechanical view of

This sight attracted a still larger crowd, and the credulous people now esteemed the two apostles to be more than men,—gods, who had come down in human form to confer benefits on men. A belief of this kind, deeply seated in the human breast, and proceeding from the undeniable feeling of the connexion of the human race with God, was spread from ancient times among the heathen,¹ and at that period was much increased by the existing religious ferment. Now in this city Zeus was worshipped as the founder of cities, as the originator, guide, and protector of civilization,² as the founder and protector of this city in particular (*Ζεὺς πολιεύς, πολιούχοι*), and a temple at the entrance of the city was dedicated to him.³ Accordingly the people imagined that their tutelary deity, Zeus himself, had come down to them; and as Paul was foremost in speaking, and possessed—as we may conclude from his Epistles, and his speech at Athens—a peculiarly powerful address, and a high degree of popular eloquence, he was taken for Hermes, while Barnabas his senior, who perhaps had something imposing in his appearance, was believed to be Zeus. The people made their remarks to one another on these strangers in the old Lycaonian dialect, so that Paul and Barnabas were not aware of their drift, and were therefore quite unprepared for the result. The news of the appearance of these supposed divinities quickly reached the temple, and a priest came with oxen, which were generally sacrificed to

nature, whoever acknowledges the power of Spirit over nature, and a hidden dynamic connexion between soul and body—to such a person it cannot appear wholly incredible that the immediate impression of a divine power operating on the whole internal being of man, should produce results of altogether a different kind from remedies taken out of the stores of the ordinary powers of nature.

¹ The Homeric *θεοὶ ξείνοισιν εὐκότες ἄλλοδαποῖσι, Παντοῖοι τελεθόντες ἐπιστροφῶσι πολῆας*. *Od.* p. 485.

² As Aristides in his discourse *εἰς Δία* says, that as Zeus is the Creator and Giver of all good things, he is to be worshipped under manifold titles according to these various relations. *Πάνθ' ὅσα αὐτὸς εἶρε μεγάλα καὶ ἑαυτῷ πρόποντα ὀνόματα*.

³ Libanius *ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν*, ed. *Reiske*, vol. ii. p. 158, remarks that cities were built in the immediate vicinity of temples, hence frequently the buildings nearest the walls were ancient temples; as in the middle ages, the site of towns was often determined by that of the churches and religious houses, and as in our own times, in the South Sea Islands, settlements are formed near the residence of the missionaries, which gradually become villages and towns.

Zeus, and with garlands to adorn them, to the gates of the city ;¹ whether he wished to sacrifice to Zeus before the gate for the welfare of the city ; or intended to bring the animals to Paul's residence, and there to perform the sacrifice ; but before he had entered the gates, Paul and Barnabas hastened thither, full of consternation, as soon as they discovered the object of these preparations. They rent their garments—a customary sign among the Jews of abhorrence for whatever outraged the religious feelings—and rushed among the crowd. Paul exclaimed, "What do ye ! We are men like yourselves ; we are come hither for this very purpose, that you may turn from these who are no gods, to the living God, the Almighty Creator of the universe, who hitherto has allowed the nations of the earth to try by their own experience how far they can attain in the knowledge of religion by the powers of their own reason, but who yet has not left himself without witnesses among them, by granting them all good things from heaven, and supplying them with those gifts of nature which contribute to the preservation of life and to their general well-being."²

Even by such an appeal it was difficult to turn the people from their purpose. Yet this impression on the senses, so powerful for a short time, soon passed away from men who were not affected internally by the power of truth. The Jews from Iconium succeeded in instigating the greater part of the people against Paul. He was stoned in a popular tumult, and dragged out of the city for dead. But while the believers from the city were standing round him and using means for his restoration, he arose, strengthened by the power of God ; and after spending only the remainder of that day at Lystra, departed with Barnabas to the neighbouring town of

¹ The word *πυλῶνες*, Acts xiv. 13, as no other term is added, may be most naturally understood of the city gates, not of the door of the house in which Paul and Barnabas were staying : in the latter case, the plural would hardly have been used. The *ἐξεπήδησαν* in verse 14 can prove nothing ; for it might easily be omitted to state whether they heard of what had happened while in their lodging, and now hastened to the gates, or that they were at that time near the gates. Perhaps Luke himself had no exact information on these points.

² The sense of benefits received should have been the means of leading men to the Giver. From a perversion of this sense arose systems of natural religion, to which the immediate revelation of God opposed itself—appealing to that original but misunderstood and misdirected sense.

Derbe. When they had proclaimed the gospel there and in the neighbourhood,¹ they again visited those towns in which they had propagated the faith on this journey, and which through persecutions they had been obliged to leave sooner than they wished ; they endeavoured to establish the faith of the new converts, and regularly organized the churches. They then returned by their former route to Antioch.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DIVISION BETWEEN THE JEWISH AND GENTILE CHRISTIANS AND ITS SETTLEMENT.—THE INDEPENDENT DEVELOPMENT OF THE GENTILE CHURCH.

WHILE in this manner Christianity spread itself from Antioch, the parent-church of the Gentile world, and that great revolution began, which has continued ever since to work its way among the nations, a division threatened to break out between the two parent-churches, those two central points from which the kingdom of God began to extend itself. It was a great crisis in the history of the church and of mankind. The hidden contrarieties were destined to come forth in order to be overcome by the power of Christianity and reconciled with one another. The question was, in fact, whether the gospel would succeed not only then, but through all future ages.

There came to Antioch many strictly pharisaical-minded Christians from Jerusalem, who, like the Eleazar we have already mentioned, assured the Gentiles that they could not obtain any share in the kingdom of God and its blessedness without circumcision, and entered into a controversy with Paul and Barnabas on the views they held on this subject. The church at Antioch resolved to send a deputation to Jerusalem for the settlement of this dispute, and their choice naturally fell on Paul and Barnabas, as the persons who had

¹ The *περίχωρος* evidently means only the places lying in the immediate vicinity of these two towns, certainly not a whole province, and least of all, from its geographical position, the province of Galatia. Hence the supposition that Paul in this first missionary journey preached the gospel to the Galatians is proved to be untenable.

been most active in the propagation of the gospel among the Gentiles. Paul had, besides, a special reason which would have determined him to undertake the journey without any public commission. It appeared now the fittest time for explaining himself to the apostles respecting the manner in which he published the gospel among the heathen, in order to bring into distinct recognition their unity of spirit amidst their diversity of method—(as the latter was necessary through the diversity of their spheres of action)—and to obviate all those contrarieties by which the consciousness of that essential unity could be disturbed. He felt assured by divine illumination, that an explanation on this subject was essential for the well-being of the church. The proposal to send such a deputation to Jerusalem probably originated with himself. He went up to Jerusalem¹ in the year 50, in order (as he himself tells us in the Epistle to the Galatians), partly for private interview with the most eminent of the apostles; partly to render an account in public before the assembled church of his conduct in publishing the gospel, that no one might suppose that all his labours had been in vain, but might learn that he preached the same gospel as themselves, and that it had been effective with divine power among the Gentiles. He took with him a converted youth of Gentile descent, Titus, (who afterwards became his chief associate in preaching,) in order to exhibit in his person a living example of the power of the gospel among the heathen.

Before a public consultation was held at Jerusalem, there were many private conferences.² The most important result was, that after Paul had given a full account to the apostles,³

¹ On the supposition that Paul, in his Epistle to the Galatians, reckons fourteen years from his conversion, and that this took place in the year 36 About six years would have passed since his return from Jerusalem to Antioch.

² We have already remarked, that though Paul, in his Epistle to the Galatians, particularly mentions his private conferences with the most eminent apostles, yet in doing so, he by no means excludes other public discussions. Indeed, it is self-evident, that Paul, before this subject was discussed in so large an assembly, had agreed with the apostles on the principles that were to be adopted. Nor would he in an assembly composed of such a variety of characters, bring forward everything which might have passed in more private communications.

³ The order in which the three apostles are mentioned is not unimportant. The reading according to which James stands first, is without

James, Peter, and John, of his method of publishing the gospel to the Gentiles and of the fruit of his labours, they acknowledged the divine origin of his apostleship, instead of presuming to dictate to him as his superiors. They agreed that he should continue to labour independently among the heathen, making only one stipulation, that, as heretofore, the Gentile churches should continue to relieve the temporal wants of the poor Christians at Jerusalem. In the private circles also, in which Paul and Barnabas recounted what God had effected by their preaching among the Gentiles, their accounts were received with joyful interest. But some who had passed over to Christianity from the Pharisaic school, now came forward and declared that it was necessary that the Gentiles should receive circumcision along with the gospel, and that they could acknowledge them as Christian brethren only on this condition, and therefore insisted that Titus should be circumcised. But Paul strenuously maintained against them the equal privileges of the Gentiles in the kingdom of God, and that by faith in the Redeemer they had entered into the same relation towards God as the believing Jews: for this reason, he would not give way to them in reference to Titus, for this would have been interpreted by the Pharisaic Jewish Christians as a concession of the principle for which they contended.¹

As these objections gave rise to much altercation, it was

doubt the true one; the other must have been derived from the custom of giving Peter the primacy among the apostles. But the priority is given to James, because he was most esteemed by the Jewish Christians, who were strict observers of the Mosaic Law, and stood at the head of the church at Jerusalem, while Peter, by his intercourse with the Gentiles and Gentile Christians, was in some degree estranged from that party.

¹ The reading which omits *οἱ οὐδὲ* in Gal. ii. 5, would suppose, or the contrary, a concession of Paul in this case, but which, under the existing circumstances, would be wholly inconsistent with the character of the apostle. This peculiar reading of the old Latin church, evidently proceeded in part from the difficulty of the construction for the Latin translation, and partly from the perception of a supposed contradiction between the conduct of Paul with Titus, and his conduct with Timothy, and likewise from opposition to Marcion. That in the Greek church, which, in consequence of the principle of the *οἰκονομία* predominating in it, must have been much disposed to such a reading, no trace of it can be found, proves how very much the authority of the manuscripts is against it.

thought necessary that the subject should be discussed in a convention of the whole church ; but this was afterwards changed into a meeting of chosen delegates.¹ At this meeting, after much discussion, Peter rose up, to appeal to the testimony of his own experience. They well knew, he said, that God had long before² chosen him, to bring the Gentiles to faith in the gospel ; and since God who seeth the heart had communicated to them the Holy Spirit, in the same manner as to the believers from among the Jews, he had by this act testified that in his eyes they were no longer impure, after he had purified their hearts by faith in the Redeemer ; they were now as pure as the believing Jews, and hence, in the communication of spiritual gifts, God had made no difference between them. How then could they venture to question the power and grace of God, as if he could not without the law admit the Gentiles to a participation of salvation in the kingdom of God ? Why would they lay a yoke on believers, which neither they nor their fathers had been able to bear ? By “ a yoke ” Peter certainly did not mean the outward observance of ceremonies simply as such, for he himself still observed them, and did not wish to persuade the Jewish Christians to renounce them. But he meant the outward observance of the law, as far as it proceeded from its internal dominion over the conscience, so as to make justification and salvation dependent upon it ; whence arose the dread of putting their salvation in jeopardy by the slightest deviation from it, and that tormenting scrupulosity which invented a number of limitations, in order, by such self-imposed restraint, to guard against every possible transgression of the law. As Peter understood the term in this sense, he could add, “ But we also by faith in Jesus as our Redeemer have been freed from the

¹ The whole church was far too numerous, to allow of all its members meeting for consultation ; but that they took a part in the deliberations, appears inferrible from the words *σὺν ὅλῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*, Acts xv. 22. The epistle to the Gentile Christians was written in the name not merely of the elders of the church, but of all the Christian brethren. Also the words *πάν τὸ πλῆθος*, Acts xv. 12, favour this interpretation.

² Peter's words, *ἀφ' ἡμερῶν ἀρχαίων*, are of some value for a chronological purpose, since they evidently show, that between the holding of this assembly and the conversion of Cornelius, to say the least, a tolerable length of time must have elapsed.

yoke of the law, since we are no longer bound to it as a means of justification ; for we, as well as the Gentiles, believe that we shall obtain salvation through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ."

These words of Peter made a deep impression on many, and a general silence followed. After a while, Barnabas, who had for years been highly esteemed by this church, rose, and then Paul. In addition to the facts reported by Peter which testified the operation of the Divine Spirit among the Gentiles, they mentioned others from their own experience, and recounted the miracles by which God had aided their labours. When the minds of the assembly were thus prepared, James¹ came forward, who, on account of his strict observance of the law, was held in the greatest reverence by the Jews, and in whose words, therefore, the greatest confidence would be placed. He brought their deliberations to a close, by a proposal which corresponded to his own peculiar moderation and mildness, and was adapted to compose the existing differences. Referring to Peter's address, he said that this apostle had shown how God had already received the Gentiles, in order to form a people dedicated to his service. And this agreed with the predictions of the prophets, who had foretold that in the times when the decayed theocracy was to be gloriously revived, the worship of Jehovah would be extended also among the Gentiles. Accordingly, what had recently occurred among the Gentiles need not excite their astonishment. God who effected all this, was now fulfilling his eternal counsel, as he had promised by his prophets. Since, therefore, by this eternal counsel of God, the Gentiles were to be incorporated into his kingdom by the Messiah, let them not dare to do anything which might obstruct or retard the progress of this work. They ought not to lay any unnecessary burdens on the converted Gentiles. They should enjoin nothing more upon them than abstinence from meat offered to idols² or of

¹ The question whether this was the son of Alphæus, or another person, must be left for future examination.

² What remained of the flesh of animals used in sacrifice, was partly used by those who presented the sacrifice at their own meals, (especially if they were festive in honour of the gods,) and partly disposed of in the market. The eating of what were called *זבחי ימים* was regarded by the Jews with the greatest detestation. *Pirkæ Avoth*. ch. iii. § 3.

animals strangled, from blood and from unchastity.¹ But as to believers from among the Jews, no such special injunctions were needed for them. They already knew what they were to practise as Jews; for in every city where Jews resided, the law of Moses was read on the Sabbath-days in the synagogues, Acts xv. 21.² The concluding words were adapted to pacify the Jews on account of freedom from the Mosaic law allowed to the Gentile Christians.

The resolutions passed on this occasion had for their object, to reduce by mutual approximation the opposition existing between the Jewish and Gentile Christians. The observance of these ordinances by the latter, would tend to lessen, and by degrees to destroy, the aversion with which native Jews were wont to regard as impure, men who had been brought up as idolaters; it might assist us in forming correct notions of

¹ Most of these points belonged to the seven precepts, to the observance of which men were bound before the giving of the Mosaic law, which God gave to the sons of Noah, and to the observance of which the Proselytes of the Gate bound themselves. Vid. *Buxtorf, Lexicon Talmudicum et Rabbinicum*, sub voce נא

² It appears to me entirely impossible, so to understand the words in Acts xv. 21 (as they have been understood by the latest expositors, Meyer and Olshausen), as containing a reason for what had been said before. *This* assembly required no reason why they should impose *so much*, but only why they should impose *no more* on the Gentile Christians. Also from the form of the clauses in v. 19 and 20, if such a reference existed, we should expect to find a reason of this kind, namely for the μή παρενοχλεῖν. These words, too, taken in their obvious sense, cannot contain the positive reason for the issuing of these injunctions, for that Moses was read in the synagogue every Sabbath-day, should rather serve as a foundation of a requirement for the observance of the whole law. But in verse 21, the emphasis is on the word Μωσῆς, and in that is concealed an antithesis to that which is given as the standing-point for the converts from heathenism. But as to what concerns the Jews, those who *wish* to observe the law, we need to say nothing new to *them*, for they can hear every Sabbath in the synagogue what *Moses* requires of them. It cannot be our intention, while we prescribe *no more than this* to the converts from heathenism, to diminish the reverence of the Jews for the Mosaic law. Chrysostom adopts very nearly this interpretation, by following the natural connexion of the passage. Hom. 33, § 2: καὶ ἵνα μή τις ἀνθυπενέγκῃ, διὰ τι μὴ Ἰουδαίους τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπιστέλλομεν; ἐπήγαγε λέγων: and he explains the words v. 21, τοῦτ' ἔστι Μωσῆς αὐτοῖς διαλέγεται συνεχῶς. It gives me pleasure to agree with Dr. Schneckenburger in my view of this passage; see his excellent remarks, in his work before quoted, on the Acts, p. 23.

their feelings to compare (though the cases are not exactly parallel) the relation of the offspring of a nation where Christianity has long been established to the newly converted Christians from modern heathenism. But if the believing Jews could not bring themselves to overcome their prejudices against the believing Gentiles as uncircumcised, it would be so much more difficult to bring such persons closer to them, if they did not at all observe what was required of the usual Proselytes, and renounce what from the Jewish standing-point appeared closely connected with idolatry, and the impure life of idolaters. And as these ordinances would serve on the one hand to bring Gentile Christians nearer to Jewish Christians; so on the other hand, they might contribute to withdraw the former more from the usual heathenish mode of living, and guard them against the pollution of heathenish intercourse and indulgences. The experience of the next century teaches us, how even the misunderstanding, which made out of these ordinances a positive law applicable to all ages of the Church,¹ might in this direction work for good. Viewing the transaction in this light, it is indeed surprising that to ordinances merely disciplinary, and intended for only one particular period, and for persons under certain peculiar relations, the command against unchastity binding in all ages,

¹ In the first ages, Christians were distinguished by not venturing to eat any of the things forbidden in this injunction. But when the early indiscriminating opposition against heathenism had ceased, a more correct view was taken, which Augustine has beautifully developed. "(Apostoli) eligisse mihi videntur pro tempore rem facilem et nequam observantibus onerosam, in qua cum Israëlitis etiam gentis propter angularem illum lapidem duos in se condentem aliquid communiter observarent. Transacto vero illo tempore, quo illi duo parietes, unus de circumcissione, alter de præputio venientes, quamvis in angulari lapide concordarent, tamen suis quibusdam proprietatibus distinctius eminebant, ac ubi ecclesia gentium talis effecta est, ut in ea nullus Israëlita carnalis appareat, quis jam hoc Christianus observat, ut turdas vel minutiores aviculas non adtingat, nisi quarum sanguis effusus est, aut leporem non edat, si manu a cervice percussus nullo cruento vulnere occisus est? Et qui forte pauci tangere ista formidant a cæteris irridentur, ita omnium animos in hac re tenuit sententia veritatis." *Matt.* xv. 11. *Augustin. c. Faustum Manich.* lib. xxxii. c. 13. The opposite view, it is true, was maintained in the Greek Church, in which the injunction of abstinence from blood and from animals strangled was confirmed by the Second Trullanian Council, in the year 692.

and relating to an objectively moral point, should be annexed. But the connexion in which this prohibition appears, furnishes the best explanation of the cause and design of its introduction. *Πορνεία* is mentioned in connexion with the other points, on account of the close connexion in which it appeared to the Jews to stand with idolatry; for in the writings of the Old Testament they were accustomed to see idolatry and unchastity everywhere placed together; excesses of this class were really connected with many parts of idolatry; and the strict idea of chastity in a comprehensive sense formed the standing-point of natural religion. It is introduced here not as a special moral precept of Christianity; in that case, it would not have been so insulated as a positive command, but would rather have been deduced from its connexion with the whole of the Christian faith and life as we find it in the Apostolic Epistles. Here it is introduced as a part of the ancient Jewish opposition to every thing which appeared connected with idolatry, and this opposition was now to be transferred to the new Christian Church.

Although these injunctions had a precise object, and doubtless attained it in some measure, yet we cannot conclude with certainty, that James had a clear perception of it in all its extent, when he proposed this middle way. As the persons who composed this assembly acted not merely according to the suggestions of human prudence, but chiefly as the organs of a higher spirit that animated them, of a higher wisdom that guided them, it would follow, that their injunctions served for certain ends in the guidance of the church, which were not perfectly clear to their own apprehension. Even James himself does not develop the motives which determined him to propose such a measure. In this assembly there was no occasion, as we have before remarked, to mention the principles, but merely to develop the reason, why no more than this, and not the whole law, should be imposed on Christians; and this reason accordingly, he deduced from what he and the other apostles recognised as the central point of the Christian faith. Possibly James, without any distinct views and aims, only believed that something must be done for the Gentile Christians, (who were to be acknowledged as members of God's kingdom, with equal privileges, in virtue of their faith in Jehovah and the Messiah,) to bring them nearer, as it regarded

their outward mode of life, like the Proselytes of the Gate, to Judaism and the Jews.²

But although it was not necessary in this public assembly, to develop in a positive manner the motives for framing these injunctions, we are certainly not to assume, that the apostles left the decision of the principles on which they meant to act towards Gentile Christians, to the deliberations of this meeting ; but as we have before remarked, most probably brought forward only what seemed to them in their private conference best adapted for their object ; in that consultation it was necessary to discuss the motives for these injunctions, and the objects which it was proposed to attain by them ; for in relation to what Paul desired—that to those among the Gentiles, who acknowledged Jesus as the Messiah, nothing further should be prescribed—a conciliatory measure of this kind must have been accompanied by a statement of the principles on which it was founded. And as we must acknowledge in James the power of the Christian spirit, that he subordinated to the interests of Christianity his attachment to Judaism and the forms of the ancient theocracy ; so in Paul, who was so zealous for the independence of Christianity and of the Gentile churches, we must recognise a zeal tempered by Christian

¹ I mean only analogous regulations ; for had there been simply a transference of such as were enjoined to the Proselytes of the Gate, it would have been sufficient to require of the Gentile Christians, among whom many Proselytes of the Gate might be found, that they should submit to all the regulations which had hitherto been observed by persons of that class.

² Luther, who was far from the restricted, unnatural notion of inspiration, and the slavish adherence to the letter, maintained by the theologians of the 17th century, says, in reference to this proposal of James (vol. iii. p. 1042 of Walch's edition), "that the Holy Spirit allowed St. James to make a false step." But even if James had not before him the higher object for the guidance of the church, this ought not to be called a false step, in relation to the peculiar standing-point which he took in the historical development of primitive Christianity ; for he was appointed by the Lord of the church to occupy the intermediate standing-point which was to connect the Old Testament with the independent development of the New, and from which he presented the new spirit of the gospel in the form of the Old Testament. It becomes us, when we are considering the joint labours of the apostles, to observe attentively the whole scheme of organic historical development, in which each member takes his appropriate station, and all are designed to be complements to one another.

wisdom, which yielded to a measure of accommodation determined by circumstances.¹

The resolutions adopted on this occasion were now communicated to the Gentile churches in Syria and Cilicia,² in an epistle drawn up in the name of the assembly ; and two persons of good repute in the church, perhaps members of the Presbytery at Jerusalem, Barsabas and Silas (Silvanus), were chosen as bearers of it, who were to accompany Paul and Barnabas, and counterwork the intrigues of their Judaizing opponents. We will here insert this short epistle, probably dictated by James himself, and the earliest public document of the Christian church known to us.³ It is as follows : "The Apostles and Elders, and Brethren,⁴ send greeting to the brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch, and Syria, and

¹ Luther beautifully remarks, in the passage above quoted, "Therefore they agree that James should prescribe, and since their consciences are left free and unfettered, that they think is enough for them ; they were not so envious as to wish to quarrel about a little thing, provided it could be done without damage."

² The injunctions were designed, it is true, for all Gentile Christians, but the Epistle was addressed only to the churches specified in it, because in these the dispute had first of all arisen, and because they must have been respected, as parent churches among the Gentiles, with which the later formed Asiatic churches would connect themselves. Hence also Paul, in Gal. i. 21, as a general description of the sphere of his labours, mentions only the *κλίματα τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς Κιλικίας*.

³ The style of this document (marked by simplicity and extreme brevity) testifies its originality. Had the author of the Acts set himself to compose such an epistle, and attempted to assume the situation of the writer, it would have been a very different composition. And hence we may draw a conclusion relative to the discourses given in the Acts.

⁴ According to the reading adopted by Lachmann, it would be, "The Apostles and Presbyters, Christian brethren," they wrote as brethren to brethren. This reading is strongly supported. We can hardly deduce its origin from hierarchical influences, which would have excluded the church from such consultations and decisions ; its antiquity is too great, for we find it in Irenæus, iii. 12, 14. It is also equally against the hierarchical spirit for the apostles and presbyters to write to the brethren as brethren. And it may be easily explained, how it happened that since, from the introductory words of Luke, they expected an epistle from the whole church, it seemed necessary to distinguish the brethren from the apostles and presbyters, and hence probably the words *καὶ οἱ* were inserted. Yet since, in Acts xv. 22, the whole church is mentioned in connexion with the apostles and presbyters, we might expect in the epistle itself a distinct reference to the church ; the *ἐξ ἡμῶν* also of verse 24 (for these anonymous com-

Cilicia.¹ Forasmuch as we have heard, that certain which went out from us, have troubled you with words, saying ye must be circumcised, and keep the law, to whom we gave no such commandment: it seemed good unto us being assembled together,² to send chosen men unto you, with our beloved Barnabas and Paul,—men that have hazarded their lives for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. We have therefore sent Judas and Silas, who shall also tell you the same things by mouth.³ For it seemed good to us, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit,⁴ to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things—that ye abstain from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from unchastity; from plainers could hardly belong to the presbyters of the church) appears to assume this. The first *καὶ οἱ*, verse 24, must have occasioned the omission of the second.

¹ The *χαίρειν* here wants the *ἐν κυρίῳ*, which is so common in the Pauline Epistles; but it deserves notice that, as a salutation only, this *χαίρειν* is found in the Epistle of James.

² The words *γενομένοις ὁμοθυμαδὸν*, I do not understand with Meyer, “being unanimous,” but, “when we were met together;” as *ὁμοθυμαδὸν* often denotes in the Acts, not, “of one mind,” but, “together,” as in v. 46. We may see from the Alexandrian version, and Josephus (Antiq. xix. 9, § 1), how the change of meaning has been formed.

³ The explanation of this passage, Acts xv. 27, is in every way difficult. If we refer *τὰ αὐτὰ* to what goes before, the sense will be,—they will announce to you the same things that Barnabas and Paul have announced to you. So I understood the words in the first edition of this work. The words *διὰ λόγου* are not exactly against this interpretation: for though these words contained the reference to what followed in writing, they might be thus connected with them; namely, as we now in writing also express the same principles. But since mention is not made before of the preaching of Barnabas and Paul, and we must therefore supply something not before indicated, and since the words *διὰ λόγου* contain a reference to what follows, and therefore not *καταγγέλλειν*, but *ἀπαγγέλλειν* is here used, I now prefer the other interpretation, although in this case likewise, it is difficult to supply what is necessary. In Irenæus we find a reading which presents the sense required by the connexion in a way that removes all difficulties, but must be considered as an exposition; *τὴν γνώμην ἡμῶν*, instead of *τὰ αὐτὰ*, annuntiantes nostram sententiam. Iren. iii. 12, 14.

⁴ In the explanation also of Acts xv. 28, I depart, and with greater confidence, from my former view. Agreeably to the manner in which *δοκεῖν* is every where placed with the dative of the person as the subject, I cannot help so understanding it with the words *τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι*, especially since if it meant, by the Holy Spirit, according to the New Testament idiom, we should expect *ἐν* to be prefixed. It is therefore stated first, it has so pleased the Holy Spirit—then, we as his organs have resolved. Although the affair was determined according to both, it was important

which if ye keep yourselves,' ye shall do well. Fare ye well."

We may conclude from this epistle, that those who had raised the controversy in the Antiochian church, had appealed to the authority of the apostles and presbytery. Perhaps they represented themselves as delegates of the church at Jerusalem,—as this was afterwards made of importance by the adversaries of Paul—but they were not acknowledged as such. We see how important it was for the apostles to accredit Paul and Barnabas as faithful preachers of the gospel and to give a public testimony to their agreement in spirit with them. Yet we cannot help remarking the brevity of the epistle—the want of a pouring forth of the heart towards the new Christians of an entirely different race—the absence of the development of the views on which the resolutions passed were founded. The epistle was without doubt dictated in haste, and must be taken only for an official document, as the credentials of an oral communication. But they depended more on the living word, than on written characters. Hence, while the written communication was so brief, they sent living organs to Antioch, who would explain every thing more fully according to the sense of this meeting.

Thus Paul and Barnabas, having happily attained their object at Jerusalem, returned to the Gentile Christians at Antioch with these pledges of Christian fellowship, and accompanied by the two delegates. Barnabas took also his nephew Mark with him from Jerusalem, to be an assistant in the common work. He had formerly accompanied them on their first missionary travels in Asia, but had not remained faithful to his vocation ; giving way to his feelings of attachment for his native country, he had left them when they entered Pamphylia. At Jerusalem, Barnabas met with him again, and perhaps by his remonstrances, brought him to a sense of his former misconduct, so that he once more joined them.

This decision of the Apostolic Assembly at Jerusalem, to mention first, that this resolution was not formed according to human caprice, but that the Holy Spirit so willed it. I translate in the text, not verbally, but according to the sense.

¹ The expression in Acts xv. 29, ἐξ ὧν διατηροῦντες ἑαυτοὺς, is remarkably similar to that in James i. 27, ἐκτελεῖν ἑαυτοῦ τηρεῖν ὅπῃ τοῦ κόσμου.

forms an important era in the history of the apostolic church. The first controversy which appeared in the history of Christianity was thus publicly expressed and presented without disguise ; but it was at the same time manifested, that, by this controversy, the unity of the church was not to be destroyed. Although so great and striking a difference of an outward kind existed in the development of the church among the Jews and of that among the Gentiles, still the essential unity of the church, as grounded on real communion of internal faith and life, continued undisturbed thereby, and thus it was manifest that the unity was independent of such outward differences : it became henceforth a settled point, that though one party observed and the other party neglected certain outward usages, yet both, in virtue of their common faith in Jesus as the Redeemer, had received the Holy Spirit as the certain mark of their participating in the kingdom of God. The controversy was not confined to these outward differences ; but, as we might conclude from the peculiar nature of the modes of thinking among the Jews, which mingled itself with their conceptions of Christianity, it involved several doctrinal differences. The latter, however, were not brought under discussion ; those points only were touched which were most palpable, and appeared the most important from the Jewish standing-point of legal observances. While they firmly held the ground of faith,—faith in Jesus as the Messiah, and a consciousness of fellowship in the one spirit proceeding from him,—they either lost sight altogether of these differences, or viewed them as very subordinate, in relation to the points of agreement, the foundation of the all-comprehending kingdom of God. At a later period these differences broke out with greater violence, when they were not overpowered by the energy of a Christian spirit progressively developed, and insinuating itself more deeply into the prevalent modes of thinking. Even by this wise settlement of the question, so serious a breach could not be repaired, where the operation of that Spirit was wanting from whom this settlement proceeded. As those who were addicted to Pharisaism were, from the first, accustomed to esteem a Christianity amalgamated with complete Judaism, as alone genuine and perfect, and rendering men capable of enjoying all the privileges of the kingdom of God, it was hardly possible that these decisions could produce

an entire revolution in their mode of thinking ; whether it was that they looked upon the decisions of the assembly at Jerusalem as not permanent, or that they explained them according to their own views and interests, as if indeed, though they had not commanded the observance of the law to Gentile Christians, they were designed to intimate that it would be to their advantage, if voluntarily, and out of love to Jehovah, they observed the whole law. And as they had not hesitated, before that assembly was called at Jerusalem, to appeal to the authority of the apostles, although they were by no means authorized to do so, they again attempted to make use of this expedient, of which they could more readily avail themselves on account of the great distance of most of the Gentile churches from Jerusalem.¹

Thus we have here the first example of an accommodation of differences which arose in the development of the church, an attempt to effect a union of two contending parties ; and we here see what has been often repeated, that union can only be attained where it proceeds from an internal unity of Christian consciousness ; but where the reconciliation is only external, the deeply-seated differences, though for a brief period repressed, will soon break out afresh. But what is of the greatest importance, we here behold the seal of true catholicism publicly exhibited by the apostles, and the genuine apostolic church. The existence of the genuine catholic church, which so deeply-seated a division threatened to destroy, was thereby secured.

We are now arrived at a point of time in which the Gentile church assumed a peculiar and independent form ; but before

¹ The Acts of the Apostles might lead us to suppose, if we could not compare its statements with the Pauline Epistles, that the division between the Jewish and Gentile Christians had been completely healed by the decision of the apostolic assembly ; but we know that the reaction of the Judaizing party against the freedom of the Gentile Christian church, very soon broke out afresh, and that Paul had constantly to combat with it. In this silence of the Acts, I cannot find the slightest trace of an apologetical tendency for Paul against the Judaizers ; in that case, I should rather have expected the Author would have mentioned these subsequent disturbances, and have opposed to them these decisions. Nor can I think an intentional silence probable in relation to the events of a period so deeply agitated by religious concerns. The Acts generally says nothing of the inward development of the Christian church : hence it is silent on so many other things which we would gladly know.

we trace its further spread and development in connexion with the labours of Paul, let us first glance at the constitution of the church in this new form of Christian fellowship.

CHAPTER V.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH, AND THE ECCLESIASTICAL USAGES OF THE GENTILE CHRISTIANS.

THE forms under which the constitution of the Christian community at first developed itself, were, as we have before remarked, most nearly resembling those which already existed in the Jewish church. But these forms, after their adoption by Jewish Christians, would not have been transferred to the Gentile churches, if they had not so closely corresponded to the nature of the Christian community as to furnish it with a model for its organization. This peculiar nature of the Christian community distinguished the Christian church from all other religious associations, and after Christianity had burst the fetters of Judaism, showed itself among the free and self-subsistent churches of the Gentile Christians. Since Christ satisfied once for all that religious want, from the sense of which a priesthood has every where originated,—since he satisfied the sense of the need of mediation and reconciliation, so deeply seated in the consciousness of the separation from God by sin, there was no longer room or necessity for any other mediation. If, in the apostolic epistles, the Old Testament ideas of a priesthood, a priestly cultus and sacrifices are applied to the new economy, it is only with the design of showing, that, since Christ has for ever accomplished that which the priesthood and sacrifices in the Old Testament prefigured,—all who now appropriate by faith what he effected for mankind, stand in the same relation with one another to God, without needing any other mediation,—that they are all by communion with Christ dedicated and consecrated to God, and are called to present their **whole** lives to God as an acceptable, spiritual thank offering, and thus their whole con-

secrated activity is a true spiritual, priestly cultus, Christians forming a divine kingdom of priests. Rom. xii. 1 ; 1 Pet. ii. 9. This idea of the general priesthood of all Christians, proceeding from the consciousness of redemption, and grounded alone in that, is partly stated and developed in express terms, and partly presupposed in the epithets, images, and comparisons, applied to the Christian life.

As all believers were conscious of an equal relation to Christ as their Redeemer, and of a common participation of communion with God obtained through him ; so on this consciousness, an equal relation of believers to one another was grounded, which utterly precluded any relation like that found in other forms of religion, subsisting between a priestly caste and a people of whom they were the mediators and spiritual guides. The apostles themselves were very far from placing themselves in a relation to believers which bore any resemblance to a mediating priesthood ; in this respect they always placed themselves on a footing of equality. If Paul assured the church of his intercessory prayers for them, he in return requested their prayers for himself. There were accordingly no such persons in the Christian church, who, like the priests of antiquity, claimed the possession of an esoteric doctrine, while they kept the people in a state of spiritual pupillage and dependence on themselves, as their sole guides and instructors in religious matters. Such a relation would have been inconsistent with the consciousness of an equal dependence on Christ, and an equal relation to him as participating in the same spiritual life. The first Pentecost had given evidence that a consciousness of the higher life proceeding from communion with Christ filled all believers, and similar effects were produced at every season of Christian awakening which preceded the formation of a church. The apostle Paul, in the 4th chapter of his Epistle to the Galatians, points out as a common feature of Judaism and Heathenism in this respect, the condition of pupillage, of bondage to outward ordinances. He represents this bondage and pupillage as taken away by the consciousness of redemption, and that the same spirit ought to be in all Christians. He contrasts the heathen, who blindly followed their priests, and gave themselves up to all their arts of deception, with true Christians, who, by faith in the Redeemer, became the organs of the Divine Spirit, and could

hear the voice of the living God within them ; 1 Cor. xii. 1. He thought that he should assume too much to himself, if, in relation to a church already grounded in spiritual things he represented himself only as giving ; for in this respect there was only one general giver, the Saviour himself, as the source of all life in the church, while all others, as members of the spiritual body animated by him the Head, stood to each other in the mutual relation of givers and receivers. Hence it was, that after he had written to the Romans that he longed to come to them in order to impart some spiritual gift for their establishment, he added, lest he should seem to arrogate too much to himself, "that is, that I may be comforted, together with you, by the *mutual* faith both of you and me;" Rom. i. 12.

Christianity, on the one hand, by the Holy Spirit as the common higher principle of life, gave to the church a unity, more sublime than any other principle of union among men, destined to subordinate to itself, and in this subordination to level, all the varieties founded in the development of human nature. But, on the other hand, mental peculiarities were not annihilated by this divine life ; since, in all cases, it followed the laws of the natural development of man, but **only** purified, sanctified, and transformed them, and promoted their freer and more complete expansion. The higher unity of life exhibited itself in a multiplicity of individualities, animated by the same spirit, and forming reciprocal complements to each other as parts of one vast whole in the kingdom of God. Consequently, the manner in which this divine life manifested its efficiency in each, was determined by the previous mental individuality of each. The apostle Paul says, indeed, "But all these worketh that one and self-same Spirit, dividing to every man severally as he *will*," 1 Cor. xii. 11 ; but it by no means follows, that he supposes an operation of the Divine Spirit totally unconditional. In this passage, he is simply opposing an arbitrary human valuation, which would attribute a worth to only certain gifts of grace, and refused to acknowledge the manifoldness in their distribution. The analogy to the members of the human body, of which the apostle avails himself, betokens the not arbitrary but regulated development of the new creation in a sanctified natural order ; for it is evident from this analogy, that as, among the members of the human body, each has its determinate place

assigned by nature, and its appropriate function, so also the divine life, in its development, follows a similar law, grounded on the natural relations of the individualities animated by it. From what has just been said, we are prepared for rightly understanding the idea of *charisma*, so very important for the history of the development of the Christian life, and of the constitution of the Christian church in the first ages. In the apostolic age, it denoted nothing else than the predominant capability of an individual in which the power and operation of the Holy Spirit that animated him was revealed ;¹ whether this capability appeared as something communicated in an immediate manner by the Holy Spirit, or whether it was already existing in the individual before his conversion, which, animated, sanctified, and raised by the new principle of life, would contribute to one common and supreme object, the inward and outward development of the kingdom of God, or the church of Christ.² That which is the soul of the whole Christian's life, and forms its inward unity, the faith working by love, can never appear as a particular charism ; for as this it is which forms the essence of the whole Christian disposition, so it is this which must govern all the particular Christian capabilities ; and it is because they are all regulated by this common principle of the Christian disposition, that the particular capabilities become charisms ; 1 Cor. xiii.

That by which the developed natural endowment becomes a charism, and which is common to all, is always something elevated above the common course of nature, something divine. But the forms of manifestation in which this higher principle exhibited itself, were marked by a diversity, according as it was the result of an original creative operation of the Holy Spirit, making use of the course of nature, and

¹ The *φανέρωσις τοῦ πνεύματος* peculiar to each person.

² The word most generally used, whereby (since Paul has used it in this sense) is signified, all that concerns the internal advancement of the kingdom of God—whether in reference to the church in general, or to individuals—is *οἰκοδομεῖν*. This use of the word arises from the practice of comparing the Christian life of the whole church, and its individual members, to a building, a temple of God which is built on the foundation on which this building necessarily rests, 1 Cor. iii. 9, 10, and is in a state of continual progress towards completion. On this progressive building of the temple of God, both in general and individually, see the admirable remarks in Nitzsch's *Observationes ad Theologiam practicam feliciter excolendam*. Bonn, 1831, p. 24.

evinced its presence by some immediate effect, (though even here a hidden connexion might exist between the natural peculiarities of the individual and such a special acting of the Holy Spirit); these are charisms which, in the New Testament, are called *δυνάμεις, σημεῖα, τέρατα*; or the manifestations might be deduced from the development of natural talents under the animating influence of the Holy Spirit. The first kind of charisms belong more to the peculiar operation of the Holy Spirit in the apostolic age, that peculiarly creative epoch of Christianity on its first appearance in the world; the second kind belonged to the operation of the Holy Spirit through all succeeding ages of the church, by which human nature, in its essential qualities and its whole course of development, will be progressively penetrated and transformed. These two forms of charism admit therefore of being clearly distinguished, as they were manifested in the apostolic church. The gifts by which such effects were produced in the visible world, which could not proceed from the existing powers and laws of nature, the gift of *δυνάμεις*, and one still more definite, that of curing diseases, the *χάρισμα ἰαμάτων*, are mentioned as special gifts; 1 Cor. xii. 9, 10. Yet these gifts are only ranked with others; we find no division of gifts into two classes, extraordinary and ordinary, supernatural and natural; for we contemplate the apostolic church from the right point of view, only when we consider the essential in all these gifts to be the supernatural principle, the divine element of life itself.

The charisms which appeared in the apostolic church, may be most naturally divided into such as relate to the furtherance of the kingdom of God or the edification of the church by the word, and such as relate to the furtherance of the kingdom of God by other kinds of outward¹ agency. As to the first class, a distinction may be made, founded on the relation in which the mental self-activity developed in the various powers of the soul and their performances bears to the inworking of the Holy Spirit: in proportion as the immediate force of inspiration predominated in the higher self-consciousness (the *νοῦς* or *πνεῦμα*), and the lower self-consciousness (the *ψυχή*), the medium of the soul's intercourse with the outward world, retired; or as the communications

¹ Compare 1 Pet. iv. 11.

of the Divine Spirit were received during the harmonious co-operation of *all* the powers of the soul, and developed and applied by the sober exercise of the understanding.¹ Hence the gradations in the charisms of which we have already spoken, the charism of *γλώσσαις λαλεῖν*, of *προφητεῦειν*, and of *διδασκαλία*. Men who were prepared by the early cultivation of the intellect, and the aptitude for mental communication by means of it, hence knew how to develop and communicate in logical consecutiveness what the illumination of the Divine Spirit revealed to their higher self-consciousness. The *διδάσκαλοι* are therefore teachers possessed of Christian knowledge (*γνῶσις*), who had gained it by means of self-activity animated by the Holy Spirit, through the development and elaboration of truth known in the divine light. The prophet, on the contrary, spoke, as he was carried away by the power of inspiration suddenly seizing him, an instantaneous elevation of his higher self-consciousness, according to a light that then gleamed upon him, (an *ἀποκάλυψις*.) The prophet might be distinguished from the *διδάσκαλος* in reference to his mental peculiarity and formation, by the predominance, in general, of the feelings and intuitive perceptions over the activity of the understanding. Yet the two charisms were not always found separate in different persons. The *διδάσκαλος* in many a moment of inspiration might become a *προφήτης*. The prophet might pronounce, under the influence of inspiration, some impressive address, to awaken, to admonish, to warn, or to console the assembled believers; or make appeals to those who were not yet decided in the faith, by which he alarmed their consciences, and thus opened their hearts for the instructions of the *διδάσκαλος*. It is evident what influence the power of inspired discourse operating on the heart must have had for the spread of the gospel during this period. Persons who wished for once to inform themselves respecting what occurred in Christian assemblies, or to become acquainted with the Christian doctrine, of whose divine origin they were not yet convinced, sometimes came into the assemblies of the Church.²

¹ We can here make use of what Synesius in his *Dion* says of the relation of the *βακχεΐα*, of the *ἄλμα μανικόν*, of the *θεοφορητον*, to the formation of the *μέση καὶ ἐπιστατικὴ δύναμις*.

² The *ἄπιστος*, 1 Cor. xiv. 24, means a person not yet a believer, but yet not unsusceptible of faith, the *Infidelis negative*. Such a one might

On these occasions, Christian men came forward who testified of the corruption of human nature, and of the universal need

be awakened to believe by the *προφητεία*. The *ἄπιστος*, 1 Cor. xiv. 22, is an obstinate unbeliever, wholly unsusceptible of faith, and hence utterly unsusceptible of the influence of the *προφητεία*, an *infidelis privative*. For such persons there could be no awakening, but only condemnatory *σημεία*. I am not induced by what Meyer has said, in his Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians, to give up this interpretation. The connexion makes it absolutely necessary, to give a different meaning to *ἄπιστος* in 1 Cor. xiv. 23 and 24, from what it bears in v. 22, and the collocation of *ιδιώται* and *ἄπιστοι* confirms this explanation. The *ιδιώται* were those who knew only a little of Christianity, the *ἄπιστοι* those who had not yet attained to faith, and as not believing, were akin to the class mentioned in v. 22, but distinguished from them by the direction of their disposition, and its relation to believing, inasmuch as they were not in the position of decided enmity to Christianity. The fact of their attending Christian assemblies, bore evidence of their seeking after truth, that there was at least the germ of susceptibility. A person of this class came to the Christian assemblies, in order to learn, whether it was really a matter worth attending to, "*accensus inquirere quid sit in causa*," as Tertullian says. The train of thought is as follows: v. 21, God speaks by people using a strange language (the revelation of his judgment) to the Jews, who would not listen to the prophets speaking to them in their own language; v. 22, Thus the unintelligible tongues are for signs (signs of merited divine judgments, condemnatory signs) not for believers, (which idea is amplified in verses 23, 24, in order to be applied to those who are susceptible of faith, whose minds are somewhat moved to believe,) but for unbelievers (by which is here indicated what is absolutely contrary to believing—the standing-point of those who have obstinately rejected the opportunities of attaining faith). But prophecy is not for the unbelieving (in consequence of the contrariety of their disposition), but for believers. This general position, that not the gift of unintelligible tongues, but prophecy speaking intelligibly to them, was designed for such, the apostle lays down in v. 23, as an inference from what he had said before. But instead of taking an example from those who already belonged to the church as decided believers, he takes the example of such who were in their progress towards believing; since in these the truth of what they had asserted was more strikingly evident, and show how many such persons might be won by prophecy, while on the contrary, the sight of an assembly in which they heard nothing but ecstatic unintelligible discourses must operate injuriously upon them; in the latter case, they would feel themselves compelled to suppose that there was nothing in Christianity but delusion and enthusiasm. But if the same unbelievers were intended in verse 23 as in verse 22, then for such even the discourses of the prophets would be nothing that could profit them, since there was no point of connexion in their dispositions. To them even what they heard spoken by the prophets would appear nothing but enthusiasm. It would be a punishment merited by them to be addressed in unintelligible language, since they would not understand—they *should not understand*.

of redemption, with overpowering energy; and, from their own religious and moral consciousness, appealed to that of others, as if they could read it. The heathen felt his conscience struck, his heart was laid open, and he was forced to acknowledge, what hitherto he had not been willing to believe, that the power of God was with this doctrine and dwelt among these men; 1 Cor. xiv. 25. If the connected addresses of the διδάσκαλος tended to lead those further into a knowledge of the gospel who had already attained to faith, or to develop in their minds the clear understanding of what they had received by faith; the προφητεία served rather to awaken those to faith who were not yet believers, or to animate and strengthen those who had attained to faith, to quicken afresh the life of faith. On the contrary, in the γλώσσαις λαλεῖν, the elevated consciousness of God predominated, while the consciousness of the external world vanished. To a person who expressed himself in this manner, the medium of communication between the external world and his deeply moved interior, was altogether wanting. What he uttered in this state when carried away by his feelings and intuitions, was not a connected address like that of a διδάσκαλος, nor was it an exhortation suited to the circumstances of other persons (παράκλησις), like that of the prophets; but without being capable in this situation of taking notice of the mental state and necessities of others, he was occupied solely with the relation of his own heart to God. His soul was absorbed in devotion and adoration. Hence prayer, singing the praises of God, testifying of the mighty acts of God, were suited to this state.¹ Such a person prayed in the Spirit; the higher life of the mind and disposition predominated, but the intelligent development was wanting.² Since he formed a peculiar language for himself,

¹ As various kinds of religious acts might proceed from this state of mind, (as for instance, προσεύχεσθαι and ψάλλειν,) the plural γλώσσαι and the phrase γένη γλωσσῶν were used.

² At all events it is evident that in 1 Cor. xiv. 14, πνεύματι προσεύχεσθαι, ψάλλειν, is equally with λαλεῖν, and it is certain that something is said through the medium of the unconscious consciousness. But in respect to the subject of the language, it is a designation of the language produced by the Divine Spirit.

from his own individual feelings and intuitions, he was deficient in the ability to express himself so as to be understood by the majority. Had the apostle Paul held the *γλώσσαις λαλεῖν* to be something quite enthusiastic and morbid, neither advantageous for the Christian life of the individual nor for the furtherance of the Christian life in others, he certainly (so liberally as he always acknowledged what was good in the churches to whom he wrote before he blamed what was evil) would never have allowed himself to designate by the name of a charism, an imperfection in the Christian life, and never could he, in this case, have said of himself that he thanked God that he spake in more tongues than all of them. On the contrary, from the view here developed of this charism, it is

rates, and the human self-activity is repressed; or whether by this name denotes a peculiar internal power of human nature, the power of higher intuition, which in such states alone is developed and active. Verses 15 and 16 would favour and justify no other interpretation than the former. But according to verse 14, though this interpretation is not impossible, there are some difficulties; for here by the *πνεῦμα* must be denoted the inspiration effected by the Spirit, as something dwelling in the soul, and blended with the subjective. Instead of saying, I pray in inspiration, Paul would say, My spirit (*that* in me which is one with the Spirit acting within me) prays. It cannot be denied that this interpretation has something harsh, which is not found in the second, if by *πνεῦμα* we understand that highest power of the soul, which in those highest moments of the inner life, is active as the organ for the influences of the Divine Spirit. It cannot at least be decisive against this interpretation, that Paul in his Epistle to the Romans generally designates the higher spiritual nature of man by the term *νοῦς*; for this need not prevent his applying the same name to a more limited idea in another connexion; the *νοῦς* = *το νοεῖν*, the discursive faculty of thought, in distinction from the higher faculty of intuition, which is more receptive, by surrendering itself to the Divine Spirit. It is worthy of remark, and assists in forming a right judgment of the various charisms in relation to Christianity, that in the sense assigned to the *γλώσσαις λαλεῖν*, we may find something analogous in the *μανία*, the *ῥησις* of the heathen *μάντις*; on the contrary, in the *διδασκαλία* is presented a characteristic of Christianity, the religion of self-illumination; as Christianity is the religion of freedom of mental activity, (in opposition to mere passivity) and of mental development. Hence also the danger that in the use of the *γλώσσαις λαλεῖν* of the Christian watchfulness and mere natural feeling of the divine life—observe appearances

evident that, in this extraordinary elevation of mind, he recognised an operation of the Divine Spirit, a special gift of grace ; and there is also an internal probability that *that* apostle, who rose to the highest point of the interior Christian life, who could depose to having received so many ὀπτασίαι and ἀποκαλύψεις κυρίου, who had heard things unutterable in any tongue of men—had often been in circumstances corresponding to the γλώσσαις λαλεῖν. But it was consonant with that wisdom which always took account of the interests of all classes in the church, that he—although he recognised the value of these temporary elevations for the whole of the Christian life, by which it was enabled to take a wider range—left the manifestations of such moments to the private devotions of each individual, and banished them from meetings for general edification ; that he valued more highly those spiritual gifts, which gave scope for the harmonious cooperation of all the powers of the soul, and contributed in the spirit of love to the general edification ; and that he dreaded the danger of self-deception and enthusiasm, where the extraordinary manifestations of the Christian life were overvalued, and where that—which only was of worth when it arose unsought from the interior development of life,—became an object of anxious pursuit to many who were thus brought into a state of morbid excitement. Hence he wished, that in those highest moments of inspiration which attended the γλώσσαις λαλεῖν, every one would pour out his heart alone before God ; but that in the assemblies of the church these manifestations of devotion, unintelligible to the majority, might be repressed ; or only be exhibited, when what was thus spoken could be translated into a language intelligible to all.

In these charisms we may also distinguish the gift of a productiveness of religious intuition excited and animated by the Divine Spirit ; and the gift which enabled a person to explain or to pass judgment upon what others communicated by means of their charism in the state of higher inspiration, the faculty of interpreting or of judging, animated by the Divine Spirit, the ἐρμηνεία γλώσσαις and the διάκρισις πνευμάτων. The Christian life was permitted freely to develop and express itself in the church. Whoever felt an inward impulse, might venture to speak in the Christian assemblies ; but sound discretion ought to accompany inspiration, and

might be considered as a mark of its being genuine. No one was to wish to be the sole speaker ; or to interrupt others in speaking ; 1 Cor. xiv. 31. If Paul considered such injunctions to be necessary, it is apparent that he by no means recognised in the prophets of the church, pure organs of the Divine Spirit, in whom the divine and the human might not easily be confounded. On the contrary, the churches were to be guarded against the excesses of such a mixture and the delusions which prevailed, when human impurity was looked upon as a suggestion of the Divine Spirit,—by exercising a trial of spirits, for which a special gift was granted to individuals. As for the διδάσκαλος, in whom the reflective activity of the understanding predominated, the gift of trying spirits was not required so much to accompany his addresses ; for since in him the critical power was developed and active, and he was habituated to discuss Christian truths with a sober judgment, he was able to judge himself. But the less a prophet in the moments of inspiration was able to observe, to examine, and to judge himself, the greater was the danger of confounding the divine and the human, and so much the more necessary was it, in order to prevent this, for others to apply a scrutiny. On this account, it was ordered that the operations of the prophetic gift were attended by an extraordinary endowment in certain persons of trying the spirits, a critical power animated by the Holy Spirit. The design of this gift was certainly not merely to decide who was a prophet and who was not ; but chiefly for the purpose of distinguishing in the addresses of those who stood up as inspired speakers in the Christian assemblies, between what proceeded from the Divine Spirit, and what did not proceed from that source ; so Paul, on this point, recommended the church to try every thing communicated by the prophets, and required them to separate the good from the bad ; 1 Thess. v. 21. And as the prophets did not pretend to be infallible, but were conscious of their liability to error, they submitted themselves to the judgment of the church, or of their organs appointed for the purpose, and thus were preserved from the self-delusion of pride, that fruitful source of enthusiasm.

In the charism of διδασκαλία, there appears again to have

been a difference, according as any one had an ability for developing the truth in its theoretic elements, or in its application to the various relations of life; the one was λόγος γνώσεως, the other λόγος σοφίης.¹

But though the terms γνώσις and σοφία are thus distinguished; it by no means follows, that, in every passage where σοφία is mentioned in reference to Christianity, it is used in the same restricted sense, and always with a reference to this distinction. We find both used as synonymous, certainly without any implied reference to such a distinction of practical and theoretical; Coloss. ii. 3. Thus Paul in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, under the name of a λόγος σοφίας, describes the more ample development of Christian truth, in relation to the first elements of Christian knowledge, the common foundation of Christian consciousness in all believers, and in contrast with the philosophy of the Grecian schools. He knew nothing higher than the doctrine of Jesus Christ the Crucified as the foundation of salvation, and whatever pretended to be superior to this, appeared to him a mere deception. He says, that in the publication of the divine counsels respecting the salvation brought by Christ to mankind, all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge were hidden; Coloss. ii. 3; but still the agency of reason enlightened by the Holy Spirit, was necessary, to bring these hidden treasures to light, to educe and develop this divine philosophy. Consequently, there would be various degrees of knowledge to be developed, and various cor-

¹ Σοφία principally denoted a practical power of the judgment, corresponding to the idea of wisdom or prudence; while γνώσις, in the New Testament and contemporary writings, was used for the theoretical, the more profound knowledge of religion; compare 1 Cor. xiii. 2. When Meyer says that the distinction between theoretical and practical does not correspond to the nature of inspired discourse, it appears to me that this objection is not valid: for inspiration in that universal sense which is here treated of, the animating by the Divine Spirit, from whom all charisms proceed, could not be wanting to any kind of discourse in the church. But yet a different gift resulting from animation by the common higher principle of life, would be required, when a person delivered a discourse on the peculiar doctrines of the faith, and when he spoke of objects that called for the exercise of Christian prudence, on the collisions between Christianity and the existing social relations, and matters relating to the outward guidance of the church. The difference is here necessarily grounded in the nature of the object, and of the human mind.

responding kinds of instruction. Paul indeed speaks of a wisdom which he could deliver only among "them that are perfect;" 1 Cor. ii. 6;¹ but by that wisdom, he did not mean giving new explanations respecting the divine wisdom to be added from without, something distinct from the gospel as universally announced, a tradition that was to be divulged in a smaller circle of disciples. But he meant the unfolding those treasures of knowledge contained in the saving doctrine which was announced to all, and which would be brought to light by the exercise of the mental faculties, in proportion as they received and developed the objects of Christian knowledge. "The perfect," in the language of Paul, are not those who possessed a higher intellectual culture, independent of the Christian faith; but those whose whole inner life having been purified and transformed in a high degree by the vital principle of Christianity, are rendered capable of deeper Christian intelligence, by a disposition more refined from all selfish and sensual elements. In proportion as the Jewish or heathenish spirit (and to the latter belonged the one-sided speculative tendency, the *σοφίαν ζητεῖν*, the arrogant wisdom of the philosophical schools,) still predominated among Christians, they were unsusceptible of such knowledge, and of such a kind of instruction. In like manner, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, "the strong meat" of the perfect (of riper Christians) is distinguished from the first elements of Christian knowledge, which were presupposed as the general foundation.

Let us now proceed from those gifts which relate to the ministry of the word, to that class which relates to other kinds of outward activity, for the advancement of the kingdom of God. Here again we must distinguish between those in which, as in *διδασκαλία*, a peculiar capability founded in human nature, and developed and applied according to its usual laws, was rendered effective, under the influence of a new divine principle of life; and those in which the natural

¹ I cannot help considering that interpretation of these words as the simplest and most agreeable to the connexion, according to which, not merely a difference grounded on the various relations of one divine doctrine to the various peculiar states of the men who receive it, (inasmuch as the divine doctrine is indeed wisdom, but appears to be what it is—wisdom—only to genuine believers, to the perfect,) is signified; but also an objective difference of instruction.

human development was put in the background, and what was more purely divine became prominent, similarly to the γλώσσαις λαλεῖν and the προφητεύειν. To the former belong the gifts of church government, the χάρισμα κυβερνήσεως or τοῦ προεστάναι, and the gifts for various services, which were required in administering the concerns of the church, as distributing alms, tending the sick, &c., the χάρισμα διακονίας or ἀντιλήψεως; 1 Cor. xii. 28; Rom. xii. 7. To the second division belongs especially the gift of working miracles, and performing cures. The charism from which these two modes of miraculous operation proceed, considered in its essential nature, appears to be πίστις; 1 Cor. xii. 9; xiii. 2; Matt. xvii. 20. For the term πίστις in this connexion cannot denote Christian faith in general, the disposition common to all Christians; but must necessarily relate to something peculiar. Indeed, as seems to follow from the relation of πίστις to these two modes of operation, in which a peculiar power of the will over nature manifests itself, and as is confirmed by what is predicated of πίστις in 1 Cor. xiii. 2. "If I had faith so that I could move mountains," i. e. could render what appeared impossible, possible by the power of religious conviction working on the Will,—the term πίστις evidently denotes the practical power of the will animated and elevated by faith. But with this variety in the manifestations of the charisms, still he who laboured in the power of the church, agreed with the worker of miracles, in the consciousness that all that he effected was only by the power of God granted to him; 1 Pet. iv. 11.

Although, as we have shown, in virtue of these spiritual gifts imparted to individuals, according to their various peculiarities, no one could exercise a decidedly one-sided influence on the church, but all with reciprocal activity cooperated for the same object, under the influence of one head, animating the whole in all its manifold members, Eph. iv. 16; yet it by no means followed that all guidance¹

¹ We cannot, in this place, allow the view brought forward by Bauer to pass unnoticed, that, in the genuine Pauline Epistles, no trace can be found of distinct employments and offices for the guidance and government of the church. The passage in Rom. xii., in which the distinctions in the various charisms are pointed out, certainly shows how fluctuating everything was at that time, and how little those charisms will assist us as to the meaning of the later church-offices

of the church by human instrumentality was excluded ; but only that these specially guiding instruments exercised no

corresponding to them. In that passage, it is striking to notice how Paul, in the 8th and 9th verses, passes from the charisms which seem to relate to particular offices, to the mention of Christian virtues which concerned every believer ; at the end of verse 8, the *ἐλεῶν* forms the point of transition, and even before that, *μεταδίδους* does not necessarily relate to any official duty. Thus the view we are led to form of the original constitution of the churches among Gentile Christians, as they existed in the apostolic age,—that it was *entirely democratic*, is also one of the distinguishing marks between the churches of Gentile and those of Jewish origin. The case appears to be thus. All the affairs of the churches were still transacted in an entirely public manner, so that every deliberative meeting of the church resembled a strictly popular assembly. But it happened of course, that although no definite offices were instituted, to which certain employments were exclusively attached, yet each one occupied himself with those matters for which he possessed a peculiar charism ; those who had the gift of teaching, generally attended to teaching,—those who possessed the gift of church government, occupied themselves with the duties pertaining to it. Thus, in every meeting of the church, there was a division among its members of the various business, in proportion to the peculiar charisms of individuals, yet without the institution of any definite church-offices. In favour of this view, it might further be alleged, that, when Paul (1 Cor. vi.) speaks of a matter belonging to church government, the settling of litigations, he does not recommend their committing this business to persons who held a distinct office of governing, whose concern in that case it would have been ; but speaks of the church as a body, before whose tribunal such disputes ought to be brought to a decision. “ Is there not *one* wise man among you,” he asked, “ who can settle such matters ? ” Therefore, such wise persons must be taken from the midst of the church, (or, in other words, those who had the gift of church government,) to undertake the settlement of these disputes by means of their peculiar charism, instead of its being referred to any particular office, which perfectly agrees with the views we have stated. But this view, which indeed may be formed from such passages, though not necessarily founded upon them, is decidedly opposed by others. Paul, in 1 Cor. xvi., says, that the family of Stephanas, as the first Christian family in Achaia, devoted themselves to the service of the Christian church, *i. e.* its members declared themselves ready to undertake church offices ; consequently, we may suppose that, at the founding of the church, such offices were instituted. That this is his meaning, is confirmed by the 16th verse, where Paul exhorts the church to obey such (therefore rulers of the church), and all their fellow-labourers.

Further, in 1 Thess. v. 12, he speaks of such who laboured for the church, presided over them, and admonished them. Love to them as overseers on account of their laborious calling is particularly enjoined ; and thus the exhortation to peace with one another concludes, since the division in the church would especially injure their proper relation to these overseers of the church, and the want of becoming love and reve-

exclusive authority, did not separate themselves from connexion with the whole living organization, formed by a free reciprocal action of the individual members, nor dared to violate their relation to the other members, as equally serving the same head, and the same body. There was indeed for this guidance a peculiar talent inspired by the Holy Spirit, χάρισμα κυβερνήσεως. It was this that fitted a person for the office of presiding over the church. The name of presbyter, by which, as we have before remarked, this office was first distinguished, was transferred from the Jewish synagogue to the Christian church. But when the church extended itself further among Hellenic Gentiles, with this name borrowed from the civil and religious constitution of the Jews another was joined, which was more allied to the designations of social relations among the Greeks, and adapted to point out the official duties connected with the dignity of presbyters.¹ The name ἐπίσκοποι denoted overseers over the whole of the church and its collective concerns ; as in Attica

rence towards them would also injuriously operate against the unity of the church. When Paul, in Rom. xvi. 1, mentions a deaconess, it is certainly presupposed that there were also deacons and presbyters in such a church. When, in Eph. iv. 11, he names pastors and teachers next to apostles and prophets, and indeed after the mention of charisms as the heavenly gifts bestowed by Christ, we must infer that, among these pastors and teachers, there were those who exercised distinct offices, and that, in general, certain offices corresponded to certain charisms. We intentionally pass over Philip. i. 1, a passage which can be decisive only for those who, like myself, are convinced of the genuineness of the epistle. Also, when Luke, Acts xiv. 23, narrates that Paul, on his first missionary journey, appointed presbyters in the new churches, this is, in my opinion, certain historical evidence, since I must consider the suspicion that, in this work, a later ecclesiastical point of view has been transferred to earlier and differently formed church-relations, as absolutely without foundation. But from the existing relations of the churches, among which there was not in the same sense as in later times a clergy distinguished from the laity, it is evident, how, in Rom. xii. 7, along with the charisms connected with specific offices, those might be named which were not so connected ; and how Paul could pass on from particular charisms to general Christian virtues. Attention to the poor and sick, which belonged to the special business of deacons, was yet something in which others could be employed, besides those on whom it officially devolved. See Rothe, in the work before quoted, p. 189.

¹ The apostle Peter, in his first Epistle (v. 1, 2), certainly distinguishes this dignity by the name πρεσβύτεροι, but the duties connected with it, by the term ἐπισκοπῆν = ποιμαίνειν.

those who were commissioned to organize the states dependent on Athens, received the title of ἐπίσκοποι,¹ and as in general it appears to have been a frequent one, for denoting a guiding oversight in the public administration.² Since, then, the name ἐπίσκοπος was no other than a transference of an original Jewish and Hellenistic designation of office, adapted to the social relations of the Gentiles ; it follows that originally both names related entirely to the same office, and hence both names are frequently interchanged as perfectly synonymous. Thus Paul addresses the assembled presbyters of the Ephesian church, whom he had sent for as ἐπισκόπους,³ so likewise in 1 Tim. iii. 1, the office of the presbyters is called ἐπισκοπή, and immediately after (verse 8) the office of deacons is mentioned as the only existing church-office besides ; as in Philip. i. 1. And thus Paul enjoins Titus to appoint presbyters, and immediately after calls them bishops. It is, therefore, certain that every church was governed by a union of the elders or overseers⁴ chosen from among themselves, and we

¹ Otherwise called ἄρμοσταί. *Schol. Aristoph. Av.* (1023) οἱ παρ' Ἀθηναίων εἰς τὰς ὑπηκόους πόλεις ἐπισκέψασθαι τὰ παρ' ἐκάστοις πεμπόμενοι, Ἐπίσκοποι καὶ φύλακες ἐκαλοῦντο, οὗς οἱ Λάκωνες Ἄρμοστὰς ἔλεγον.

² *Cic. ad Atticum*, vii. ep 11. Vult me Pompeius esse quem tota, hæc Campana et maritima ora habeat ἐπίσκοπον, ad quam delectus et summa negotii referatur. In a fragment of a work by *Arcadius Charisius de Muneribus civilibus*, Episcopi qui præ-sunt pani et cæteris venalibus rebus, quæ civitatum populis ad quotidianum victum usui sunt. *Digest. lib. iv. tit. iv. leg. 18, § 7.*

³ Acts xx. 17, 28. If we believed ourselves justified in supposing that among them, there were not merely the overseers of the Ephesian church, but also those of other churches in Lesser Asia, it might be said, that by these ἐπισκόπους only the presidents of the presbyteries are intended. But the other passages in Paul's epistles are against such a distinction, and Luke, who applies this address only to the overseers of the Ephesian church, in so doing, shows that he considered the terms ἐπίσκοπος and πρεσβύτερος as perfectly synonymous.

⁴ I must here again explain myself in reference to the first organization of the churches among the Gentile Christians, contrary to the view maintained by Kistand Bauer, that originally very few churches had formed themselves under individual overseers, and that their form of government from the beginning was monarchical. According to Bauer, the overseers as such in reference to their peculiar office, were ἐπίσκοποι, and only when spoken of as united and forming a college, they were called πρεσβύτεροι. In Acts xiv. 23, we are told, that Paul appointed presbyters for the churches, formed in the different cities, that is, in each church a college of presbyters. If, with Bauer, we understand, that the plurality of presbyters is to be taken collectively, and for each church only one presbyter

find among them no individual distinguished above the rest who presided as a *primus inter pares*, though probably, in the age immediately succeeding the apostolic, of which we have unfortunately so few authentic memorials, the practice was introduced of applying to such an one the name of ἐπίσκοπος by way of distinction.¹ We have no information how the office of president in the deliberations of presbyters was held in the apostolic age. Possibly this office was held in rotation—or the order of seniority might be followed—or, by degrees, one individual by his personal qualifications gain such a distinction : all this, in the absence of information, must be left undetermined ; one thing is certain, that the person who acted as president was not yet distinguished by any particular name.

The government of the church was the peculiar office of such overseers ; it was their business to watch over the general order,—to maintain the purity of the Christian doctrine and of Christian practice,—to guard against abuses,—to admonish the faulty—and to guide the public deliberations ; as appears from the passages in the New Testament where their functions are described. But their government by no means excluded the participation of the whole church in the management of their common concerns, as may be inferred from what we have

was appointed, this would be inconsistent with Acts xx. 17, where it is said that Paul sent for the presbyters of the church at Ephesus, which implies that a plurality of presbyters presided over one church ; or the word ἐκκλησία which in the passage first quoted is understood of a single church, must be here arbitrarily taken to signify several churches collectively—certainly quite contrary to the phraseology of the apostolic age, according to which the word ἐκκλησία signifies, either the whole Christian church, the total number of believers, forming one body under one head, or a single church or Christian society. In that case, the plural τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν must necessarily have been used. Acts xx. 28, also implies, that over each church a plurality of presbyters presided. And thus, we must also explain Titus i. 5, which explanation (of the appointment of several presbyters in each city) is also most favoured by the language there used. I can discover no other difference between the πρεσβύτεροι and ἐπίσκοποι in the apostolic age, than that the first signifies the rank, the second the duties of the office, whether the reference is to one or more.

¹ Perhaps an analogy may be found, in the fact (if it were so), that one among the Jewish presbyters was distinguished by the name of Archisynagogos ; or the names πρεσβύτεροι and ἀρχισυνάγωγοι may bear the same relation to each other as πρεσβύτεροι and ἐπίσκοποι, the first name denoting the rank, the second the nature of the office, ἄρχοντες τῆς συναγωγῆς.

already remarked respecting the nature of Christian communion, and is also evident from many individual examples in the Apostolic church. The whole church at Jerusalem took part in the deliberations respecting the relation of the Jewish and Gentile Christians to each other, and the epistle drawn up after these deliberations was likewise in the name of the whole church. The Epistles of the Apostle Paul, which treat of various controverted ecclesiastical matters, are addressed to whole churches, and he assumes that the decision belonged to the whole body. Had it been otherwise, he would have addressed his instructions and advice principally, at least, to the overseers of the church. When a licentious person belonging to the church at Corinth was to be excommunicated, the apostle considered it a measure that ought to proceed from the whole society; and placed himself therefore in spirit among them, to unite with them in passing judgment; 1 Cor. v. 3—5. Also, when discoursing of the settlement of litigations, the apostle does not affirm that it properly belonged to the overseers of the church; for if this had been the prevalent custom, he would no doubt have referred to it; but what he says seems to imply that it was usual in particular instances to select arbitrators from among the members of the church; 1 Cor. vi. 5.

As to what relates to the edification of the church by the Word, it follows from what we have before remarked, that this was not the exclusive concern of the overseer of the church: for each one had a right to express what affected his mind in the assembly of the brethren; hence many did not sufficiently distinguish between what was fit only for their own chamber, where every man might freely pour forth his heart before God, and what was suitable for communicating publicly,—an error censured by Paul, as we noticed in speaking of the gift of tongues.¹

¹ It has been maintained, indeed, that this licence in the apostolic church was extended only to those who appear as prophets in the Christian assemblies. But from such special cases a general licence is not to be inferred, for these men as teachers, armed with divine authority, and speaking in God's name, might on that account be naturally excepted from common rules. See Mosheim's *Institut. Hist. Eccles. major.* sec. i. § 10 et 18. But this objection is invalidated by what we have remarked respecting the prophetic charism and its relation to other charisms.

Only the female members of the church were excepted from this general permission. The fellowship of a higher life communicated by Christianity, extended itself to the relation between husband and wife; and the unity to which human nature aspires according to its original destination was realized in this quarter, as in every other respect, by Christianity. But since whatever is founded on the laws of nature is not injured by Christianity, but only animated afresh, sanctified, and refined; so also in this higher fellowship of life, which ought to unite husband and wife, the latter retains her becoming place according to the natural destination of her sex. Mental receptivity and activity in family life were recognised in Christianity as corresponding to the destiny of woman, and hence the female sex are excluded from delivering public addresses on religious subjects in the meetings of the church;¹ 1 Cor. xiv. 34; 1 Tim. ii. 12.

¹ 1 Cor. xi. 5 appears to contradict this injunction, and in ancient times the Montanists thought—with whom several modern writers have agreed—that here an exception is to be found; as if the apostles intended to bind by no rule those cases in which the immediate operation of the Divine Spirit raised up prophets from the female sex; or as if he wished to debar females only from addresses that were peculiarly didactic, but not from the public expression of their feelings. But as to the first interpretation, it supposes too great a difference between the *διδάσκειν*—which must also proceed from an operation of the Holy Spirit—and the *προφητεύειν* in reference to the divine in both. It must be certainly erroneous to suppose that any operation whatever of the Holy Spirit in the Christian church could be lawless. When the apostle Paul points out to the female that place in the church which is assigned her by the spirit of the gospel, which sanctifies nature—the Holy Spirit which is the Spirit of Christianity, follows everywhere this law in his operations, and we cannot suppose that by an exception he would remove woman from her natural position. Every deviation of this kind would appear as something morbid, and contrary to the spirit of the gospel.

Besides, when Paul gave that prohibition in reference to females, he was treating of addresses that were *not didactic*. This could therefore make no exception, which would apply to both interpretations. We must account for this apparent contradiction, by supposing that Paul, in the second passage, merely cited an instance of what occurred in the Corinthian church, and reserved his censures for another place. One of the reasons which Paul adduces in the passage quoted from the first Epistle to Timothy against the public speaking of females, is the greater danger of self-deception in the weaker sex, and the spread of errors arising from it—a reason which would apply with the greatest force to a class of addresses, in which sober reflectiveness was least of all in exercise. But this kind of religious utterance would be most

Yet as, by the participation of all in the conduct of church affairs, a regular government by appointed organs was not excluded, but both cooperated for the general good ; so also together with that which the members of the church, by virtue of the common Christian inspiration, could contribute to their mutual edification, there existed a regular administration of instruction in the church, and an oversight of the transmission and development of doctrine, which in this time of restlessness and ferment was exposed to so many adulterations, and for this purpose the *χάρισμα* of *διδασκαλία* was designed. There were three orders of teachers in the apostolic age. The first place is occupied by those who were personally chosen and set apart by Christ, and formed by intercourse with him to be instruments for publishing the gospel among all mankind—the witnesses of his discourses, his works, his sufferings, and his resurrection—the Apostles,¹ among whom Paul was justly included, on account of Christ's personal appearance to him and the illumination of his mind independently of the instructions of the other apostles ; next to these, were the Missionaries or Evangelists, *εὐαγγελισταί* ;² and lastly, the Teachers appointed for separate churches, and

suited to the female sex, where no danger of the sort alluded to, arising from publicity, would be connected with it—only it must be confined to the domestic circle. Hence the daughters of Philip, Acts xxi. 9, notwithstanding that rule, could act as prophetesses, unless we assume that this was an instance which Paul would have censured.

¹ This name in a general sense was applied to others who published divine truth in an extensive sphere of labour.

² This name does not imply that they occupied themselves with collecting and compiling narratives of the life of Christ ; for the name *εὐαγγέλιον* originally denoted nothing else than the whole announcement of the salvation granted through Christ to men, and this announcement embraced the whole of Christianity. As this announcement rests on a historical basis, Christ as the Redeemer is the object of it ; and thus the later-derived meaning is formed in which this word is specially applied to the histories of the Life of Christ. According to the original Christian phraseology, the term could only denote one whose calling it was to publish the doctrine of salvation to men, and thereby to lay a foundation for the Christian church ; on the contrary, the *διδάσκαλος* presupposed faith in the doctrine of salvation, and a church already founded, and employed himself in the further training in Christian knowledge. The use of the word *εὐαγγελιστής* in 2 Tim. iv. 5, favours this interpretation, and this original Christian phraseology was continued in later ages, although a more modern meaning of the word *εὐαγγέλιον* was connected with it.—*Euseb. Hist. Eccles.* iii. c. 37

taken out of their body, the διδάσκαλοι. If sometimes the προφήται are named next to the apostles and set before the evangelists and the διδασκάλους, such teachers must be meant in whom that inward condition of life, from which προφητεύειν proceeded, was more constant, who were distinguished from other teachers by the extraordinary liveliness and steadiness of the Christian inspiration, and a peculiar originality of their Christian conceptions which were imparted to them by special ἀποκαλύψεις of the Holy Spirit ; and indeed these prophets, as is evident from their position between the apostles and evangelists, belonged to the class of teachers who held no office in any one church, but travelled about, to publish the gospel in a wider circle.

As it regards the relation of the διδάσκαλοι to the πρεσβύτεροι or ἐπίσκοποι, we dare not proceed on the supposition, that they always remained the same from the first establishment of Christian churches among the Gentiles, and therefore during the whole of Paul's ministry, a period so important for the development of the church ; and hence we are not justified to conclude, from the characteristics we find in the later Pauline Epistles, that the relation of these orders was the same as existed from the beginning in the Gentile churches. If we find several things in earlier documents which are at variance with these characteristics, the supposition must at least appear possible, that changes in the condition of the churches, and the experiences of the first period, had occasioned an alteration in this respect ; and it is an utterly unfounded conclusion, if, because traces of such an altered relation are found in an epistle ascribed to Paul, any one should infer that such an epistle could not have been written in the Pauline period. The first question then is, What was the original relation ? If we proceed on the supposition, which is founded on the Pastoral Letters, that the διδάσκαλοι belonged to the overseers of the churches, two cases may be imagined ; either that all the presbyters or bishops held also the office of teachers ; or, that some among them, according to their peculiar talent (χάρισμα), were specially employed in the management of the outward guidance of the church (the κυβέρνησις), and others with the internal guidance of the word (the διδασκαλία), we shall thus have πρεσβύτεροι κυβερνῶντες = ποιμένες and πρεσβύτεροι διδάσ-

ποιμεν = *shepherd*. The first case certainly cannot be admitted, for the *χρησις* of *ποιμεν* is so decidedly distinct from the *χρησις* of *διδασκαλος* as in common life the talent for governing and the talent for teaching are perfectly distinct from one another. And according to the original institution the peculiar office corresponded to the peculiar character. But since in the latter part of the Pauline period, those presbyters who were equally capable of the office of teachers as well as governors, were especially commended, it is evident that this was not originally the case with all. But neither have we sufficient reason for considering the second case, as the original relation of these several offices. Since the *χρησις* of *ποιμεν*—*ποι* or *αἰν*, *ποι* (in the First Epistle to the Corinthians xii. 28. and in the Epistle to the Romans xii. 8.) is so accurately distinguished from the talent of teaching,—and since these two characteristics, the *ποιμεν* and the *αἰν*, evidently exhaust what belonged from the beginning to the office of presbyter or bishop, and for which it was originally instituted, we are not obliged to conclude that the *διδασκαλοι* belonged to the class of overseers of the church.

In the Epistle written at a late period to the Ephesians (iv. 11), the *ποιμένες* and *διδασκαλοι* are so far placed together, that they are both distinguished from those who presided over a general sphere of labour, but yet only in that respect. Now the term *ποιμένες* denotes exactly the office of rulers of the church, the presbyters or bishops; it therefore does not appear evident that we should class the *διδασκαλοι* with them. On the other hand, the term *ποιμένες* might be applied not improperly to *διδασκαλοι*, since in itself, and from the manner in which the image of a shepherd is used in the Old Testament and by Christ himself, it is fitted to denote the guidance of souls by the office of teaching. Paul also classes *ἐδδαχῇ* with those addresses which are not connected with holding a particular office (1 Cor. xiv. 26), but what every one in the church who had an inward call, and an ability for it, was justified in exercising.

It might also happen, that in a church after its presbytery had already been established, persons belonging to it might come forward, or new members might be added, who, in con

sequence of their previous education, distinguished themselves in the office of teaching, even more than the existing presbyters, which would soon be evident from the addresses they delivered when the church assembled. At this season of the first free development of the Christian life, would the charism granted to such persons be neglected or repressed, merely because they did not belong to the class of presbyters? There were, as it appears, some members of the church in whose dwellings a portion of them used to assemble, and this depended probably not always on the convenient locality of their residence, but on their talent for teaching, which was thus rendered available; as Aquila, who though he resided sometimes at Rome, sometimes at Corinth, or at Ephesus, always wherever he took up his abode had a small congregation or church in his own house. (*ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ.*)¹ Thus originally the office of overseer of the church might have nothing in common

¹ The occurrence of such private churches is made use of by Kist and Bauer as an argument for their opinion, that originally in the larger cities there were only insulated particular churches, under their own guiding presbyters, which were formed in various parts, and at a subsequent period were united into one whole. But the Epistles of the apostle Paul give the clearest evidence that all the Christians of one city originally formed one whole church. Yet we may easily suppose that some parts of the church, without separating themselves from the whole body and its guidance, held particular meetings in the house of some person whose locality was very suitable, and who acted as the *διδάσκαλος* for the edification of such small assemblies. Thus it may be explained how Aquila and Priscilla, while they sojourned at Rome, or Corinth, or Ephesus, might have such a small Christian society in their own house. Yet it does not seem right to consider these as absolutely separate and distinct churches; for we could not suppose that such a company of believers would be waiting for the arrival of a person like Aquila, who so often changed his residence; they must have had a fixed place of assembling, and their appointed overseers, (a presbyter or bishop, according to that supposition.) In 1 Cor. xvi. 20, the church, forming one whole (all the brethren), is expressly distinguished from any such partial assembly. In Rom. xvi. 23, a brother is mentioned, in whose house the whole church held their meetings. In Coloss. iv. 15, after a salutation to the whole church, an individual is specified and included in the salutation, at whose house such private meetings were held. But it may be questioned whether in such places as Rom. xvi. 14, 15 ("Salute Asyncretus—and the brethren that are with them." "Salute Philologus—and all the saints that are with them,") meetings of this kind are intended, or only those persons who, on account of their family ties or connexions in business, lived in intimacy with one another.

with the communication of instruction. Although the oversight of the church took cognisance not only of the good conduct of its members, but also of that which would be considered as forming its basis, the maintenance of pure doctrine, and the exclusion of error, and though from the beginning we would be taken to appoint persons to this office who had attained to maturity and steadiness in their Christian principles, it did not follow that they must possess the gift of teaching, and in addition to their other labours occupy themselves in private addresses. It might be, that at first the *διδασκαλαί* was generally not connected with a distinct office, but that those who were noted for it came forward in the public assemblies as *ῥητοροί*; until it came to pass that those who were specially furnished with the *χρησμία* of *διδασκαλαί*, of whom there would naturally be only a few in most churches, were considered as those on whom the stated delivery of instruction devolved. In the Epistle to the Galatians (vi. 6), Paul may be thought to intimate¹ that there were already teachers appointed by the church, who ought to receive their maintenance from them. But the question arises, whether these words relate to the *διδασκαλαί*, or to the itinerant *εὐαγγελισταί*; also, whether the passage speaks, not of any regular salary, but of the contributions of free love, by which the immediate wants of these missionaries were relieved. At all events,—which would also be confirmed by this latter

¹ Even after the reasons alleged by Schott against this interpretation, in his commentary on this Epistle, I cannot help considering it as the only natural one. And I cannot agree with the other, according to which the *πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς* is understood in a spiritual sense, (following the example of their teachers in all that is good.) I cannot suppose that Paul, if he wished to admonish the Galatians to follow the example of their teachers in the Christian life, would have expressed himself in so obscure and spiritless a manner. As to the objection against the first interpretation, that it does not suit the connexion, I cannot admit its correctness. The exhortations to gentleness and humility in social intercourse, introduce the series of special exhortations. v. 26. vi. 6, where the *δὲ* marks the continued development, a new exhortation follows, namely, that they should be ready to communicate of their earthly goods to their teachers; then ver. 7, that they must not think of reaping the fruits of the gospel, if their conduct was not formed agreeably to it; if they, with all their care directed only to earthly things, neglected such a duty towards those who laboured for the salvation of their souls.

passage, in case it is understood of διδάσκαλοι, these were and continued to be distinct from the overseers of the church in general, although in particular cases the talents of teaching and governing were connected, and the presbyter was equally able as a teacher.

At a later period, when the pure gospel had to combat with manifold errors, which threatened to corrupt it—as was especially the case during the latter period of Paul's ministry,—at this critical period it was thought necessary to unite more closely the offices of teachers and overseers, and with that view to take care that overseers should be appointed, who would be able by their public instructions to protect the church from the infection of false doctrine, to establish others in purity of faith, and to convince the gainsayers ; Tit. i. 9 ; and hence he esteemed those presbyters who laboured likewise in the office of teaching, as deserving of special honour.

We have already remarked, that only females were excluded from the right of speaking in the public meetings of the church. But yet the gifts peculiar to their sex might be made available for the outward service of the church, in rendering assistance of various kinds, for which women are peculiarly fitted ; and according to existing social habits, a deacon in many of his official employments might excite suspicion in reference to his conduct towards the female members of the church ; but it was desirable by all means to guard against such an imputation on the new religious sect, of which men were easily inclined to believe evil, because it was new and opposed to the popular faith. Hence the office of deaconess was instituted in addition to that of deacon, probably first in the churches of Gentile Christians. Of its institution and nature in the apostolic age we have no precise information, since we find it explicitly mentioned in only one passage of the New Testament ; Rom. xvi. 1. In modern times, indeed, what Paul says in 1 Tim. v. 3—16, of the widows who received their maintenance from the church, has been applied to these deaconesses. And many qualifications which he requires of those who were to be admitted into the number of the widows (v. 10), and which appear to contain a reference to their special employments, as attention to strangers and the care of the poor, are in favour of the supposition. But since Paul only distinguished them as persons

supported by the church,¹ without questioning any other articles as touching upon them, since by themselves there is reason to be satisfied that the good and virtuous, and separated from all compromise with worldly concerns, and dedicated their life to serving God in domestic and public, and even in the church, the effect of domestic piety is necessarily multiplied and extended, and that no great advantage is to be had in the public observances of religion out of which piety can be made very common.² What Paul says in the passage quoted above of the loneliness of the church at Corinth, seems by no means to agree with what is said in the First Epistle to Timothy, concerning the age and domestic condition of widows. We must either suppose such families to be among those widows who, after possessing a model in themselves, their duties as Christian wives and mothers, would have almost ceased and a place of honour in the house of the church, where those they could find a refuge in their loneliness, and by their domestic and spiritual life, set an edifying example to other families, perhaps also they might be able to contribute to such of their sex as sought their advice, the results of their Christian experience collected in the course of a long life and make a favourable impression even on the church. Hence it would naturally be an occasion of scandal, if such persons carried a life of retirement and devotion, and showed a distrust for labours that were inconsistent with their married character. At all events, we find here an acknowledged arrangement of later date, which is also indicated by other parts of the Epistle.

The constitution of offices in the church was conducted in the following manner. After those persons to whom its por-

¹ I do not perceive how Bauer can trace in the 14th chapter of the First Epistle to Timothy, that at that time the name $\chi\eta\rho\alpha$ was applied to young unmarried females, in reference to their station in the church, since, would be among the marks of a writing composed at a later period. The $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \chi\eta\rho\alpha$ in v. 5, are the truly destitute, who could find relief only in the church for their loneliness, contrasted with the widows mentioned in verse 4, who were supported by their own relations, instead of being a burden to the church. The $\chi\eta\rho\alpha$ — $\pi\epsilon\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha\mu\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, verse 5, where the $\kappa\alpha\iota$ is to be understood explicative.

² The supposition, that in v. 9 mention is made of a different class of widows than those in v. 8, appears to me utterly untenable. A comparison of v. 16 with v. 4 and 8, plainly shows that this whole section relates to the same subject.

formance belonged, had laid their hands on the head of the candidate, — a symbolic action borrowed from the Jewish *קידוש*, — they besought the Lord that he would grant, what this symbol denoted, the impartation of the gifts of his Spirit for carrying on the office thus undertaken in his name. If, as was presumed, the whole ceremony corresponded to its intent, and the requisite disposition existed in those for whom it was performed, there was reason for considering the communication of the spiritual gifts necessary for the office, as connected with this consecration performed in the name of Christ. And since Paul from this point of view designated the whole of the solemn proceeding, (without separating it into its various elements) by that which was its external symbol (as in scriptural phraseology, a single act of a transaction, consisting of several parts, and sometimes that which was most striking to the senses, is often mentioned for the whole); he required of Timothy that he should seek to revive afresh the spiritual gifts that he had received by the laying on of hands.

Respecting the election to offices in the church, it is evident that the first deacons, and the delegates who were authorized by the church to accompany the apostles, were chosen from the general body; 2 Cor. viii. 19. From these examples, we may conclude that a similar mode of proceeding was adopted at the appointment of presbyters. But from the fact that Paul committed to his disciples Timothy and Titus (to whom he assigned the organization of new churches, or of such as had been injured by many corruptions), the appointment likewise of presbyters and deacons, and called their attention to the qualifications for such offices, we are by no means justified in concluding that they performed all this alone without the cooperation of the churches. The manner in which Paul was wont to address himself to the whole church, and to take into account the cooperation of the whole community, which must be apparent to every one in reading his Epistles, — leads us to expect, that where a church was already established, he would admit it as a party in their common concerns. It is possible, that the apostle himself in many cases, as on the founding of a new church, might think it advisable to nominate the persons best fitted for such offices, and a proposal from such a quarter would naturally carry the

greatest weight with it. In the example of the family of Stephanas at Corinth, we see that those who first undertook office in the church, were members of the family first converted in that city.

It was also among the churches of the Gentile Christians that the peculiar nature of the Christian worship was fully expressed in the character of their cultus. For among the Jewish Christians the ancient forms of the Jewish cultus were still retained, though persons of this class who were deeply imbued with the spirit of the gospel, and hence had acquired the essence of inward spiritual worship, which is limited to no place or time,—were made free as it regarded their inward life from the thralldom of these forms, and had learned to refine these forms by viewing them in the light of the gospel. Such persons thought that the powers of the future world which they were conscious of having received, would still continue to operate in these forms belonging to the ancient economy, until that future world and the whole of its new heavenly economy would arrive, by means of the return of Christ to complete his kingdom,—a decisive era which appeared to them not far distant. On the contrary, among the Gentiles the free spiritual worship of God developed itself in direct opposition to Judaism and the attempts to mingle Judaism and Christianity. According to the doctrine of the apostle Paul, the Mosaic law in its whole extent had lost its value as such to Christians; nothing could be a rule binding on Christians on account of its being contained in the Mosaic law; but, whatever was binding as a law for the Christian life, must as such derive its authority from another quarter. Hence a transference of the Old Testament command of the sanctity of the Sabbath to the New Testament standing-point was not admissible. Whoever considered himself subject to one such command, in Paul's judgment again placed himself under the yoke of the whole law; his inward life was thereby brought into servitude to outward earthly things, and sinking into Jewish nationalism, denied the universalism of the gospel; for on the standing-point of the gospel, the whole life became in an equal manner related to God, and served to glorify him, and thenceforth no opposition existed between what belonged to the world and what belonged to God. Thus all the days of the Christian

life must be equally holy to the Lord; hence Paul says to the Galatian Christians, who had allowed themselves to be so far led astray as to acknowledge the Mosaic law as binding, and to observe the Jewish feasts, "After that ye have known God, or rather (by his pitying love), have been led to the knowledge of God, how turn ye again¹ to the weak and beggarly elements, whereunto ye desire again to be in bondage?"² Gal. iv. 9. He fears that his labours among them to make them Christians had been in vain, and for this very reason, because they reckoned the observance of certain days as holy to be an essential part of religion. The apostle does not here oppose the Christian feasts to the Jewish, but he considers the whole reference of religion to certain days as something foreign to the exalted standing-point of Christian freedom, and belonging to that of Judaism and Heathenism. With a similar polemical view (in Coloss. ii. 16) he declares his opposition to those who considered the observation of certain days as essential to religion, and condemned those who did not observe them. Although, in the Epistle to the Romans, xiv. 1—6, he enjoins forbearance towards such in whom the Christian spirit was not yet developed with true

¹ Thus he spoke to those who had formerly been heathens; for although in other points Judaism might be considered as opposed to heathenism, yet he viewed as an element common to both, the cleaving to outward forms.

² I have translated this passage according to the sense; more literally it would be,—“or rather are known by God.”—Living in estrangement from him, they lived in spiritual darkness, in ignorance of God and of divine things; but now by the mercy of God revealing itself to them, they obtained living communion with him, and the true knowledge of him. After Paul had contrasted their present standing-point of divine knowledge with that of their former ignorance, he corrects himself, in order not to let it be imagined that they were indebted simply to the exercise of their own reason for this knowledge of God, and represents in strong terms, that they were indebted for every thing to divine grace, the grace of redemption. Therefore, they were guilty of ingratitude, in not making use of the knowledge vouchsafed to them by the grace of God. Had it been possible for Paul, according to the idiom of the Greek, to mark by a passive form of the same word *γινώσκειν*, the contrast between a received knowledge imparted by God, and a knowledge gained by the exercise of the mental powers alone, he would for that purpose have used the passive form. This, indeed, the laws of the Greek language did not permit; but yet the passive form, according to his customary Hellenistic idiom, gave him an opportunity to mark the contrast which he had in his mind still more strongly

freedom, yet he certainly considers it as the most genuine Christianity, to think every day alike, to hold none as peculiarly sacred to the Lord; the κρίνειν πᾶσαν ἡμέραν—μὴ φρονεῖν κυρίῳ τὴν ἡμέραν.

It is worthy of notice, that Paul in such passages entirely rejects even festive observances, as they were considered among Gentiles and Jews as something absolutely essential to religion, and does not even mention any days which might be expressly sacred in a freer method, and suited to Christianity, Christian feasts properly so called. So far was he from thinking that on the Christian standing-point there could be days which could in any manner bear a resemblance to what in the Jewish sense was a feast, or that it was necessary to set apart any day whatever as specially to be observed by the church! From such passages we may conclude, that, in the Gentile churches, all days of the week were considered alike suitable for the service of the church; and that all preference of one day to another was regarded as quite foreign to the genius of the gospel.

A perfectly unquestionable and decided mention of the ecclesiastical observance of Sunday among the Gentile Christians, we cannot find in the times of the Apostle Paul, but there are two passages which make its existence probable. If what Paul says, 1 Cor. xii. 2, relates to collections which were made at the meetings of the church, it would be evident from this passage that at that time the Sunday was specially devoted to such meetings. But Paul, if we examine his language closely, says no more than this: that every one should lay by in his own house on the first day of the week, whatever he was able to save. This certainly might mean, that every one should bring with him the sum he had saved to the meeting of the church, that thus the individual contributions might be collected together, and be ready for Paul as soon as he came. But this would be making a gratuitous supposition, not at all required by the connexion of the passage.¹ We may fairly understand the whole passage to mean, that every one on the first day of the week should lay aside what he could spare, so that when Paul came, every one might be prepared with the total of the sum thus laid

¹ The word *θησαυρίζων*, 1 Cor. xvi. 2, applied to setting aside the small sums weekly, is against the notion of a public collection.

by, and then, by putting the sums together, the collection of the whole church would be at once made. If we adopt this interpretation, we could not infer that special meetings of the church were held and collections made on Sundays. And if we assume that, independently of the influence of Christianity, the Jewish reckoning by weeks had been adopted among the heathen in the Roman Empire ; still in this passage we can find no evidence for the existence of a religious distinction of Sunday. But since we are not authorized to make this assumption unless a church consisted for the most part of those who had been Jewish Proselytes,¹ we shall be led to infer that the religious observances of Sunday occasioned its being considered the first day of the week. It is also mentioned in Acts xx. 7, that the church at Troas assembled on a Sunday and celebrated the Lord's Supper. Here the question arises, whether Paul put off his departure from Troas to the next day, because he wished to celebrate the Sunday with this church—or whether the church met on the Sunday (though they might have met on any other day), because Paul had fixed to leave Troas on the following day.

At all events, we must deduce the origin of the religious observance of Sunday, not from the Jewish-Christian churches, but from the peculiar circumstances of the Gentile Christians, and may account for the practice in the following manner. Where the circumstances of the churches did not allow of daily meetings for devotion and agapæ—although in the nature of Christianity no necessity could exist for such a distinction—although on the Christian standing-point all days were to be considered as equally holy, in an equal manner devoted to the Lord—yet on account of peculiar outward relations, such a distinction of a particular day was adopted for religious communion. They did not choose the Sabbath which the Jewish Christians celebrated, in order to avoid the risk of mingling Judaism and Christianity, and because another event was more closely associated with Christian sentiments. The sufferings and resurrection of Christ appeared as the central point of Christian knowledge and practice ; since his resurrection was viewed as the foundation of all Christian joy and hope, it was natural that the day which

¹ See Ideler's *Chronologie*, i. 180.

was connected with the remembrance of this event, should be specially devoted to Christian communion.

But if a weekly day was thus distinguished in the churches of Gentile Christians, still it is very doubtful that any yearly commemoration of the resurrection was observed among them. Some have endeavoured to find in 1 Cor. v. 7, a reference to a Christian passover to be celebrated in a Christian sense with a decided reference to Christian truth: but we can find a reference only to a Jewish passover, which was still celebrated by the Jewish Christians. When Paul was writing those words, the Jews and Jewish Christians were present to his imagination, as on the fourteenth of Nisan, they carefully searched every corner of their houses, lest any morsel of leaven should have escaped their notice. This practice of outward Judaism he applies in a spiritualized sense to Christians. "Purify yourselves from the old leaven (the leaven of your old nature, which still cleaves to you from your old corruption), that you may become a new mass (meaning renewed and justified human nature), and as it were unleavened; that is, purified by Christ from the leaven of sin, as elsewhere Paul represents purification from sin, the being dead to sin as connected with the death of Christ,¹ for Christ has been offered as our paschal lamb: they ought ever to remember that true paschal lamb, by whose offering they were truly freed from sin; the Jewish passover was henceforth wholly useless. Therefore, as men purified from sin by Christ our paschal lamb, let us celebrate the feast, not after the manner of the Jews, who swept the leaven out of their houses, but retained the leaven of old corruption in their hearts—but let us so celebrate it that we may be a mass purified in heart from the leaven of sin." In all this, there is evidently no reference to the celebration of a Christian passover among Gentile Christians, but only the contrast of

¹ This is no doubt the simplest interpretation of the words καθὼς ἔστε ἄζυμοι, "as ye are unleavened," purified as redeemed persons, for ever from the ζύμη τῆς ἁμαρτίας. But, if with Grotius, we understand the words according to the analogy of the Greek ἄσιτος, ἄοινος, "as ye eat no leaven," and thus are equivalent to, "as ye celebrate the feast of unleavened bread, or the Passover," still this may be understood only of a spiritual passover; for otherwise it would not agree with that which is afterwards adduced as a reason, and it would also be implied, that the Gentile Christians had refrained from leavened bread at Easter, which Paul, on his principles, could not have allowed.

the spiritual passover, comprehending the whole life of the redeemed, with the merely outward Jewish feast.¹

The celebration of the two symbols of Christian communion, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, belonged to the unchangeable plan of the Christian church, as framed by its Divine Founder; these rites were to be recognised equally by Jews and Gentiles, and no alteration would be made in reference to them by the peculiar formation of ecclesiastical life among the Gentiles; we need therefore to add little to what we have before remarked. In Baptism, entrance into communion with Christ appears to have been the essential point; thus persons were united to the spiritual body of Christ and received into the communion of the redeemed, the church of Christ; Gal. iii. 27; 1 Cor. xii. 13. Hence baptism, according to its characteristic marks, was designated a baptism into Christ, into the name of Christ, as the acknowledgment of Jesus as the Messiah was the original article of faith in the apostolic church, and this was probably the most ancient² formula of baptism, which was still made use of even in the third century (see my Church History, vol. i. p. 546). The usual form of submersion at baptism, practised by the Jews, was transferred to the Gentile Christians. Indeed, this form was the most suitable to signify that which Christ intended to render an object of contemplation by such a symbol; the immersion of the whole man in the spirit of a new life. But Paul availed himself of what was accidental to the form of this symbol, the twofold act of submersion and of emersion, to which Christ certainly made no reference at the institution of the symbol. As he found therein a reference to Christ Dead, and Christ Risen, the negative and positive aspect of the Christian life—in the imitation of Christ to die to all ungodliness, and in communion with him to rise to a new divine life,—so in the given form of baptism, he made use of what was accessory in order to represent, by a sensible

¹ If we supposed that these words related to an Easter-feast, celebrated among the Gentile Christians, it would follow that they celebrated this feast at the same time as the Jews, and then it would hardly be possible to explain the rise of the disputes relative to the time of observing Easter.

² In the Shepherd of Hermas (visio iii. c. 7), in Fabricii Cod. apocr. Nov. Test. p. 804, it is said, *baptizavi in nomine Domini*.

mage, the idea and design of the rite in its connexion with the whole essence of Christianity.

Since baptism marked the entrance into communion with Christ, it resulted from the nature of the rite, that a confession of faith in Jesus as the Redeemer would be made by the person to be baptized; and in the latter part of the apostolic age, we may find indications of the existence of such a practice.¹ As baptism was closely united with a conscious entrance on Christian communion, faith and baptism were always connected with one another; and thus it is in the highest degree probable that baptism was performed only in instances where both could meet together, and that the practice of infant baptism was unknown at this period. We

¹ These indications are such as will not amount to incontrovertible certainty. We find the least doubtful reference in 1 Pet. iii. 21, but the interpretation even of this passage has been much disputed. If the words are understood in this sense, "a question according to a good conscience in relation to God, by means of the resurrection of Christ," a question proposed at baptism might be inferred from it, of which the purport would be, whether a person believed in the resurrection of Christ, as the pledge of the forgiveness of sins granted to him, and hence would think of God in this faith with a good conscience. But Winer against such an interpretation of the passage justly objects, that in this case, the answer given by the candidate as an expression of his confession of his faith, of what peculiarly related to salvation, and not the question, must have been mentioned. Yet Winer's explanation (in his Grammar) in reference to the word *ἐπερωτήματα*,—the seeking of a good conscience after God,—although *ἐπερωτᾶν εἰς* in the Hellenistic idiom, as the passage adduced by Winer shows, may have this meaning—does not appear the most natural. If Paul had wished to say this, would he not have preferred using the form *ἐπερωτήσεις*? And might it not be said against this interpretation, that the apostle would have represented that which saved at baptism, not the seeking after God, but the finding God through Christ, the longing for communion with him, according to the analogy of scriptural representations on this subject?

But what Peter wished particularly to point out, was the spiritual character of the whole baptismal rite, in opposition to a mere outward sensible purification. This spiritual character might be pointed out by the question proposed at baptism, which referred to the spiritual religious object of the rite, and the question is alluded to instead of the answer, because it precedes and is that which gives occasion to the answer, and thus the first interpretation may be justified.

The second trace of such a baptismal confession is found in 1 Tim. vi. 12, but it is not quite evident, that a confession of this kind is intended; it might be only one which Timothy had given from the free impulse of feeling, when he was set apart to be the associate of Paul in publishing the gospel.

cannot infer the existence of infant baptism from the instance of the baptism of whole families, for the passage in 1 Cor. xvi. 15, shows the fallacy of such a conclusion, as from that it appears that the whole family of Stephanas, who were baptized by Paul, consisted of adults. That not till so late a period as (at least certainly not earlier than) Irenæus, a trace of infant baptism appears, and that it first became recognised as an apostolic tradition in the course of the third century, is evidence rather *against* than *for* the admission of its apostolic origin ; especially since, in the spirit of the age when Christianity appeared, there were many elements which must have been favourable to the introduction of infant baptism,—the same elements from which proceeded the notion of the magical effects of outward baptism, the notion of its absolute necessity for salvation, the notion which gave rise to the mythus that the apostles baptized the Old Testament saints in Hades. How very much must infant baptism have corresponded with such a tendency, if it had been favoured by tradition ! It might indeed be alleged, on the other hand, that after infant baptism had long been recognised as an apostolic tradition, many other causes hindered its universal introduction, and the same causes might still earlier stand in the way of its spread, although a practice sanctioned by the apostles. But these causes could not have acted in this manner, in the post-apostolic age. In later times, we see the opposition between theory and practice, in this respect, actually coming forth. Besides, it is a different thing, that a practice which could not altogether deny the marks of its later institution, although at last recognised as of apostolic founding, could not for a length of time pervade the life of the church ; and that a practice really proceeding from apostolic institution and tradition, notwithstanding the authority that introduced it, and the circumstances in its favour arising from the spirit of the times, should yet not have been generally adopted. And if we wish to ascertain from whom such an institution was originated, we should say, certainly not immediately from Christ himself. Was it from the primitive church in Palestine, from an injunction given by the earlier apostles ? But among the Jewish Christians, circumcision was held as a seal of the covenant, and hence, they had so much less occasion to make use of another dedication for their children. Could it then

have been Paul, who first among heathen Christians introduced this alteration by the use of baptism. But this would agree least of all with the peculiar Christian characteristics of this apostle. He who says of himself that Christ sent him not to baptize, but to preach the gospel; he who always kept his eye fixed on one thing, justification by faith, and so carefully avoided every thing which could give a handle or support to the notion of a justification by outward things (the *σαρκικά*)—how could he have set up infant baptism against the circumcision that continued to be practised by the Jewish Christians? In this case, the dispute carried on with the Judaizing party, on the necessity of circumcision, would easily have given an opportunity of introducing this substitute into the controversy, if it had really existed. The evidence arising from silence on this topic, has therefore the greater weight.¹

¹ If it could be shown, that at this time there was a practice of administering to living persons a substitutionary baptism for the dead, an interpretation of 1 Cor. xv. 19, which has been lately advocated by Rückert—this would stand in striking contradiction with the absence of infant-baptism. If so unconditional a necessity was ascribed to outward baptism, and such a magical power for the salvation of men, as to have occasioned the introduction of such a practice, from such a standing-point men must have been brought much sooner to the practice of infant-baptism. But although the explanation here proposed arises from the most natural interpretation of the words, I cannot assent to it, since it does not satisfy other conditions of a correct exegesis. What idea can we form of such a practice of substitutionary baptism? Was it that persons hoped by means of it to save their deceased friends and relatives, and those who had remained far from the faith? But since at that time such stress was laid on the necessity of repentance and faith, we are at a loss to conceive how such an error and abuse could gain acceptance. The supposition of this necessity lies at the foundation of the mythus of the baptism administered in Hades to the saints of the Old Testament. We might rather suppose that if persons who had become believers died before they could fulfil their resolution of being baptized, a substitutionary baptism would be made use of for *them*. But in such cases, it would have been more consonant to a superstitious adherence to an outward rite, that they should have hastened to impart baptism to the dying, or even to the dead, and we find traces of both these practices in later times. Of a substitutionary baptism, on the contrary, no trace can be found, with the exception of the single passage in Paul's writings. An improper appeal has been made on this point to Tertullian. He says, *de Resurrectione Carnis*, c. 48, only what he believed was to be found in these words of Paul, without referring to any other quarter. In his work against Marcion, v. 10. he also refers to this passage, and such a substitutionary baptism appeared to him as somewhat analogous to the heathenish purgations for the dead on the

We find, indeed, in one passage of Paul, 1 Cor. vii. 14, a trace, that already the children of Christians were distinguished from the children of heathens, and might be considered in a certain sense as belonging to the church, but this is not deduced from their having partaken of baptism, and this mode of connexion with the church is rather evidence against the existence of infant baptism. The apostle is here treating of the sanctifying influence of the communion between parents and children, by which the children of Christian parents would be distinguished from the children of those who were not Christian, and in virtue of which they might in a certain sense be termed *ἅγια*, in contrast with the *ἀνάθρατα*.¹ But if infant baptism had been then in existence, the epithet *ἅγια*, applied to Christian children, would have been deduced only from this sacred rite by which they had become incorporated with the Christian church. But in the point of view here chosen by Paul, we find (although it testifies against the existence of infant baptism) the fundamental idea from which infant baptism was afterwards necessarily developed, and by which it

1st of February, the *Februationes*. He thought it important to remark, that Paul could not have approved of such a practice. “Viderit institutio ista. Kalendæ si forte Februarie respondebunt illi: pro mortuis petere. Noli ergo apostolum novum statim auctorem aut confirmatorem ejus denotare, ut tanto magis sisteret carnis resurrectionem, quanto illi qui vane pro mortuis baptizarentur, fide resurrectionis hoc facerent.” And he himself afterwards proposes another interpretation of the passage, according to which there is no allusion to a substitutionary baptism. Later uneducated Marcionites in Syria had, most probably from this passage of St. Paul’s, adopted a practice altogether at variance with the spirit of Marcion. Besides, we might suppose that Paul employed an *argumentum ad hominem*, and adduced a superstitious custom as evidence of a truth lying at the foundation of Christian knowledge. But still it is difficult to suppose that Paul, who so zealously opposed all dependence on outward things, and treated it as the worst adulteration of the gospel, should not from the first have expressed himself in the strongest terms against such a delusion.

¹ The immediate impressions—which proceed from the whole of the intercourse of life, and by means of the natural feeling of dependence of children on their parents, pass from the latter to the former—have a far stronger hold than the effects of instruction, and such impressions may begin before the ability for receiving instruction in a direct manner exists. These impressions attach themselves to the first germs of consciousness, and on that account, the commencement of this sanctifying influence cannot be precisely determined. See De Wette’s excellent remarks in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1839. Part iii. p. 671.

must be justified to agree with Paul's sentiments ; an indication of the preeminence belonging to children born in a Christian community ; the consecration for the kingdom of God which is thereby granted to them, an immediate sanctifying influence which would communicate itself to their earliest development.¹

As to the celebration of the Holy Supper, it continued to be connected with the common meal, in which all as members of one family joined, as in the primitive Jewish church, and agreeably to its first institution. In giving a history of the Corinthian church, we shall have occasion to speak of the abuses which arose from the mixture of ancient Grecian customs with the Christian festival.

The publication of the gospel among the heathen, was destitute of those facilities for its reception, which the long-continued expectation of a Redeemer as ~~the~~ promised Messiah gave it among the Jews. Here was no continuous succession of witnesses forming a revelation of the living God, with which the gospel, as already indicated and foretold by the law and prophets among the Jews, might connect itself. Still the annunciation of a Redeemer found its point of connexion in the universal feeling adhering to the very essence of human nature—the feeling of disunion and guilt, and as a consequence of this, though not brought out with distinctness, a longing after redemption from such a condition ; and by the mental development of these nations, and their political condition at that period, sentiments of this class were more

¹ The words in 1 Cor. vii. 14, may be taken in a twofold manner. If we understand with De Wette the *ἐκκλησία* as applied to *all* Christians—(which the connexion and the use of the plural render probable)—then the apostle infers that the children of Christians, although not incorporated with the church, nor yet baptized, might be called *ἐκκλησία* (which is De Wette's opinion), and thus what we have remarked in the text follows as a necessary consequence. But if we admit that Paul is speaking of the case of married persons, in which one party was a Christian, and the other a heathen, and that from the sanctification of the children of such a marriage, he infers the sanctification of the whole marriage relation—which thought perfectly suits the connexion—then it would appear that Paul deduces a sanctification of the children by their connexion with the parents, but not from their baptism, for the baptism of children, in these circumstances, could, in many instances, be hardly performed. If an infant baptism then existed, he could not call the children of such a mixed marriage *ἐκκλησία*, in the same sense as the children of parents who were both Christians.

vividly felt, while the feeling of disunion (in man's own powers, and between man and God) was manifested in the prevailing tendency towards dualistic views. The youthful confidence of the old world was constantly giving way to a feeling of disunion and sadness excited by the more powerful sense of the law written on the heart, which, like the external law given to the Jews, was destined to guide the Gentiles to the Saviour. The gospel could not be presented in the relation it bore to Judaism, as the completion of what already existed in the popular religion; it must come forth as the antagonist of the heathenish deification of nature, and could only attach itself to the truth lying at the foundation of this enormity, the sense, namely, in the human breast of a hidden, unknown deity; it was necessary to announce Christianity as the revelation of that God in whom, by virtue of their divine original, men "lived and moved and had their being," but of whom, in consequence of their estrangement from him by sin, they had only a mysterious sense as an unknown and distant divinity. Under this aspect it might also be represented as a completion of that which was implanted by God in the original constitution of man, as the final aim of this indistinct longing. Also, in relation to all that was truly natural, belonging to the original nature of man, and not founded in sin, it might be truly asserted, that Christ came not to destroy, but to fulfil. And here certainly the Gentiles were placed in a more advantageous position than the Jews; they were not exposed to the temptation of contemplating Christianity only as the completion of a religious system already in existence, and of disowning its purpose of producing an entire transformation of the life; for to a convert from heathenism, Christianity presenting itself in direct opposition to the whole of his former religious standing-point, must necessarily appear as something altogether new and designed to effect an entire revolution. Meanwhile, although Christianity must have at first presented itself as opposed to the existing elements of life in heathenism; yet Christians who continued to live in intercourse with heathen among their old connexions, were so much the more exposed in a practical view to the infection of a corrupt state of morals, till their Christian life became firmly established. And although the peculiar position of the Gentiles did not expose them so much as the Jews to pervert the gospel into an *opus*

operation, and thus to misuse it as a cloak for immorality, still such an error might arise, not from the influence of Judaizing teachers, but from the depraved condition of human nature. It is evident that Paul deemed it necessary emphatically to guard and warn them against it.¹

Another danger of a different kind threatened Christianity when it found its way among the educated classes in the seats of Grecian learning. Since in these places the love of knowledge predominated, and surpassed in force all the other fundamental tendencies of human nature; since men were disposed to cultivate intellectual eminence to the neglect of morals, and Christianity gave a far wider scope than heathenism to the exercise of the mental powers; since in many respects it agreed with those among the Grecian philosophers, who rested their opposition to the popular religions on an ethical basis; the consequence was, that they made Christianity, contrary to its nature and design, chiefly an exercise of the understanding, and aimed to convert it into a philosophy, thus subordinating the practical interest to the theoretical, and obscuring the real genius of the gospel. The history of the further spread of Christianity among the heathen, and of individual churches founded among them, will give us an opportunity of developing this fact, and setting it in a clearer light. We now proceed to the second missionary journey of the apostle Paul.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SECOND MISSIONARY JOURNEY OF THE APOSTLE PAUL.

AFTER Paul and Barnabas had spent some time with the church at Antioch, they resolved to revisit the churches founded in the course of their former missionary journey, and then to extend their labours still further. Barnabas wished to take his nephew Mark again with them as a companion, but Paul refused his assent to this proposal, for he could not

¹ The *κενοὶ λόγοι*, against which Paul warns the Ephesians, (v. 6.)

excuse his having allowed attachment to home to render him unfaithful to the Lord's service, and deemed one who was not ready to sacrifice every thing to this cause as unfitted for such a vocation. We see on this occasion the severe earnestness of Paul's character, which gave up, and wished others to give up, all personal considerations and feelings where the cause of God was concerned ; he never allowed himself to be tempted or seduced in this respect by his natural attachment to the nation to whom he belonged.¹ The indulgence shown by Barnabas to Mark might proceed either from the peculiar mildness of his Christian character, or from a regard to the ties of relationship not yet sufficiently controlled by the power of the Christian spirit. That such human attachments had too much influence on Barnabas, is shown by his conduct at Antioch on the occasion of the conference between Peter and Paul. Thus a sudden difference arose between two men who had hitherto laboured together in the work of the Lord, which ended in their separation from one another, and thus it was shown, that these men of God were not free from human weakness ; but the event proved that even this circumstance contributed to the extension of the kingdom of God, for, in consequence of it, the circle of their labours was very greatly enlarged. Barnabas now formed a sphere of action for himself, and first of all visited with Mark his native country Cyprus, and then most probably devoted himself to preach the gospel in other regions. For that he remained in his native country unemployed in missionary service, not only his labours up to this time forbid our supposing, but also the terms in which Paul speaks of him at a later period (1 Cor. ix. 6) as a well-known and indefatigable preacher of the gospel. Paul's severity towards his nephew was probably of service to Mark in leading him to a sense of his misconduct, for he afterwards continued faithful to his vocation. This separation was in the issue only temporary, for we afterwards find Barnabas, Paul, and Mark, in close connexion with one another, although Barnabas appears

¹ In the *πρώτον* of Rom. i. 16, we cannot, with Rückert, find marks of this national attachment not entirely overcome. This *πρώτον* corresponds with the necessary historical development of the theocracy. The supposition is also excluded by the application of *πρώτον* in Rom. ii. 9.

always to have retained a separate independent sphere of action. In his stead Paul took Silas as his fellow-labourer.

From the beginning of his ministry, it was a fixed principle with Paul, as he himself tells us in Rom. xv. 20, and 2 Cor. x. 16, to form his own field of labour for the propagation of the gospel, and not to trespass on that of any other person; instead, therefore, of betaking himself first to Cyprus, as on former occasions, he travelled through the neighbouring parts of Syria to Cilicia, Pisidia, and the towns in which he had laboured on his first journey. In the town of Lystra,¹ he found a young man named Timothy, who, by the instructions of his mother, a pious Jewess, but married to a heathen, had received religious impressions, which had an abiding effect. His mother was converted when Paul first visited that town, and young Timothy also became a zealous confessor of the gospel. The report of his Christian zeal had spread to the neighbouring town of Iconium. In the church to which he belonged, the voices of prophets announced that he was destined to be a distinguished agent in spreading the

¹ I must here differ from the opinion I expressed in the first edition. In Acts xvi. 1, the ἐκεῖ, if there are no reasons for the contrary, is most naturally understood of the place last mentioned, Lystra; and since the favourable testimony to his character given by the brethren at Lystra and Iconium is mentioned, we may presume, with some confidence, that one of these towns was his native place. for it is not probable that what those who knew him best said of him should be passed over, though it is barely possible that the testimony of persons living in the nearest towns to his own might be adduced. In Acts xx. 4, the approved reading is rather for than against this supposition; for if Timothy had been a native of Derbe, the predicate Δερβαῖος would not have been applied to Γάιος alone, but Luke would have written Δερβαῖος δὲ Γάιος καὶ Τιμοθεὸς or Γάιος καὶ Τιμοθεὸς Δερβαῖοι. But it is surprising that, in this passage, Timothy stands alone without the mention of his native place, and that in Acts xix. 29, Aristarchus and Gaius are named together as Macedonians and companions of Paul. Hence it might be presumed, that the predicate Δερβαῖος had been misplaced, and ought to stand after Timothy's name. Aristarchus, Secundus, and Gaius, would then be named as natives of Thessalonica, and Timothy of Derbe. But if we adopt this view, then Acts xvi. 1, 2, must be differently explained. But still it is not probable that the more easy reading could be altogether removed to make way for one more difficult. So common a name as Gaius might easily belong to a Christian at Derbe and to another from Macedonia, as we find it borne also by an approved Christian residing at Corinth, Rom. xvi. 23, 1 Cor. i. 14; and Timothy's native place might be omitted because he was the best known of all Paul's associates.

gospel. It gratified Paul to have a zealous youth with him, who could assist him on his missionary journeys, and be trained for a preacher under his direction. He seconded the voices that thus called on Timothy, and the young man himself was prepared by his love to their common Lord, to accompany his faithful servant every where. As by his descent and education he belonged on one side to the Jews, and on the other to the Gentiles, he was so much the more fitted to be the companion of the apostles among both. And in order to bring him nearer the former, Paul caused him to be circumcised, by which he forfeited none of the publicly acknowledged rights of the Gentile Christians; for being the son of a Jewess, and educated in Judaism, he could with more propriety be claimed by the Jews.

After Paul had visited the churches already founded in this district, he proceeded to Phrygia. Of course he could not, either on this or on a later journey, publish the gospel in all the threescore and two¹ towns of the populous province of Phrygia. He must have left much to be accomplished by his pupils, such, for instance, as Epaphras at Colossæ, who afterwards founded a church there, and in the towns of Hierapolis and Laodicea.² Thence he directed his course northward to

¹ This is the number stated in the sixth century by Hierocles, author of the *Συνέκδημος*, or a "Traveller's Companion," which gives an account of the provinces and towns of the Eastern Empire.

² I cannot agree with the opinion of Dr. Schulz, brought forward in the *Studien und Kritiken*, vol. ii. part 3, which is also advocated by Dr. Schott in his *Isagoge*, that Paul himself was the founder of these churches. I cannot persuade myself that, if the Colossians and Laodiceans had received the gospel from the lips of the apostle, he would have placed them so closely in connexion with those who were not personally known to him, without any distinction, as we find in Coloss. ii. 1; since, in reference to the anxiety of the apostle for the churches, it always made an important difference whether he himself had founded them or not. The *ὑποί* would have been used too indefinitely, if its meaning had not been fixed by what preceded; from which it appears, that those churches of Phrygia are referred to, which, like the churches at Colossæ and Laodicea, had not been founded by Paul himself. And how can it be supposed that, in an epistle to a church founded by himself, he would never appeal to what they had heard from his own lips, but only to the announcement of the gospel, which they had heard from others? and that he should speak not of what he himself had seen and heard among them, but only of what had been reported to him by others respecting their state? The acute remarks of Wiggers, in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1838, part i. p. 171, have not induced me to

Galatia. As many Jews resided in this province, he addressed himself probably first to these, and to the proselytes who worshipped with them in the synagogues. But the ill-treatment he met with among the Jews prepared an opening for him to the Gentiles, by whom he was received with great affection.

Paul had to maintain a severe conflict with bodily suffering, as appears from many allusions in his epistles, where he speaks of his being given up to a sense of human weakness. Nor is this surprising, for as a Pharisee, striving after the righteousness of the law, he had certainly not spared his own body. After he had found salvation by faith in the Redeemer, and had attained the freedom of the evangelical spirit, he was, it is true, very far from a tormenting castigation of his body, and from legal dependence on works; he expresses the most

alter my opinion on this point. The explanation he gives of the words in Coloss. ii. 1, "*also* for those (among the Christians in Colossæ and Laodicea) who have not known me personally," appears to me not so natural as the common one, which I follow. If Paul had intended to say this, he would hardly have failed to limit ὑμῶν by adding ἐμῶν. If the *καὶ* in verse 7 is also to be retained, yet I do not find any intimation conveyed by it that they had received instruction from another teacher, but only a reference to what preceded, that they had received from Epaphras the same gospel of the divine grace which had been published throughout the world. But, from external evidence, I cannot help considering the *καὶ* as suspicious;—the frequent repetition of it in the preceding part, and the observable reference to v. 6, might easily occasion the insertion of such a *καὶ*. But if the *καὶ* is spurious, it appears much more clearly that Epaphras, not Paul, was the teacher of this church. He is called (ὕπὲρ ἡμῶν διάκονος) a servant of Christ in Paul's stead, because Paul had given over to him the office of proclaiming the gospel in the three cities of Phrygia which he himself could not visit. It is not clear to me that Paul, in ii. 5, may not have used the word ἀπειμι to denote his bodily absence in opposition to his spiritual presence among them, although he did not mean that he had been once among them, and was now removed to a distance from them. It still appears to me remarkable, that—if he wrote some years after his presence among them—there should be no allusion to his personal intercourse with them, especially in an epistle to a church which was in so critical a state; to whom it was so important to evince his love and care for them, and to exhort faithfully to keep the instructions they had received from him; and especially, if he had the opportunity of commending Epaphras to them, as the person who had carried on the work which he had begun, he would so much the more have stated explicitly, that Epaphras taught no other doctrine than what they had at first received from himself, that he would only raise the superstructure on the foundation laid by himself.

decided opposition to everything of the kind, in language which exhibits him to us as independent of all outward circumstances, with a spirit that freely subordinated and appropriated all that was external to an infinitely higher object. Such are those memorable words which testify such consciousness of true freedom. "I know both how to be abased, and I know how to abound: everywhere and in all things, I am instructed both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and to suffer need. I can do all things through Christ that strengtheneth me." Philip. iv. 12, 13. But his new vocation allowed him still less to spare himself, since he laboured hard with his own hands for a livelihood, while he exerted his powers both of mind and body to the utmost in his apostolic ministry; he had so many dangers to undergo, so many hardships and sufferings to endure, under which a weak body might soon sink. Yet with the sense of human weakness, the consciousness waxed stronger of a might surpassing everything that human power could effect, a divine all-conquering energy which proved its efficiency in the preaching of the gospel and in him as its instrument; and he could perfectly distinguish this divine power from all merely human endowments. Under a sense of human weakness, he became raised above himself, by that inward glory which beamed upon him in those communications of a higher world with which he was honoured. He considered a peculiarly oppressive pain which constantly attended him, and checked the soaring of his exalted spirit, as an admonition to humility given him by God, as a counterpoise to those moments of inward glorification which were vouchsafed him. And he informs us, that after he had prayed thrice to the Lord, to free him from this oppressive pain, an answer by a divine voice—either in vision or in pure inward consciousness—was granted him—that he must not desire to be freed from that which deepened the sense of his human weakness, but must be satisfied with the consciousness of the divine grace imparted to him; for the power of God proved itself to be truly such, even in the midst of human weakness.¹

¹ I cannot agree with those who think that Paul, in 2 Cor. xii. 7, where he alludes to something that constantly tormented him like a piercing thorn which a person carries about in his body, only intended to signify his numerous opponents. Certainly we cannot be justified

He experienced the truth of this especially during his ministry in Galatia. His body was bowed down through debility, but the divine power of his words and works, so strikingly contrasted with the feebleness of the material organ, made a powerful impression on susceptible dispositions. Under these circumstances, the glowing zeal of self-sacrificing love which amidst his own sufferings enabled him to bear everything so joyfully for the salvation of others, must have attracted the hearts of his hearers with so much greater force, and excited that ardent attachment to his person which he so vividly describes in Gal. iv. 14. "Ye received me as an angel of God, even as Jesus Christ."

The Galatian churches were formed of a stock of native Jews, and partly of a great number of Proselytes, for whom Judaism had become the transition-point to Christianity, and of persons who passed immediately from heathenism to Christianity; and with the Gentile portion of the church, some Jews connected themselves who were distinguished from the great mass of their unbelieving countrymen by their susceptibility for the gospel. But by means of those who were formerly proselytes and the Jewish Christians in the churches, an intercourse with the Jews was kept up, and hence arose those disturbances in these churches of which we shall presently speak.

On leaving Galatia, Paul was at first uncertain in what direction to turn, since new fields of labour opened to him on different sides. At one time, he thought of going in a south-westerly direction, to Proconsular Asia, and afterwards of passing in a northerly direction to Mysia and Bithynia; but either by an inward voice or a vision he received a monition

in saying, that Paul meant nothing else than what he mentions in the 10th verse; for in this latter passage, he only applies the general truth — which the divine voice had assured him of in reference to the particular object before mentioned — to everything which might contribute to render him sensible of his human weakness. This application of the principle, and the peculiar phraseology of Paul, lead us to suppose that he meant to indicate something quite peculiar in the first passage. We cannot indeed suppose that he would pray to be delivered from such sufferings as were essentially and indissolubly connected with his vocation. But we must conclude that his prayers referred to something altogether personal, which affected him not as an apostle, but as Paul; though it would be absurd, in the total absence of all distinguishing marks, to attempt to determine exactly *what it was*.

from the Divine Spirit, which caused him to abandon both these plans. Having formed an intention of passing over to Europe, but waiting to see whether he should be withheld or encouraged by a higher guidance, he betook himself to Troas ; and a nocturnal vision, in which a Macedonian appeared calling in behalf of his nation for his aid, confirmed his resolution to visit Macedonia. At Troas, he met with Luke the physician, perhaps one of the Proselytes, who had been converted by him at Antioch, and who joined his band of companions in missionary labour. His medical skill would be serviceable on many occasions for promoting the publication of the gospel among the heathen.¹ The first Macedonian city in which they stayed was Philippi, a place of some importance. The number of Jews here was not sufficient to enable them to establish a synagogue. Probably there were only Proselytes, who had a place for assembling surrounded with trees, on the outside of the city, near the banks of the Strymon, where they performed their devotions and the necessary lustrations, a so-called *προσευχή*.² If addresses founded on passages in the Old Testament were not delivered here as in the Jewish synagogue, and if Paul could not avail himself of such a custom for publishing the gospel ; still the Proselytes (especially females) assembled here on the Sabbath for prayer, and he would here meet those persons who were in a state of the greatest preparation and susceptibility for what he wished to communicate. Accordingly, early in the morning on the Sabbath, he resorted thither with his companions, in order to hold a conversation on religious topics with the women of the city who were here assembled for prayer. His words made an impression on the heart of Lydia, a dealer in purple from the town of Thyatira in Lydia. At the conclusion of the service, she and her whole family

¹ We infer that Luke joined Paul at Troas, from his beginning, in Acts xvi. 10, to write his narrative in the first person—"We endeavoured to go," &c

² The expression in Acts xvi. 13, *οὗ ἐνομιζέτο*, makes it probable that this *προσευχή* was not a building, but only an enclosed place in the open air, which was usually applied to this purpose: compare Tertullian, *ad Nationes*, i. 13, "The Orationes Literales of the Jews," and *De Jejuniiis*, c 16, where he speaks of the widely-spread interest taken by the heathen in the Jewish feasts; "Judaicum certe jejunium ubique celebratur; quum omissis templis per omnes libros quocunque in aperto aliquando jam preces ad coelum mittunt."

were baptized by him, and compelled him by her importunity to take up his abode with his companions in her house.¹ As in this town there were few or no Jews, the adherents of Judaism consisted only of proselytes; thus Christianity met in this quarter with no obstinate resistance, and it would have probably gained a still greater number of adherents, without incurring the risk of persecution, if opposition had not been excited, owing to the injury done to the pecuniary interests of certain individuals among the Gentiles, by the operation of the divine doctrine.

There was a female slave who, in a state resembling the phenomena of somnambulism, was accustomed to answer unconsciously questions proposed to her, and was esteemed to be a prophetess inspired by Apollo;² as in all the forms of heathenish idolatry, the hidden powers of nature were taken into the service of religion.³ This slave had probably frequent opportunities of hearing Paul, and his words had left an impression on her heart. In her convulsive fits, these impressions were revived, and mingling what she had heard from Paul with her own heathenish notions, she frequently followed the preachers when on their way to the *Proseuche*, exclaiming, "These men are the servants of the Most High God, who show unto us the way of salvation." This testimony of a prophetess so admired by the people might have availed much to draw their attention to the new doctrine; but it

¹ I can by no means admit, with some expositors of the Acts, that all this took place before the beginning of the public exercises of devotion, and that on the same day, as they were returning from the place where Paul baptized Lydia, the meeting with this prophetess occurred on their way to the *Proseuche*. Luke's narrative in Acts xvi. 16, does not indicate that all these events took place on one day. The assertions of the prophetess make it probable that she had often heard Paul speak.

² On the common notion of the people, that the Pythian Apollo took possession of such *ἐγγαστριμύθους* or *πυθῶνας*, and spoke through their mouth, see Plutarch, *De Def. Oraculor.* c. 9. Tertullian describes such persons, *Apologet.* c. 23, "qui de Deo pati existimantur, qui anhelando" (in a state of convulsive agony, in which the person felt himself powerfully impelled as by a strange spirit with a hollow voice) "præfantur."

³ Thus the oracles of the ancients, the incubations, and similar phenomena in the heathenism of the Society Isles in the South Sea. The Priest of Oro, the God of War, uttered oracles in an ecstatic state of violent convulsions, and, after his conversion to Christianity, could not again put himself in such a state. See, on this subject, the late interesting accounts of this mission by Ellis, Bennet, &c.

was very foreign from Paul's disposition to employ or endure such a mixture of truth and falsehood. At first, he did not concern himself about the exclamations of the slave. But as she persisted, he at last turned to her, and commanded the spirit which held her rational and moral powers in bondage, to come out of her. If this was not a personal evil spirit, still it was the predominance of an ungodlike spirit. That which constitutes man a free agent, and which ought to rule over the tendencies and powers of his nature, was here held in subjection to them.¹ And by the divine power of that Saviour who had restored peace and harmony to the distracted souls of demoniacs, this woman was also rescued from the power of such an ungodlike spirit, and could never again be brought into that state. When, therefore, the slave could no longer practise her arts of soothsaying, her masters saw themselves deprived of

¹ We have no certain marks which will enable us to determine in what light Paul viewed the phenomenon. It might be (though we cannot decide with certainty) that he gave to the heathen notion, that the spirit of Apollo animated this person, a Jewish form, that an evil spirit or demon possessed her. In this case, he followed the universally received notion, without reflecting at the moment any further upon it, for this subject belonging to the higher philosophy of nature, was far from his thoughts. He directed his attention only to the moral grounds of the phenomenon. I am convinced, that the Spirit of truth who was promised to him as an apostle, guided him in this instance to the knowledge of all the truth which Christ appeared on earth to announce, to a knowledge of every thing essential to the doctrine of salvation. By this Spirit he discerned the predominance of the reign of evil in this phenomenon; and if an invisible power is here thought to be operating, yet what is natural in the causes and symptoms is not thereby excluded, even as the natural does not exclude the supernatural. Compare the admirable remarks of my friend Twisten in the second volume of his *Dogmatik*, p. 355, and what is said on demoniacs in my *Leben Jesu*. This spirit gave Paul the confident belief, that as Christ had conquered and rendered powerless the kingdom of evil—therefore by his divine power every thing which belonged to this kingdom would henceforth be overcome. In this faith, he spoke full of divine confidence, and his word took effect in proportion to his faith. But in the words of Christ, and the declarations of the apostle respecting himself, I find no ground for admitting, that with this light of his Christian consciousness, an error could by no possibility exist, which did not affect the truths of the gospel, but belonged to a different and lower department of knowledge; such as the question, whether we are to consider this as a phenomenon explicable from the nature of the human soul, its natural powers and connexion with a bodily organization, or an effect of a possession by a personal evil spirit.

the gains which they had hitherto obtained from this source. Enraged, they seized Paul and Silas, and accused them before the civil authorities, the Duumvirs,¹ as turbulent Jews, who were attempting to introduce Jewish religious practices into the Roman colony, which was contrary to the Roman laws, though the right was guaranteed to the Jews of practising their national cultus for themselves without molestation. After they had been publicly scourged without further examination, they were cast into prison. The feeling of public ignominy and of bodily pain, confinement in a gloomy prison, where their feet were stretched in a painful manner, and fastened in the stocks (*nervus*),² and the expectation of the ill-treatment which might yet await them—all this could not depress their souls; on the contrary, they were rather elevated by the consciousness that they were enduring reproach and pain for the cause of Christ. About midnight they united in offering prayer and praise to God, when an earthquake shook the walls of their prison. The doors flew open, and the fetters of the prisoners were loosened. The keeper of the prison was seized with the greatest alarm, believing that the prisoners had escaped, but Paul and Silas calmed his fears. This earthquake which gave the prisoners an opportunity of recovering their liberty—their refusing to avail themselves of this opportunity—their serenity and confidence under so many sufferings—all combined to make them appear in the eyes of the astonished jailor as beings of a higher order. He fell at their feet, and calling to mind what he had heard from the lips of Paul and Silas respecting the way of salvation announced by them, addressed them in similar language, and inquired what he must do to be saved. His whole family assembled to hear the answer, and it was a joyful morning for all. Whether the Duumvirs had become more favourably disposed by what they had learnt in the mean time respecting the prisoners, or that the jailor's report had made an impression upon them, they authorized him to say that Paul and Silas might depart.

¹ The name *στρατηγοί* which is used in the Acts to designate these magistrates, was anciently employed in the smaller Greek cities to designate the supreme authorities. See Aristoteles Politic. vii. 8, ed. Bekker. vol. ii. p. 1322, *ἐν ταῖς μικραῖς πόλεσι μία περὶ πάντων (ἀρχή) καλοῦσι δὲ στρατηγοὺς καὶ πολεμάρχους.*

² Tertullian ad Martyres, c. 2. "Nihil cras sentit in nervo, quæ animus in cœlo est."

Had any thing enthusiastic mingled with that blessed inspiration which enabled Paul to endure all shame and all suffering for the cause of the Lord,—he certainly would have done nothing in order to escape disgrace, though it might have been without injury and to the advantage of his calling,—or to obtain an apology to which his civil privileges entitled him, for the unmerited treatment he had received. How far were his sentiments from what in later times the morals of monkery have called humility! Appealing to his civil rights,¹ he obliged the Duumvirs, who were not justified in treating a Roman citizen² so ignominiously, to come to the prison, and, as an attestation of his innocence, with their own lips to release³ him and his companion. They now betook themselves to the house of Lydia, where the other Christians of the city were assembled, and spoke the last words of encouragement and exhortation. They then quitted the place, but Luke and Timothy, who had not been included in the persecution, stayed behind in peace.⁴ Paul left in Philippi a church full of faith and zeal—who shortly after gave a proof of their affectionate concern for him by sending contributions for his maintenance, though he never sought for such gifts, but supported himself by the labour of his own hands.

Paul and Silas now directed their course to Thessalonica, about twenty miles distant, the largest city of Macedonia, and a place of considerable traffic, where many Jews resided. Here they found a synagogue, which for three weeks Paul visited on the Sabbath; the hearts of many proselytes were

¹ See the well-known words of Cicero, *Act. II. in Verrem*, v. 57. “Jam illa vox et imploratio civis Romanus sum, quæ sæpe multis in ultimis terris opem inter barbaros et salutem attulit.”

² How Paul's father obtained the Roman citizenship we know not. We have no ground for assuming, that Paul was indebted for it to his being born at Tarsus; for though Dio Chrysostom, in his second *λόγος Ταρσεύδης*, vol. ii. ed. Reiske, p. 36, mentions several privileges which the Emperor Augustus had granted to the city of Tarsus as a reward for its fidelity in the civil wars, yet it does not appear that Roman citizenship was one of them, and allowing it to have been so, it may be doubted whether it would have been conferred on a foreign Jewish family, to which Paul belonged.

³ Silas also must have obtained by some means the right of a Roman citizen.

⁴ Timothy rejoined Paul at Thessalonica or Berea; and Luke at a later period.

won by his preaching ; and through them a way was opened for publishing the gospel among the heathen in the city. From what Paul says in 1 Thess. (i. 9, 10 ; ii. 10, 11),¹ we find that he was not satisfied with addressing the proselytes only once a-week at the meetings of the synagogue ; his preaching would then have been confined to the small number of Gentiles who belonged to the proselytes. At the meetings of the synagogue, he could adopt only such a method and form of address, as suited the standing-point of the Jews ; he must have presupposed many things, and many topics he could not develop, which required to be fully investigated, in order to meet the peculiar exigencies of the heathen. But he knew, as we see from several examples, how to distinguish the different standing-points and wants of the Jews and Gentiles ; and hence, we may presume, that he carefully availed himself of opportunities to make use of these differences. The Gentiles, whose attention was awakened by the proselytes, soon assembled in various places to hear him, and from them chiefly a church was formed, professing faith in the one living God, as well as faith in the Redeemer.

Agreeably to the declarations of Christ (Matt. x. 10, compared with 1 Cor. ix. 14), Paul recognised the justice of the requirement, that the maintenance of the preachers of the gospel should be furnished by those for whom they expended their whole strength and activity, in order to confer upon them the highest benefit. But since he was conscious that in one point he was inferior to the other apostles, not having at first joined himself voluntarily to the Redeemer, but having been by the divine grace, as it were against his will, transformed from a violent persecutor of the church into an apostle, he thought it his duty to sacrifice a right belonging to the apostolic office, in order to evince his readiness and delight in the calling which was laid upon him by a higher necessity ; (1 Cor. x. 16—18.) Thus also he found the means of pro-

¹ Schrader in his *Chronological Remarks*, p. 95, thinks that these passages cannot possibly refer to Paul's first visit to Thessalonica, which must have been a very short one. But there seems nothing improbable in the supposition, that a man of such zeal and indefatigable activity in his calling, would in the space of three or four weeks, effect so much, and leave behind him so vivid an impression of his character and conduct, as is implied in these passages.

moting his apostolic labours among the heathen ; for a ministry so manifestly disinterested, sacrificing every thing for the good of others, and undergoing all toils and deprivations, must have won the confidence of many, even of those who otherwise were disposed to suspect selfish motives in a zeal for the best interests of others, which they could not appreciate. He must have been more anxious to remove every pretext for such a suspicion, because the conduct of many Jews who were active in making proselytes, was calculated to cast such an imputation on the Jewish teachers in general. The other apostles in their youth, had earned their livelihood by a regular employment, but yet one which they could not follow in every place ; Paul, on the other hand, though destined to be a Jewish theologian, yet according to the maxims prevalent in the Jewish schools,¹ along with the study of the law, had learned the art of tent-making ; and easily gained a maintenance by this handicraft, wherever he went, on account of the mode of travelling in the East, and the manifold occasions on which tents² were used. While anxiety for the spiritual wants of the heathen and the new converts to Christianity wholly occupied his mind, he was forced to employ the night in earning the necessaries of life for himself and his companions (1 Thess. ii. 9 ; Acts xx. 34), excepting as far as he obtained some relief by the affectionate voluntary offerings of the church at Philippi. But to him it was happiness to give to others without receiving anything in return from them ; from his own experience, he knew the truth of the Lord's words, "It is more blessed to give than to receive." Acts xx. 35.

The apostle not only publicly addressed the church, but visited individuals in their families, and impressed on their

¹ In the Pirke Avoth, c. 2, § 2, נָפֶשׁ תְּלִמְדָה תוֹרָה עִם נֶדֶךְ אָרֶץ, "Beautiful is the study of the law with an earthly employment, by which a man gains his livelihood ;" and the reason alleged is, that both together are preventives of sin, but in their absence the soul is easily ruined, and sin finds entrance. And thus in monasteries, occupation with manual labour had for its object, not simply to make provision for the support of the body, but also to prevent sensuality from mingling with higher spiritual employments.

² Philo de Victimis, 836, ed Francof. αἰγῶν δὲ αἱ τριχῆς, αἱ δοραὶ συν-φαινόμεναί τε καὶ συρραπτόμεναι, φορητὰ γεγονόσιν ὁδοιπόροις οἰκίαι καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἐν στρατείαις. This tends to show, though it does not prove, that Paul chose this occupation from its being one for which his native country was celebrated ; hence, too, we read of *tentoria Cilicina*.

hearts the fundamental truths of the gospel in private conversations, or warned them of the dangers that threatened the Christian life.¹ He endeavoured to cherish the hopes of believers under the sufferings of their earthly life, by pointing them to the period when Christ would come again to bring his kingdom among mankind to a victorious consummation. This period, for those who were conscious of having obtained redemption, was fitted to be not an object of dread, but of joyful longing hope. And during the first part of his apostolic course, this decisive event appeared to Paul nearer than it really was. For, in this respect, the times and seasons must remain hidden till the epoch of their fulfilment, as Christ himself declared. Matthew xxiv. 36.² The first publishers of the gospel were far from thinking, that the kingdom of Christ would gradually, after a tedious process, by its own inward energy, and the guidance of the Lord in the natural developments of events, overcome the opposing powers of the earth, and make them subserve its interests. Although Christ, by the parables in which he represented the progress of his kingdom on earth, had indicated the slowness of its development, as in the parables of the grain of corn, of leaven, of the wheat and the tares ; yet the meaning of these representations, as far as they were prophetic, and related to the scale of temporal development, could only be rightly understood, when explained by the course of events. And herein we recognise the divine intuition of Christ, which could pierce through the longest succession of generations and ages. But the apostles, to whom such an intuition was not granted, thought indeed that, as their Lord had promised, the gospel would spread among all the nations of the earth, by its divine energy pervading and overcoming the world ; but they also believed, that the persecutions of the ruling powers among the Gentiles, would continually become more intense, till the

¹ We do not see why the exhortations and warnings given to the Christians at Thessalonica, to which Paul appeals in both his Epistles, might not have been communicated during his first residence among them; for would not Paul's wisdom and knowledge of human nature, foresee the dangers likely to arise, and endeavour to fortify his disciples against them? Schrader's argument deduced from this circumstance, against the dates commonly offered to these two Epistles, does not appear very weighty.

² See *Leben Jesu*, pp. 557, 612, 3d ed.

Saviour by his divine power should achieve the triumph of the church over all opposing forces. And their enthusiasm for the cause of the gospel, the knowledge of its divine all-subduing power, and its rapid propagation in the first age of the church, all contributed to conceal from their human vision, the obstacles which withstood the verification of their Lord's promise ; nor could they even estimate correctly the population of the globe at that period.¹ Hence it may be explained, how Paul,—notwithstanding his apostolic character and his call to be an instrument for publishing divine truth in unsullied purity—could embrace the issue of all his hopes, the personal indissoluble union with that Saviour whom he once persecuted, and now so ardently loved, with an enthusiastic longing that outstripped the tedious development of history. In this state of mind, he was impelled to exert all his powers, in order to hasten the dissemination of the gospel among all nations. It was natural, that the expectation of the speedy return of Christ should operate most vigorously in the first period of his ministry, while he was yet glowing with youthful inspiration. And thus under the sufferings and shame which he endured at Philippi, the anticipation of this divine triumph inspired him so much the more ; for it resulted from the very nature of the divine power of faith, that the confidence and liveliness of his hope increased with the conflicts he was called to endure. Filled with these sentiments, he came to Thessalonica, and with an elevation of feeling, which naturally communicated itself to other minds, he testified of the hope that animated him, and raised him above all earthly sufferings. But as his inspiration was far removed from every mixture of that fanaticism, which cannot separate the subjective feeling and mental views, from what belongs to faith, and the confidence of faith,—he by no means spoke of the nearness of that great event as absolutely determined ; he adhered with modest sobriety to the saying of the Lord, that “ it was not for men to know the times and seasons.” And with apostolic discretion, he endeavoured to warn the new converts lest, by filling their imaginations with visions of the felicity of the approaching reign of Christ, and

¹ These considerations must be taken into account, when we find Paul declaring in the latter period of his ministry, that the gospel was published among all the nations of the earth.

wrapping themselves in pleasing dreams, they should forget the necessary preparations for the future, and for the impending conflict. He foretold them that they had still many sufferings and many struggles to endure, before they could attain the undisturbed enjoyment of blessedness in the kingdom of Christ.

Though the apostle, in opposition to the pretensions of meritorious works and moral self-sufficiency advanced by Judaizing teachers, earnestly set forth the doctrine of justification, not by human works which are ever defective, but by appropriating the grace of redemption through faith alone; yet he also deemed it of importance to warn the new converts against another misapprehension to which a superficial conversion, or a confusion of the common Jewish notions of faith with the Pauline might expose them; namely, the false representation of those who held that a renunciation of idolatry, and the acknowledgment of Jesus as the Messiah, without the life-transforming influence of such a conviction, was sufficient to place them on a better footing than the heathen, and to secure them from the divine judgments that threatened the heathen world.¹ He often charged them most impressively, to manifest in the habitual tenor of their lives the change effected in their hearts by the gospel; and that their criminality would be aggravated, if, after they had been devoted to God by redemption and baptism to serve him with a holy life, they returned to their former vices, and thus defiled their bodies and souls which had been made the temples of the Holy Spirit. 1 Thess. iv. 6; ii. 12.

But the speedy and cordial reception which the gospel met with among the Gentiles, roused the fanatical fury and zealotry of many Jews, who had already been exasperated by the apostle's discourse in the synagogue. They stirred up some of the common people who forced their way into the house of Jason a Christian, where Paul was staying. But as they did not find the apostle, they dragged Jason and some

¹ These are the vain words, the *κενοὶ λόγοι*, Eph. v. 6, of which Paul thought it necessary so solemnly to warn the Gentile Christians. Hence, warning them against such a superficial Christianity, he reminds them that every vicious person resembles an idolater, and would be equally excluded from the kingdom of God—that not merely for idolatry, but for every unsubdued vice, unbelievers would be exposed to the divine condemnation.

other Christians before the judgment-seat. As on this occasion the persecution originated with the Jews, who merely employed the Gentiles as their tools, the accusation brought against the publishers of the new doctrine was not the same as those made at Philippi; they were not charged, as in other cases, with having disturbed the Jews in the peaceful exercise of their own mode of worship as guaranteed to them by the laws. As Paul had laboured here for the most part among the Gentiles, the grounds were too slight for supporting such an accusation, especially as the civil authorities were not predisposed to receive it. At this time, a political accusation, the *crimen majestatis*, was likely to be more successful, a device that was often employed in a similar way, at a later period, by the enemies of the Christian faith. Paul had spoken much at Thessalonica of the approaching kingdom of Christ, to which believers already belonged; and by distorting his expressions, the accusation was rendered plausible. He instigated people (it was averred) to acknowledge one Jesus as supreme ruler instead of Cæsar. But the authorities, when they saw the persons before them who were charged with being implicated in the conspiracy, could not credit such an accusation; and after Jason and his friends had given security that there should be no violation of the public peace, and that those persons who had been the alleged causes of this disturbance should soon leave the city, they were dismissed.

On the evening of the same day, Paul and Silas left the city, after a residence of three or four weeks. As Paul could not remain there as long as the necessities of the newly formed church required, his anxiety was awakened on its behalf, since he foresaw that it would have to endure much persecution from the Gentiles at the instigation of the Jews. He had formed, therefore, the intention of returning thither as soon as the first storm of the popular fury had subsided; 1 Thess. ii. 18. Possibly he left Timothy behind, who had not been an object of persecution, unless he met him first at Berœa, after leaving Philippi. Paul and Silas now proceeded to Berœa, a town about ten miles distant, where they met with a better reception from the Jews; the gospel here found acceptance also with the Gentiles; but a tumult raised by Jews from Thessalonica forced Paul to leave the place almost

immediately. Accompanied by some believers from Berea, he then directed his course to Athens.¹

Though the consequences which resulted from the apostle's labours at Athens were at first inconsiderable, yet his appearance in this city (which in a different sense from Rome might be called the metropolis of the world), was in real importance unquestionably one of the most memorable signs of the new spiritual creation. A herald of that divine doctrine which, fraught with divine power, was destined to change the principles and practices of the ancient world, Paul came to Athens, the parent of Grecian culture and philosophy; the city to which, as the Grecian element had imbued the culture of the West, the whole Roman world was indebted for its mental advancement, which also was the central point of the Grecian religion, where an enthusiastic attachment to all that belonged to ancient Hellas, not excepting its idolatry, retained a firm hold till the fourth century. Zeal for the honour of the gods, each one of whom had here his temple and his altars, and was celebrated by the master-pieces of art, rendered Athens famous throughout the civilized world.² It was at first Paul's intention to wait for the arrival of Silas and Timothy before he entered on the publication of the gospel, as by his companions who had returned to Berea, he had sent word for them to follow him as soon as possible. But when he saw himself surrounded by the statues, and altars,

¹ It is doubtful whether Paul went by land or by sea to Athens, the *ὧς* in Acts xvii. 14, may be understood simply as marking the direction of his route. See Winer's *Grammatik*, 3d ed. p. 498. (4th ed. p. 559.) Berea lay near the sea, and this was the shortest. But the *ὧς* may also signify, that they took at first their course towards the sea, in order to mislead the Jews (who expected them to come that way, and were lying in wait for Paul in the neighbourhood of the port), and afterwards pursued their journey by land. So we find on another occasion, when Paul was about to sail from Corinth to Asia Minor, he found himself in danger from the plots of the Jews, and preferred going by land; Acts xx. 3. The first interpretation appears to be the simplest and most favoured by the phraseology. The *ὧς* adopted by Lachmann [and Tischendorff, Lips. 1841] appears to have arisen from a gloss.

² Apollonius of Tyana (in Philostratus) calls the Athenians *φιλοθυσταί*. Pausanias ascribes to them (*Attic*. i. 17), τὸ εἰς θεοὺς εὐσεβεῖν ἄλλων πλέον; and (c. 24), τὸ περισσώτερον τῆς εἰς τὰ θεῖα σπουδῆς. In the religious system of the Athenians, there was a peculiar refinement of moral sentiment, for they alone among the Greeks erected an altar to Pity, *ἔλεος*, as a divinity

and temples of the gods, and works of art, by which the honour due to the living God alone was transferred to creatures of the imagination—he could not withstand the impulse of holy zeal, to testify of Him who called erring men to repentance and offered them salvation. He spoke in the synagogue to the Jews and Proselytes, but did not wait as in other cities till a way was opened by their means for publishing the gospel to the heathen. From ancient times it was customary at Athens for people to meet together under covered porticoes in public places, to converse with one another on matters of all kinds, trifling or important; and then, as in the time of Demosthenes, groups of persons might be met with in the market, collected together merely to hear of something new.¹ Accordingly, Paul made it his business to enter into conversation with the passers-by, in hopes of turning their attention to the most important concern of man. The sentiments with which he was inspired had nothing in common with the enthusiasm of the fanatic, who is unable to transport himself from his own peculiar state of feeling to the standing-point of others, in order to make himself acquainted with the obstacles that oppose their reception of what he holds as truth with absolute certainty. Paul knew, indeed, as he himself says, that the preaching of the crucified Saviour must appear to the wise men of the world as foolishness, until they became fools, that is, until they were convinced of the insufficiency of their wisdom in reference to the knowledge of divine things, and for the satisfaction of their religious wants; 1 Cor. i. 23; iii. 18. But he was not ashamed, as he also affirms, to testify to the wise and to the unwise, to the Greeks and to the barbarians, of what he knew from his own experience to be the power of God to save those that believe; Rom. i. 16. The market to which he resorted was near a portico of the philosophers. Here he met with philosophers of the Epicurean and Stoic schools. If we reflect upon the relative position of the Stoics to the Epicureans, that the *former* acknowledged something divine as the animating principle in the universe and in human nature, that they were inspired with an ideal model founded in the

¹ As Demosthenes reproaches them in his oration against the epistle of Philip; ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐδὲν ποιοῦντες ἐνθάδε καθημέθα καὶ πυνθανόμενοι κατὰ τὴν ἀρχάν, εἴ τι λέγεται νεώτερον; Acts xvii. 21.

moral nature of man, and that they recognised Paul's religious values and the traditions that were necessary to it — while on the other hand, the latter thought they did not absolutely do away with the belief in the gods, reduced it to something more intellectual, and superfluous — that they represented paganism as the highest aim of human pursuit, and that they were accustomed to regard the existing religions as the offspring of human weakness and the special creations of fear — we might think such a contrast, while that the Stoics made a much nearer approach to Christianity than the Epicureans. But it does not follow that the former would give a more favourable reception to the gospel than the latter for their own notion of moral self-sufficiency was theoretically exposed to a doctrine which implicated repentance, forgiveness of sins, grace, and justification by faith. This supreme God—the impersonal eternal reason pervading the universe—was something very different from the living God, the heavenly Father full of love whom the gospel reveals, and who must have appeared to the Stoics as far too human a being; and both parties agreed in the Greekian pride of philosophy, which would look down on a doctrine appearing in a Jewish garb, and not developed in a philosophic form, as a mere outlandish superstition. Yet many among those who gathered around the apostle during his conversations, were at least pleased to hear something new, and their curiosity was excited to hear of the strange divinity whom he wished to introduce, and to be informed respecting his new doctrine. They took him to the hill, where the first tribunal at Athens, the Areopagus, was accustomed to hold its sittings, and where he could easily find a spot suited to a large audience.¹ The discourse of Paul on this occasion is an admirable specimen of his apostolic wisdom and eloquence; we here perceive how the apostle (to use his own language) to the heathens became a heathen, that he might gain the heathens to Christianity.

Inspired by feelings that were implanted from his youth in the mind of a pious Jew, and glowing with zeal for the honour of his God, Paul must have been horror-struck at the spectacle

¹ The whole course of the proceedings and the apostle's discourse prove that he did not appear as an accused person before his judges, in order to defend himself against the charge of introducing *religiones peregrinae et illicitæ*. The Athenians did not view the subject in so serious a light.

of the idolatry that met him wherever he turned his eyes. He might easily have been betrayed by his feelings into intemperate language. And it evinced no ordinary self-denial and self-command, that instead of beginning with expressions of detestation, instead of representing the whole religious system of the Greeks as a Satanic delusion, he appealed to the truth which lay at its basis, while he sought to awaken in his hearers the consciousness of God which was oppressed by the power of sin, and thus aimed at leading them to the knowledge of that Saviour whom he came to announce. As among the Jews, in whom the knowledge of God formed by divine revelation led to a clear and pure development of the idea of the Messiah, he could appeal to the national history, the law and the prophets, as witnesses of Christ; so here he appealed to the undeniable anxiety of natural religion after an unknown God. He began with acknowledging in the religious zeal of the Athenians a true religious feeling, though erroneously directed, an undeniable tending of the mind towards something divine.¹ He begins with acknowledging in a laudatory

¹ Much depends on the meaning attached to the ambiguous word *δεισιδαιμων*, Acts xvii. 22. The original signification of this word, in popular usage, certainly denoted something good—as is the case in all language with words which denote the fear of God or of the gods—the feeling of dependence on a higher power, which, if we analyse the religious sentiment, appears to be its prime element; although not exhausting every thing which belongs to the essential nature of theism, and although this first germ, without the addition of another element, may give rise to superstition as well as faith. Now since, where the feeling of fear (*δειλία πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον*, *Theophrast.*) is the ruling principle in the conscience, superstition alone can be the result, it has happened that this word has been, by an abuse of the term, applied to that perversion of religious sentiment. This phraseology was then prevalent. Thus Plutarch uses the word in his admirable treatise *περὶ δεισιδαιμονίας καὶ ἀθεότητος*, in which he proceeds on the supposition, that the source of superstition is that mode of thinking which contemplates the gods only as objects of fear; but he errs in this point, that he traces the origin of this morbid tendency to a wrong direction of the intellectual faculties. Compare the profound remarks of Nietzsche, in his treatise on the religious ideas of the ancients. The word *δεισιδαιμονία* occurs in the New Testament only in one other passage, Acts xxv. 19, where the Roman procurator Festus, speaking to the Jewish King Agrippa of Judaism, could not intend to brand it as superstition, but rather used the word as a general designation for a foreign religion. He might, however, choose this word, although not with a special design, yet not quite accidentally, as one which was suited to express the subjective view taken by the Romans of Judaism. But Paul certainly used the word in a good sense,

manner the strength of the religious sentiment among the Athenians,¹ and adducing as a proof of it, that while walking amongst their sacred edifices, he lighted on an altar dedicated to an unknown God.²

The inscription certainly as understood by those who framed it, by no means proved that they were animated with the conception of an unknown God exalted above all other gods; but only that according to their belief they had received good or

for he deduced the seeking after the unknown God, which he doubtless considered as something good, from this *δεισιδαιμονία*, so prevalent among the Athenians. He announced himself as one who would guide their *δεισιδαιμονία*, not rightly conscious of its object and aim, to a state of clear self-consciousness by a revelation of the object to which it thus ignorantly tended. Still it may be asked, whether Paul had not still stronger reasons (though without perhaps reflecting deeply upon them) for using the word *δεισιδαιμονία*, instead of another which he was accustomed to use as the designation of pure piety. He uses the term *εὐσεβεῖν* immediately afterwards, where it plainly indicates the exercise of the religious sentiment towards the true God.

¹ In the comparative *δεισιδαιμονεστέρους*, a reference is made to the quality which, as we have before remarked, used to be attributed to the Athenians in a higher degree than to all the other Greeks,—a fact which the apostle would easily have learned.

² If we examine with care all the accounts of antiquity, and compare the various phases of polytheism, we shall find no sufficient ground to deny the existence of such an altar as is here mentioned by Paul. The inscription, as he cites it, and which proves his fidelity in the citation, by no means asserts that it was an altar to the Unknown God, but only an altar dedicated to an unknown God. Jerome, it is true, in the first chapter of his Commentary on the Epistle of Paul to Titus, and in his *Epistola ad Magnum*, thus cites the inscription of the altar—"Diis Asiæ et Europæ et Libyæ, Diis ignotis et peregrinis;" and he thinks that Paul modified the form of the inscription to suit his application of it. But Jerome, perhaps here as in other instances, judged too superficially. Several ancient writers mention the altars of the unknown gods at Athens, but in a manner that does not determine the form of the inscription. For example; Pausanias, *Attic.* i. 4, and *Eliac.* v. 14, *Βωμοὶ θεῶν ὀνομαζομένων ἀγνώστων*; Apollonius of Tyana, in Philostratus, vi. 3, where, like Paul, he finds, in the style of the inscription, an evidence of the pious disposition of the Athenians in reference to divine things, that they had erected altars even to unknown gods; *σωφρονεστέρον τὸ περὶ πάντων θεῶν εὐ λέγειν, καὶ ταῦτα Ἀθήνησιν, οὗ καὶ ἀγνώστων θαιμόνων βωμοὶ ἴδρυνται*. Isodorus of Pelusium, vi. 69, cannot be adduced as an authority, since he merely speaks of conjectures. Diogenes Laërtius, in the life of Epimenides III., that, in the time of a plague, when they knew not what God to propitiate in order to avert it, he caused black and white sheep to be let loose from the Areopagus, and wherever they laid down to be offered to the respective divinities (*τῷ προσήκορι*

evil from some unknown God, and this uncertainty in reference to the completeness of their worship, enters into the very essence of Polytheism, since, according to its nature, it includes an infinity of objects. But Paul cited this inscription, in order to attach a deeper meaning to it, and to make it a point of connexion, for the purpose of pointing out a higher but indistinct sentiment, lying at the root of Polytheism. Polytheism proceeds from the feeling of dependence—(whether founded on a sense of benefits conferred or of evils inflicted)—on a higher unknown power, to which it is needful that man should place himself in the right relation; but instead of following this feeling, in order by means of that in human nature which is supernatural and bears an affinity to God, to rise to a consciousness of a God exalted above nature, he refers it only to the powers of nature operating upon him through the senses. That by which his religious feeling is immediately attracted, and to which it refers itself, without the reflective consciousness of man making it a distinct object, is one thing: but that which the mind enthralled in the circle of nature—doing homage to the power over which it ought to rule—converts with reflective consciousness into an object of worship, is another thing. Hence Paul views the whole religion of the Athenians as the worship of a God unknown to themselves, and presents himself as a person who is ready to lead them to a clear self-consciousness respecting the object of their deeply felt religious sentiment.

“I announce to you Him,” said he, “whom ye worship, without knowing it.¹ He is the God who created the world

θεῶν). Hence, says Diogenes, there are still many altars in Athens without any determinate names. Although the precise inscriptions is not here given, yet altars might be erected on this or a similar occasion which were dedicated to an unknown god, since they knew not what god was offended and required to be propitiated, as Chrysostom has also remarked in his 38th homily on the Acts.

¹ We see from this how Paul psychologically explains the origin of polytheism, or the deification of Nature; how far he was from adopting the Jewish notion of a supernatural magical origination of idolatry by means of evil spirits, who sought to become the objects of religious homage. The idea contained in these words of Paul forms also the groundwork of his discourse at Lystra. We may also find a reference to it in what he says, Rom. i. 19, of an original knowledge of God, suppressed by the predominance of immoral propensities; and Rom.

and all that is therein. He, the Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made by human hands, he requires no human service on his own account—he, the all-sufficient One, has given to all, life, and breath, and all things. He also is the originator of the whole human race, and conducts its development to one great end. He has caused all the nations of the earth to descend from one man,¹ and has not allowed them to spread by chance over the globe; for, in this respect, every thing is under his control, he has appointed to each people its dwelling-place, and has ordained the various eras in the history of nations—their development in space and time is fixed by his all-governing wisdom.² Thus God has revealed himself in the vicissitudes of nations, in order that men may be induced to seek after him—to try whether they could know and find him; and they might easily know him, since he is not far from any one of us, for in him our whole existence has its root.”³ As an evidence of the consciousness

i. 21, 25, that idolatry begins when religious sentiment cleaves to the creature, instead of rising above nature to the Creator. On the first passage, see Tholuck's, and on the second Rückert's, excellent remarks.

¹ This also is probably connected with what he says in opposition to polytheistic views. On the polytheistic standing-point, a knowledge of the unity of human nature is wanting, because it is closely connected with a knowledge of the unity of God. Polytheism prefers the idea of distinct races over whom their respective gods preside, to the idea of one race proceeding from one origin. As the idea of one God is divided into a multiplicity of gods, so the idea of one human race is divided into the multiplicity of national character, over each of which a god is supposed to preside corresponding to the particular nation. On the other hand, the idea of one human race, and their descent from one man, is connected with the idea of one God. Thus Paul sets the unity of the theistic conceptions in contrast with the multiplicity existing in the deification of nature. The Emperor Julian observed this contrast between the polytheistic and monotheistic anthropology and anthropogony. See *Julian, Fragmentum ed. Spanheim*, t. i. 295. πανταχοῦ ἀνθρώων νευσάντων θεῶν, οἱ πλείους προήλθον ἀνθρώποι, τοῖς γενεάρχοις θεοῖς ἀποκληρωθέντες.

² A peculiar relation of the parts of the earth inhabited by the several nations to their peculiar character, as this is formed by native tendencies and moral freedom; the secret connexion between nature and mankind ordained by God, and grounded in a higher law of spiritual development.

³ The apostle's words are—ἐν αὐτῷ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ ἐσμέν. Many expositors have so explained these words, as if they were intended to denote the continual dependence of existence on God, as the preserver of all things; and excepting that ἐν is taken in an Hebraistic sense = *through*, we might so understand the words in the pure Greek

of this original relationship to God, he quotes the words of a heathen, one of themselves, the poet Aratus, who came from the native country of the apostle. "For we are the offspring of God."¹ After this appeal to the universal higher self-consciousness, he goes on to say; Since we are the offspring of God, we ought not to believe that the divinity is like any earthly material, or any image of human art. This negative assertion manifestly includes a positive one; we must strive to rise to the divinity by means of that within us which is related to him. Instead of carrying on the argument against idolatry, the apostle leaves his hearers to decide for themselves; and presupposing the consciousness of sin—without attempting to develop it—he proceeds with the annunciation of the gospel. After God had with great long-suffering endured the times of ignorance,² he now revealed

idiom, for εἶναι ἐν τινι may signify to depend wholly on some one, as ἐν σοὶ γὰρ ἐσμέν, in the *Œdipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles, v. 314. But this explanation does not suit the connexion of the passage; for Paul evidently is speaking here, not of what men have in common with other creatures, but of what distinguishes men from other creatures, that by which they are especially related to God; for as an evidence of this, "in him we live, and move, and are," he quotes the words of Aratus, which refer precisely to this relation of man to God. Hence, in order to find the connexion according to this explanation, we must amplify the thought too artificially; thus, "We are distinguished above all other creatures in our capacity for knowing this dependence on God." On the other hand, every thing is connected in the most natural manner, if we consider these words, "in him we live, move, and are," as pointing out the secret connexion of men with God as "the Father of Spirits," in virtue of their spiritual and moral nature. As Paul says nothing here which is peculiar to the Christian system, but expresses a fact grounded on the general principles of theism, we may with great propriety compare it with a perfectly analogous expression of Dio Chrysostom, which serves to confirm this explanation. He says of men—ἅτε οὐ μακρὰν οὐδ' ἔξω τοῦ θεοῦ διωκισμένοι, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ μέσῳ πεφυκότες ἐκείνῳ πανταχόθεν ἐμπιπλάμενοι τῆς θείας φύσεως.—*De Dei Cognitione*, vol. i. ed. Reiske, p. 384.

¹ These words are quoted from the *φαινόμεναι* of Aratus, v. 5, but they are also to be found in the beautiful hymn of the stoic Cleanthus, where they are used as an expression of Reason, as a mark of this divine relationship: ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ γένος ἐσμεν ἱῆς μίμημα λαχόντες μούνοι. A similar sentiment occurs in the golden verses: θεῖον γὰρ γένος ἐστὶ βροτοῖσιν.

² Paul here gives us to understand, that not merely negative unbelief in reference to truth not known, but only criminal unbelief of the gospel offered to men, would be an object of the divine judgment. This agrees with what he says in the first chapter of the Epistle to the

the truth to all men, and required all to acknowledge it and repent. With this was connected the annunciation of the Redeemer, of the forgiveness of sins to be obtained through him, of his resurrection as the confirmation of his doctrine, and a pledge of the resurrection of believers to a blessed life, as well as of the judgment to be passed by him on mankind.¹ As long as the apostle confined himself to the general doctrine of Theism, he was heard with attention by those who had been used to the lessons of Grecian philosophy. But when he touched upon that doctrine which most decidedly marked the opposition of the Christian view of the world to that entertained by the heathens,² when he spoke of a general resurrection, he was interrupted with ridicule on the part of some of his hearers. Others said, We would hear thee speak at another time on this matter; whether they only intended to hint in a courteous manner to the apostle that they wished him to close his address, or really expressed a serious intention of hearing him again.³ There were only a few individuals who joined themselves to the apostle, listened to his further instructions, and became believers. Among these was a member of the Areopagite council, Dionysius; who became the subject of so many legends. The only authentic tradition respecting him appears to be, that he was the principal instrument of forming a church at Athens, and became its overseer.⁴

While Paul was at Athens, Timothy returned from Mace-

Romans, that Heathens as well as Jews would be judged according to the measure of the law known to them; and with what he says in Rom. iii. 25, of the *πάρεσις τῶν προγεγονότων ἀμαρτημάτων*.

¹ It is very evident from the form of the expressions in Acts xvii. 31, as well as from verse 32, where the mention of the general resurrection in Paul's speech is implied, that, in the Acts, we have only the substance given of what he said.

² This is expressed in the words of the heathen Octavius, in Minucius Felix, c. xi.: "Cœlo et astris, quæ sic relinquimus ut invenimus, interitum denuntiare, sibi mortuis, extinctis, qui sicut nascimur et interimus, æternitatem repromittere." The doctrine of the Stoics, of an *ἀναστροφὴ*, the regeneration of the universe in a new form after its destruction, has no affinity to the doctrine of the resurrection, but is strictly in accordance with the pantheistical views of the Stoics.

³ From the silence of the Acts, we are not to infer with certainty that Paul never addressed these persons again.

⁴ See the account of the Bishop Dionysius of Corinth in Eusebius, in his *Eccles. Hist.* iv. 23.

donia,¹ but the anxiety of Paul for the new church at Thessalonica, induced him to send his young fellow-labourer thither,

¹ On this point there is much uncertainty. According to the Acts, Silas and Timothy first rejoined Paul at Corinth. But 1 Thess. iii. 1 seems to imply the contrary. This passage may indeed be thus understood,—that Paul sent Timothy, before his departure for Athens, to the church in Thessalonica, although he knew that he should now be left in Athens without any companions, for he wished to leave Silas in Berea. If he came from Berea alone, he would rather have said, *ερχεσθαι εἰς Ἀθήνας μόνοι*. But this he could not say, since he did not depart to Athens alone, but with other companions. Still the most natural interpretation of the passage is, that Paul, in order to obtain information respecting the Thessalonians, preferred being left alone in Athens, and sent Timothy from that city. Also, in the Acts, xvii. 16, it is implied that he waited at Athens for the return of Silas and Timothy; for though the words *ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις* may be referred, not to *ἐκδεχομένου*, but to the whole clause, still we cannot understand the passage otherwise. If we had merely the account in the Acts, we should be led to the conclusion, by a comparison of the xvii. 16, and xviii. 5, that Silas and Timothy were prevented from meeting with Paul at Athens, and they first found him again in Corinth, as he had given them notice that he intended to go thither from Athens. But by comparing it with what Paul himself says, 1 Thess. iii. 1, we must either rectify or fill up the account in the Acts. We learn from it that Timothy at least met with Paul at Athens, but that he thought it necessary to send him from thence to Thessalonica, and that he did not wait for his return from that city to Athens, which may be easily explained. But Luke, perhaps, had not so accurate a knowledge of all the particulars in this period of Paul's history; he had perhaps learned only that Paul met again at Corinth with Timothy and Silas, and hence he inferred, as he knew nothing of the sending away of Timothy in the mean time from Athens to Thessalonica, that Paul, after he had parted from his two companions at Berea, rejoined them first at Corinth. As to Silas, it is possible that, on account of the information he brought with him, he was sent back by Paul with a special commission from Athens to Berea, or, what is more probable, that he had occasion to stay longer than Timothy at Berea, and hence could not meet him at Athens. It might also be the case that Luke erroneously concluded, since Silas and Timothy both first met Paul again at Corinth, that he left both at Berea,—it would be possible that he left only Silas behind and brought Timothy with himself to Athens. It favours, though it does not establish this opinion, that Paul, in 1 Thess. iii. 1, alleges as the reason for sending away Timothy, not the unpleasant news brought by Timothy from Macedonia, but the hindrances intervening, which rendered it impossible for him to visit the church in Thessalonica according to his intention. Schneckenburger, in his learned essay on the date of the Epistles to the Thessalonians (in the *Studien der Evangelischen Geistlichkeit Württemburgs*, vol. vii. part 1, 1834, p. 139,) (with which in many points I am happy to agree,) maintains that Paul might have charged his two companions

that he might contribute to the establishment of their faith and their consolation under their manifold sufferings; for Timothy had communicated to him many distressing accounts of the persecutions which had befallen this church.

He travelled alone from Athens, and now visited a place most important for the propagation of the gospel, the city of Corinth, the metropolis of the province of Achaia. This city, within a century and a half after its destruction by Julius Cæsar, once more became the centre of intercourse and traffic to the eastern and western parts of the Roman Empire, for which it was fitted by its natural advantages, namely, by its two noted ports, that of Κέγχρεαι towards Lesser Asia, and that of Δεχαῖον towards Italy. Being thus situated, Corinth became an important position for spreading the gospel in a great part of the Roman Empire, and hence Paul chose this city, as he had chosen others similarly situated, to be the place where he made a long sojourn. But Christianity had here also, at its first promulgation, peculiar difficulties to combat, and the same causes which counteracted its reception at first, threatened at a later period, when it had found entrance, to corrupt its purity, both in doctrine and practice. The two opposite mental tendencies, which at that time especially opposed the spread of Christianity, were, on the one side, an intense devotedness to speculation and the exercise of

to follow him quickly from Berea, because he intended soon to leave Athens, where he expected no suitable soil for his missionary labours. But we have no sufficient reason for supposing this. Paul found at Athens a synagogue for the first scene of his ministry as in other cities; he felt himself compelled, as he says, to publish the gospel to Greeks and to Barbarians; he knew it was the power of God, which would conquer the philosophical blindness of the Greeks as well as the ceremonial blindness of the Jews, though he well knew that on both sides the obstacles were great. At all events, by some not improbable combinations, the narrative in the Acts and the expressions of Paul may easily be reconciled, and we are not therefore justified with Schrader in referring the passage in 1 Thess. iii. 1, to a later residence of Paul at Athens. All the circumstances mentioned seem best to agree with the period of his first visit. Paul having been obliged, contrary to his intention, to leave Thessalonica early, wished on several occasions to have revisited it; his anxiety for the new church there was so great, and in his tender concern for it, he showed the great sacrifice he was ready to make for it, by saying that he was willing to remain alone at Athens. In later times, when there was a small Christian church at Athens, this would not have been so great a sacrifice.

the intellect, to the neglect of all objects of practical interest, which threatened to stifle altogether the religious nature of men, that tendency which Paul designates by the phrase, "*seeking after wisdom*;"—and, on the other side, the sensuous tendency mingling itself with the actings of the religious sentiment; the carnal mind which would degrade the divine into an object of sensuous experience; that tendency to which Paul applies the phrase, "*seeking after a sign*." The first of these tendencies predominated among the greater number of those persons in Corinth who made pretensions to mental cultivation, for new Corinth was distinguished from the old city, chiefly by becoming, in addition to its commercial celebrity, a seat of literature and philosophy, so that a certain tincture of high mental culture pervaded the city.¹ The second of these tendencies was found among the numerous Jews, who were spread through this place of commerce, and entertained the common sensuous conceptions respecting the Messiah. And finally, the spread and efficiency of Christianity was opposed by that gross corruption of morals, which then prevailed in all the great cities of the Roman Empire, but especially in Corinth was promoted by the worship of Aphrodite, to which a far-famed temple was here erected, and thus consecrated the indulgence of sensuality, favoured as it was by the incitements constantly presented in a place of immense wealth and commerce.²

The efficiency of Paul's ministry at Corinth was doubtless much promoted by his meeting with a friend and zealous advocate of the gospel, at whose house he lodged, and with whom he obtained employment for his livelihood, the Jew Aquila from Pontus, who probably had a large manufactory in the same trade by which Paul supported himself. Aquila does not appear to have had a fixed residence at Rome, but to have taken up his abode, at different times, as his business

¹ In the 2d century, the rhetorician Aristides says of this city: σόφον δὲ δὴ καὶ καθ' ὁδὸν ἐλθὼν ἐν εὐροῖς καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἀψύχων μάθοις ἐν καὶ ἀκούσειας τοσούτοι θησαυροὶ γραμμάτων περὶ πᾶσαν αὐτήν, ὅποι καὶ μόνον ἀποβλέψειε τις, καὶ κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτὰς καὶ τὰς στοὰς ἔτι τὰ γυμνάσια, τὰ διδασκαλεῖα, καὶ μαθήματά τε καὶ ιστορήματα. Aristid. in Neptunum, ed. Dindorf, vol. i, p. 40.

² The rhetorician Dio Chrysostom says to the Corinthians: πῶς οἰκεῖτε τῶν οὐσῶν τε καὶ γεγεννημένων ἐπαφροδιτοτάτην. Orat. 37, vol. ii. p. 119, ed. Reiske.

might require, in various large cities situated in the centre of commerce, where he found himself equally at home. But at this time, he was forced to leave Rome against his will, by a mandate of the Emperor Claudius, who found in the restless, turbulent spirit of a number of Jews resident at Rome (the greater part freed-men),¹ a reason or a pretext for banishing all Jews from that city.²

If Aquila was at that time a Christian, which will easily account for his speedy connexion with Paul, this decree of banishment certainly did not affect him as a Christian, but as

¹ There was a particular quarter on the other side the Tiber inhabited by Jews. See *Philo-legat. ad Caium*, § 23. τὴν πέραν τοῦ Τιβέρεως ποταμοῦ μεγάλην τῆς Ῥώμης ἀποτόμην κατεχομένην καὶ οἰκουμένην πρὸς Ἰουδαίων.

² The account of Suetonius in the Life of Claudius, c. 25, "Judæos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit," is of little service in historical investigations. If Suetonius, about fifty years after the event itself, mixed up what he had heard in a confused manner of Christ, as a promoter of sedition among the Jews, with the accounts of the frequent tumults excited among them, by expectations of the Messiah,—we are not justified in concluding, that this banishment of the Jews had any real connexion with Christianity. Dr. Baur, in his essay on the object and occasion of the Epistle to the Romans, in the *Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie*, 1836, part iii. p. 110. thinks, that the disputes between the Jews and Christians in Rome, occasioned the disturbances which at last brought on the expulsion of both parties, and that this is the fact which forms the basis of the account. But disputes among the Jews themselves, whether Jesus was to be acknowledged as the Messiah, would certainly be treated with contempt by the Roman authorities, as mere Jewish religious controversies. See Acts xviii. 15. And if Christians of Gentile descent, who did not observe the Mosaic law, were then living at Rome, these, as a *genus tertium*, would not be confounded with the Jews, and a decree of banishment directed against the Jews would not affect them. They only became subject to punishment by the laws against the *religiones peregrinas et novas*. We can only suppose a reference to political disturbances among the Jews, or to occurrences which might excite suspicions of this kind. And this account is of little service in fixing the chronology of the apostolic history, for Suetonius gives no chronological mark. Such a mark would be given, if we connect the banishment of the Jews with the *senatus consultum, de mathmaticis Italia pellendis*, for here Tacitus (*Annal.* xii. 52.) gives the date Fausto Sulla, Salvio Othone Coss. = A. D. 52. But the chronological connexion of these two events is very uncertain, as they proceeded from different causes. The banishment of the astrologers proceeded from suspicions of conspiracies against the life of the Emperor, with which the banishment of the Jews stood in no sort of connexion, although it might have its foundation in the dread of political commotions.

classed with the other Jews, in virtue of his Jewish descent, and his participation in all the Jewish religious observances. But if the gospel had already been propagated among the Gentiles at Rome, (which is not probable, for this took place at a later period, by means of Paul's disciples, after his sphere of action had been much extended,) the Gentile Christians, who received the gospel free from Jewish observances, and had not yet attracted notice as a particular sect, would not have been affected by a persecution, which was directed against the Jews, as Jews, on purely political grounds.

We cannot answer with certainty the questions, whether Aquila, on his arrival at Corinth, was already a Christian ; for it cannot be determined merely from the silence of the Acts, that he was not converted by Paul. In any case, his intercourse with the apostle had great influence in the formation of his Christian views. Aquila appears from this time as a zealous preacher of the gospel, and his various journeys and changes of residence furnished him with many opportunities for acting in this capacity. His wife Priscilla also distinguished herself by her active zeal for the cause of the gospel, so that Paul calls them both, in Rom. xvi. 3, his "*helpers in Christ Jesus.*"

We must suppose that the reception given in general at Athens to the publication of the gospel, must have left a depressing effect on the mind of the apostle, as far as he was not raised above all depressing considerations by a conviction of the victorious divine power of the gospel. Hence, he himself says, that on his arrival at Corinth, he was at the utmost remove from attaching any importance to anything that human means, human eloquence, and human wisdom, could furnish towards procuring an entrance for the publication of the divine word : that he came and taught among them with a deep sense of his human weakness—with fear and trembling as far as his own power was concerned ; but at the same time, with so much greater confidence in the power of God working through his instrumentality. He had experienced at Athens, that it availed him nothing to become a Greek to the Greeks, in his mode of exhibiting divine truths, where the heart was not open to his preaching, by a sense of spiritual wants. At Corinth, he was satisfied with the simple annunciation of the Redeemer, who died for the salvation of sinful men, without

adapting himself as it respects to the uses of the educated masses in the style of address. The greater part indeed of the persons with whom he came in contact at Corinth, were not as at Athens, people of cultivated minds and belonging to the lower class who were destitute of all prejudices, for even when Christianity had spread more widely among the higher masses, he could still say, that not many distinguished to human culture or rank were to be found among the Christians, but God had chosen such as were despised by the world, in order to exemplify in them the power of the gospel, 1 Cor. i. 26. Among these people of the lower class were those who hitherto had been given up to the lusts that prevailed in this sink of moral corruption, but who, by the preaching of the apostle, were awakened to repentance, and experienced in their hearts the power of the announcement of the divine forgiveness of sins, 1 Cor. vi. 11. Paul could indeed appeal to the miracles by which his apostleship had been attested among the Corinthians, 2 Cor. xii. 12, but yet these appeals to the senses were not the means by which the gospel chiefly effected its triumphs at Corinth. As the gospel necessarily appeared as foolishness to the wisdom-seeking Greeks, as long as they persisted in their conceit of wisdom, so also to the sign-seeking Jews, as long as they persisted in their carnal mind, unsusceptible of the spiritual operations of what was divine, and required miracles cognizable by the senses, the gospel which announced no Messiah performing wonders in the manner their carnal conceptions had anticipated, would always be a stumbling-block. That demonstration which Paul made use of at Corinth, was the same which in all ages has been its firmest support, and without which all other evidences and means of promoting it will be in vain, the "*demonstration of the Spirit and of power*," 1 Cor. ii. 4; the mode in which the gospel operates, by its indwelling divine power, on minds rendered susceptible of it, in consequence of the feeling of their moral necessities; the demonstration arising from the power with which the gospel operates on the principle in human nature, which is allied to God, but depressed by the principle of sin. Thus the sign-seeking Jews who attained to faith, found in the gospel a "power of God" superior to all external miracles, and the believers among the wisdom-seeking Greeks found a divine wisdom, compared

with which all the wisdom of their philosophers appeared as nothing.

As was usual, Paul was obliged by the hostile disposition with which the greater part of the Jews received his preaching in the synagogue, to direct his labours to the Gentiles through the medium of the Proselytes, and the new church was mostly formed of Gentiles, to whom a small number of Jews joined themselves. That he might devote all his time and strength without distraction to preaching, he soon organized the small company of believers into a regular church, and left the baptism of those who were brought to the faith by his preaching, to be administered by those who were chosen to fill the offices in the church ; 1 Cor. i. 16 ; xvi. 15.

In the mean time, the acceptance which the gospel here found among the heathen, powerfully excited the rage of the Jews, and they availed themselves of the arrival of the new Proconsul Annæus Gallio, a brother of Seneca the philosopher, to arraign Paul before his tribunal. Since, by the laws of the empire, the right was secured to them of practising their own religious institutions without molestation, they inferred, that whoever caused division among them by the propagation of doctrines opposed to their own principles, encroached on the enjoyment of their privileges, and was amenable to punishment. But the Proconsul, a man of mild disposition,¹ showed no desire to involve himself in the internal religious controversies of the Jews, which must have appeared to a Roman statesman as idle disputes about words ; and the Gentiles themselves, on this occasion, testified their disapprobation of the accusers. The frustration of this attempt against the apostle enabled him to continue his labours with less annoyance in this region, so that their influence was felt through the whole province of Achaia, (1 Thess. i. 8 ; 2 Cor. i. 1,) whether he made use of his disciples as instruments, or suspended his residence at Corinth, by a journey into other parts of the province, and then returned again to the principal scene of his ministry.²

¹ Known by the name of the *dulcis Gallio*. Seneca, Præfat. Natural. quest. iv. "Nemo mortalium uni tam dulcis est, quam hic omnibus."

² See 2 Thess. i. 4, where Paul, in an epistle written during the latter part of his residence at Corinth, says, that in several churches, and therefore not merely in the Corinthian, he had spoken with praise of the faith and zeal of the Thessalonian church.

When he had been labouring for some time in these parts, Timothy returned from Thessalonica, by whom he received accounts of the state of the church there, which were far from pleasing in every respect. The faith of the church had indeed been steadfast under its persecutions, and their example and zeal had promoted the further spread of the gospel in Macedonia, even to Achaia, but many had not been preserved pure from the corruption of heathen immorality. The expectation of Christ's reappearance had taken in the minds of many an enthusiastic direction, so that they neglected their stated employments, and expected to be maintained at the expense of their more opulent brethren. Prophets rose up in their assemblies, whose addresses contained much that was enthusiastic; while others, who were on their guard against these enthusiastic exhibitions, went so far in an opposite direction as to put in the same class the manifestations of a genuine inspiration. Probably from a dread of enthusiasm, they could not endure that any person who felt himself inwardly called, should give free utterance to his sentiments in the meetings of the church, for to this Paul's exhortation appears to refer, in 1 Thess. v. 19, "Quench not the Spirit." On all these accounts, he considered it necessary to address an epistle of encouragement and exhortation to this church.¹

¹ In this epistle, he evidently assumes, that the manner of his coming from Philippi to Thessalonica was still fresh in the remembrance of the church, so that he alludes to only one residence among them, after his arrival from Philippi. What Paul says in 1 Thess. i. 9, he could only say at a period which was shortly subsequent to his departure from Thessalonica. Hence, it is certain, that the epistle was written at that juncture, and that it is the first among the Pauline epistles which have reached us, an opinion, with which its whole complexion well agrees. The reasons against this view, maintained by Schrader, some of which we have mentioned and endeavoured to refute, are not convincing. The anxiety of many persons in reference to their deceased friends (iv. 13,) proves indeed, that some of the first Christians at Thessalonica were already dead, but certainly does not justify the conclusion, that this church must have already existed a long time; for within a comparatively short time, many, especially those who were in years or in declining health at their conversion, might have died. Also the argument, that Paul, in this epistle, supposes the existence of a church organized in the usual manner with Presbyters, will prove nothing against the early composition of this epistle. For why should not Paul have accomplished all this during his short stay at Thessalonica, or put matters in a train for its being done soon after his departure? It is evident, from Acts xiv. 23, how important he deemed it to give

In his epistle, he reminds the church of the manner in which he conducted himself among them, the example of manual industry which he set, and the exhortations which he imparted to them. He calmed their anxiety respecting the fate of those who had died during this period. He warned against making attempts to determine the second coming of Christ. That critical moment would come unexpectedly; the exact time could be ascertained by no one; but it was the duty of Christians to be always prepared for it. They were not to walk in darkness, lest that day should overtake them as a thief in the night; as children of the light, they ought to walk continually in the light and the day; and to watch over themselves, that they might meet the appearance of the Lord with confidence.

After a time, Paul learned that the epistle had not attained its end; that the enthusiastic tendency in the Thessalonian church had continued to increase. In his former epistle, he had considered it necessary to guard them against both extremes; to warn them against the entire suppression of free prophetic addresses, as well as against receiving every thing as divine which pretended to be so, without examination. The higher life was to be developed and expressed freely without harassing restrictions; but all claims to inspiration ought to be submitted to sober examination.¹ He must, therefore, have had

the usual constitution to the churches as soon as they were formed; and this must have been more especially the case with a church which he left in such critical circumstances, even apart from persecutors. Indeed, if the rule laid down in the First Epistle to Timothy, that no novice in Christianity should be chosen to the office of presbyter, had been from the beginning an invariable principle, we might conclude, that so new a church, which must consist entirely of novices, could have no presbytery. But there is nothing to support this conclusion, and the circumstances of the primitive apostolic age are against it. The rules given in that epistle, as well as many other points, tend to prove that it was written in the latter part of Paul's life, and in reference to a church not newly organized. And what we find in Philip. iv. 6, by no means obliges us to assume a second visit of Paul to Thessalonica, after which both epistles were written. He there says, that during the time of the first publication of the gospel among the heathen, (which cannot be referred to a later period,) when he left Macedonia, no church excepting that at Philippi had sent him a contribution—first at Thessalonica before he left Macedonia, and then once or twice at Corinth, during his longer sojourn there. 2 Cor. xi. 9.

¹ It appears to me that 1 Thess. v. 21, altogether relates to what 'mediately precedes—"prove all things in the communications of the

cause to suspect danger from this quarter, even had he not received more exact information. But he was subsequently informed, that persons had come forward in the church who professed to have received revelations to the effect that the appearance of the Lord was close at hand. They also endeavoured to strengthen their assertions by distorting certain expressions of the apostle, which he had used during his residence at Thessalonica. But now since the epistle of Paul was so plainly opposed to the enthusiastic tendency which aimed at fixing the exact time of Christ's second coming, one of the promoters of this error ventured so far as to forge another epistle in Paul's name, which might serve to confirm this expectation, in which probably he took advantage of the circumstance, that the apostle in his first epistle had satisfied himself with urging what was of practical importance without giving a decided opinion on the nearness or remoteness of that great event.¹ Such forgeries were not at all uncommon in this century after the beginning of the Alexandrian period of literature, and their authors were very adroit in justifying such deceptions for the purpose of giving currency to certain principles and opinions.² This enthusiastic tendency also operated injuriously in producing idleness, and a neglect of a person's own affairs, united with a prying, intermeddling curiosity respecting the concerns of others. Paul, therefore, thought it necessary to write a second epistle to Thessalonica.³ In this epistle, for the pur-

prophets, and retain whatever is good ;" but in verse 22, he makes a transition to a general remark, "that they should keep themselves at a distance from every kind of evil," with which his prayer for the sanctification of the whole man naturally connects itself.

¹ The passage in 2 Thess. ii. 2, might be so understood, as if only the statements in the First Epistle had been misrepresented ; and it is certainly possible to imagine, that they had so misapplied Paul's comparison of a thief in the night, as if he expected the appearance of Christ to be an event close at hand, and only meant to say that the point of time could not be given more distinctly. But these words of Paul would naturally be understood of the forgery of a letter in his name, and the manner in which he guards against similar forgeries, by a postscript in his own hand, favours this opinion.

² The Bishop Dionysius very much lamented the falsification of letters which he had written to various churches. Euseb. iv. 23.

³ He had at that time probably travelled from Corinth into Achaia, and founded other churches. Already he had sustained many conflicts with the enemies of the gospel ; he had occasion to request the inter-

pose of guarding them against the hasty expectation of that last decisive period, he directed their attention to the signs of the times which would precede it. The revelation of the evil that opposed itself to the kingdom of God—a self-idolatry excluding the worship of the living God—would first rise to the highest pitch. The power of the delusion, by a hypocritical show of godliness, and by extraordinary power, apparently miraculous, would deceive those who were not disposed to follow the simple, unadulterated truth. The rejection of the True and the Divine would be punished by the power of falsehood. Those persons would be ensnared by the arts of deception, who, because they had suppressed the sense of truth in their hearts, deserved to be deceived, and by their own criminality had prepared themselves for all the deceptions of falsehood. Then would Christ appear, in order by his victorious divine power to destroy the kingdom of evil, after it had attained its widest extension, and to consummate the kingdom of God. As signs similar to those which prognosticate the last decisive and most triumphant epoch, are repeated in all the great epochs of the kingdom of God, as it advances victoriously in conflict with the kingdom of evil, Paul might believe that he recognised in many signs of *his own* time, the commencement of the final epoch. By the light of the divine Spirit, and according to the intimations of Christ¹ himself, he discerned the general law of the development of the kingdom of Christ, which is applicable to all the great epochs down to the very last; but he was not aware that similar phenomena must often recur until the arrival of the final crisis.²

cessory prayers of the churches, that he might be delivered from the machinations of evil-minded men; for such were not wanting, who were unsuspceptible of receiving the gospel; 2 Thess. iii. 2. This reminds us of the accusations made by the Jews against Paul.

¹ See *Leben Jesu*, pp. 558, 612.

² When persons have attempted to determine with exactness the signs of the times given by Paul, they have failed in many points. In the first place, they have sought for the appearances to which the apostle refers in later ages, while Paul refers to appearances in his own age, or to those which they seemed to forebode. In other important periods, which preceded remarkable epochs for the development of the kingdom of Christ, signs might be found similar to those which Paul has here described. Still we should not be justified in saying that these signs in this particular form were consciously present to Paul's

As Paul was unexercised in writing Greek, and, amidst his numerous cares and labours, instead of writing his epistles with his own hand, dictated them, as was a usual practice among the ancients, to an amanuensis, letters could be more easily forged in his name. Perhaps he had already adopted the plan of adding a few words of salutation with his own hand, in order to give the churches a special proof of his affectionate sympathy. Such an autograph addition would now be so much the more necessary for the purpose of preventing falsifications of his epistles; accordingly, in this epistle to the Thessalonians he expressly notices this circumstance, that they might in future know all the epistles that really were his own production.¹

mind. And thus we should fall into error, if we expected to find what is anti-Christian only in certain particular appearances of the Ecclesiastical History, instead of recognising in these appearances a Christian truth lying at their basis, and the same anti-Christian spirit (by which the Christian principle is here disturbed, and at last wholly obscured) likewise in other appearances. When too, these signs have been looked for in the actual situation of the apostle, the defectiveness of our knowledge of his situation, and of the appearances peculiar to his times, has been forgotten. Or, instead of estimating the great views respecting the development of the kingdom of God, which the apostle here unfolds, according to the ideas contained, the kernel has been thrown away, and the shell retained, and they have been compared with the Jewish fables respecting Antichrist.

¹ From these words of Paul, 2 Thess. iii. 17, we cannot infer with Schrader, that Paul must have already written many epistles (to the Thessalonians), and, therefore, that this could not be the second; for if Paul had determined now for the first time to employ this precaution against the falsification of his epistle, he might certainly thus express himself; it was not necessary to use the future *ἔσται*, and yet Paul might have written many epistles before this. For, might he not already have written epistles to the churches in Cilicia, and Syria, and others lately founded by him, as well as to individuals? We cannot certainly maintain, that the whole correspondence of the great apostle, who was so active and careful in every respect, has come down to us. Lastly, the forgery of a letter under his name was still easier when only a few, than when many of his epistles were extant. Therefore the proofs fail which are employed partly for the later origin, partly for the spuriousness of the epistle. And as to the salutation added by Paul as a mark of his handwriting, it only follows that, under the existing circumstances, he determined to add such a mark of his handwriting to all his epistles, but by no means that, under altered circumstances, he adhered to this resolution; nor could we conclude with certainty, that in all those epistles in which Paul has not expressly remarked that the salutation was penned by him, the benediction at the close was really

Thus Paul laboured during another half-year for the spread of Christianity in these parts, and then concluded the second period of his ministry among the heathen, which began with the second missionary journey. We are now arrived at a resting-place, from which we shall proceed to a new period in his ministry, and in the history of the propagation of the gospel among the Gentiles.

CHAPTER VII.

THE APOSTLE PAUL'S JOURNEY TO ANTIOCH, AND HIS RENEWED MISSIONARY LABOURS AMONG THE HEATHEN.

AFTER Paul had laboured during another half-year for the establishment of the Christian church in Corinth and Achaia, he resolved, before attempting to form new churches among the heathen, to visit once more that city which had been hitherto the metropolis of the Christian-Gentile world, Antioch, where possibly he had arranged a meeting with other publishers of the gospel. This was no doubt the principal, but probably not the only, object of his journey. He felt it to be very important to prevent the outbreak of a division between the Jewish and the Gentile Christians, and to take away from the Jews and Jewish Christians the only plausible ground for their accusation, that he was an enemy of their nation and the religion of their fathers. On this account, he resolved to revisit at the same time the metropolis of Judaism, in order publicly to express his gratitude to the God of his fathers in the temple at Jerusalem, according to a form much approved by the Jews, and thus practically to refute these imputations. There was at that time among the Jews a religious custom, arising most probably from a modification of the Nazarite vow, that those who had been visited with sickness or any other great calamity vowed, if they were restored,

not in his handwriting. When once that peculiar practice and his handwriting had become generally known among the churches, he might make such an addition, without expressly mentioning that it was written by himself.

to bring a thank-offering to Jehovah in the temple, to abstain from wine for thirty days, and to shave their heads.¹ Paul had probably resolved, on the occasion of his deliverance from some danger during his last residence at Corinth, or on his journey from that city,² publicly to express his grateful acknowledgments in the temple at Jerusalem. The form of his doing this was in itself a matter of indifference, and in the spirit of Christian wisdom, he felt no scruple to become in respect of form, to the Jews a Jew, or to the Gentiles a Gentile. When he was on the point of sailing with Aquila to Lesser Asia, from Cenchræa, he began the fulfilment of his vow.³ He left his companion with his wife behind at Ephesus, whither he promised to return, and hastened to Jerusalem, where he visited the church, and presented his

¹ Josephus, de Bello Jud. ii. 15, τοὺς γὰρ ἡ νόσφ καταπονουμένους ἢ τιςιν ἄλλαις ἀνάγκαις ἔθος εὔχεσθαι πρὸς λ' ἡμερῶν, ἧς ἀποδώσειν μέλλοιεν θυσίας, οἶνου τε ἀφέξεσθαι καὶ ξυρῆσασθαι τὰς κίμας. It appears to me quite necessary to change the aorist in the last clause into the future *ξυρήσεσθαι*; and I would translate the passage thus—"they were accustomed to vow that they would refrain from wine and shave their hair thirty days before the presentation of the offering." From comparing this with the Nazarite vow, we might indeed conclude that the shaving of the hair took place at the end of thirty days, as Meyer thinks in his commentary; but the words of Josephus do not agree with this supposition, for we cannot be allowed to interpolate another period before the *ξυρήσεσθαι*, "and at the end of these thirty days." Also what follows in Josephus is opposed to it, and Paul's shaving his hair several weeks before his arrival at Jerusalem, will not harmonize with such a supposition.

² From how many dangers he was rescued, and how much would be required to complete the narrative given in the Acts, we learn from 2 Cor. xi. 26, 27.

³ Unnecessary difficulties have been raised respecting Acts xviii. 18. Paul in the 18th, and the verse immediately following, is the only subject to which every thing is referred; and the words relating to Aquila and Priscilla form only a parenthesis. All that is here expressed must therefore be referred to Paul and not to Aquila, who is mentioned only incidentally. Schneckenburger, in his work on the Acts, p. 66, finds a reason for mentioning such an unimportant circumstance respecting a subordinate person in this, that a short notice of a man, who for half a year lived in the same house as Paul, would serve as an indirect justification of the apostle against the accusations of his Judaizing opponents: but this is connected with the whole hypothesis, of which, for reasons already given, I cannot approve.

⁴ Besides, Aquila could not have taken *such* a vow, because he did not travel to Jerusalem, where the offering ought to be presented. We must therefore suppose that he had made a vow of another kind.

offering in the temple.¹ He then travelled to Antioch, where he stayed a long time, and met with Barnabas, and other friends and former associates in publishing the gospel. The that he would not allow his hair to be cut till he had left Corinth in safety, like the Jews who bound themselves by a vow to do or not to do something till they had accomplished what they wished, as, for example, not to take food; compare Acts xxiii. 14, and the legends from the *εὐαγγέλιον καθ' Ἑβραίων*, in Jerome de v. i. c. ii. But such unmeaning folly no one can attribute to Aquila. And Luke would hardly have related any thing so insignificant of Aquila, who was not the hero of his narrative. But Meyer thinks he has found a special proof that this relates not to Paul but to Aquila; because, in Acts xviii. 18, the name of Priscilla is mentioned not as it is in v. 2 and 26, and contrary to the usage of antiquity, with a design to make the reference here designed to Aquila more pointed. We might allow some weight to this consideration, if we did not find the same arrangement of the names in Rom. xvi. 3, and 2 Tim. iv. 19. Hence we shall find a common ground of explanation for what appears a striking deviation from the customs of antiquity, that although Priscilla was not a public instructress, which would have been contrary to the laws of the church, yet she was distinguished even more than her husband for her Christian knowledge, and her zeal for the promotion of the kingdom of God; that in this respect Paul stood in a more intimate relation, a closer alliance of spirit to her, as Bleek has suggested in his Introduction to the Epistle to the Hebrews, p. 422. And thus we find in this undesigned departure from the prevailing usage, on a point so unimportant in itself, an indication of the higher dignity conferred so directly by Christianity on the female sex.

¹ The words in Acts xviii. 21 cannot prove that Paul travelled to Jerusalem, for the original expression only makes it highly probable. "I will return to you again, God willing;" and all the rest is only a gloss. If, therefore, we do not find the journey to Jerusalem indicated in the *ἀναβάς* and *κατέβη* of v. 22, we must assume that Paul on this journey came only as far as Antioch, and not to Jerusalem, and then the interpretation of Acts xviii. 18, given in the text, must be abandoned. It is also remarkable that Luke, in referring to Paul's sojourn at Jerusalem, should mention only his saluting the church, and say nothing of the presentation of his offering; and that James, who, on Paul's former visit to Jerusalem, had advised him to such a line of conduct, should not have appealed to the example given by himself of such an accommodation to the feelings of the Jews. But Luke is never to be regarded as the author of a history complete in all its parts, but simply as a writer who, without historical art, put together what he heard and saw, or what became known to him by the reports of others. Hence he narrates several less important circumstances, and passes over those which would be more important for maintaining the connexion of the history. Also, to a reader familiar with Jewish customs, it might be sufficiently clear that Paul, according to what is mentioned in xviii. 18, must have brought an offering to Jerusalem. At all events, if we wish to refer v. 22 only to Cæsarea

apostle Peter also joined the company of preachers of the gospel here assembled, who beheld the apostles of the Jews and the apostle of the Gentiles united in true Christian fellowship with one another, in accordance with the spirit of the resolutions adopted by the Council at Jerusalem.

But this beautiful unanimity was disturbed by some Judaizing zealots, who came from Jerusalem probably with an evil design, since what they had heard of the free publication of the gospel among the heathen was offensive to their contracted feelings. For a considerable time the pharisaically-minded Jewish Christians appeared to have been silenced by the apostolic decisions, but they could not be induced to give up an opposition so closely allied with a mode of thinking exclusively Jewish, against a completely free and independent gospel. The constant enlargement of Paul's sphere of labour among the heathen, of which they became more fully aware by his journeys to Jerusalem and Antioch, excited afresh their suspicion and jealousy. Though they professed to be delegates sent by James from Jerusalem,¹ it by no means follows that they were justified in so doing; for before this time such Judaizers had falsely assumed a similar character. These persons were disposed not to acknowledge the uncircumcised Gentile Christians, who observed no part of the Mosaic ceremonial law, as genuine Christian brethren, as brethren in the faith, endowed with privileges equal to their own in the kingdom of the Messiah. As they looked upon them as still unclean, they refused to eat with them. The same Peter who had at first asserted so emphatically the equal rights of the Gentile Christians, and afterwards at the last apostolic convention had so strenuously defended them, now allowed himself to be carried away by a regard to his countrymen, and for the moment was faithless to his principles. We here recognise the old nature of Peter, which, though conquered by the spirit of the gospel, was still active, and on some occasions regained the ascendancy. The same Peter who, after he had borne the most impressive

the ἀναβὰς must be superfluous, and the κατέβη would not suit the geographical relation of Cæsarea to Antioch.

¹ This is not necessarily contained in the words *τινὲς ἀπὸ Ἱερουσολύμων*, which may simply mean that these persons belonged to the church at Jerusalem, over which James presided.

testimony to the Redeemer, at the sight of danger for an instant denied him. The example of an apostle whose character stood so high, influenced other Christians of Jewish descent, so that even Barnabas withdrew from holding intercourse with Gentile Christians. Paul, who condemned what was evil without respect of persons, called it an act of hypocrisy. He alone remained faithful to his principles, and in the presence of all administered a severe reprimand to Peter, and laid open the inconsistency of his conduct. "Why, if thou thyself," he said, "although thou art a Jew, hast no scruple to live as a Gentile with the Gentiles, why wilt thou force the Gentiles to become Jews? *We* are born Jews—*we*, if the Jews are right in their pretensions, were not sinners like the Gentiles, but clean and holy as born citizens of the theocratic nation. But by our own course of conduct, we express our contrary conviction. With all our observance of the law, we have acknowledged ourselves to be sinners who are in need of justification as well as others, well knowing that by works, such as the law is able to produce,¹ no man can be justified before God; but this can only be attained by faith in Christ, and having been convinced of this, we have sought justification by him alone. But this conviction we contradict, if we seek again for justification by the works of the law. We therefore present ourselves again as sinners"

¹ We may here notice briefly what will be more fully developed when we come to treat of the apostolic doctrine, that Paul by *ἐργοῖς νόμου* understands works which a compulsory, threatening law may force a man to perform, in the absence of a holy disposition. The idea comprehends the mere outward fulfilling of the law, in reference to what is moral as well as what is ritual. Both, which are so closely connected in Judaism, maintain their real importance only as an expression of the truly pious disposition of *δικαιοσύνη*. The idea of the moral or the ritual predominates only according to the varied antithetical relation of the phrase. In this passage, a special reference is made to the ritual.

² The words, Gal. ii. 18, "If what I have destroyed (the Mosaic law) I build up again, (like Peter, who had practically testified again to the universal obligation of the Mosaic law), I must look upon myself as a transgressor of the law, as a sinner." (Paul here supposes Peter to express the conviction, that he had done wrong in departing from the law, that he was guilty of transgressing a law that was still binding.) I cannot perfectly agree with Rückert's exposition, who supposes these words to be used by Paul in reference to himself. For this general proposition would not be correct, "Whoever builds up again what he has pulled down pursues a wrong course." If he had done wrong in pulling down, he would do right in building up what had been pulled

needing justification, and Christ, instead of justifying us from sin, has deprived us of the only means of justification and led us into sin, if it be sin to consider ourselves freed from the law. Far be this from us."¹

If we fix this controversy of Paul and Peter,² which as the

down; and even the opponents of Paul maintained the first; they could not therefore be affected by that proposition, and the logical Paul would have taken good care not to express it.

¹ Paul's reprimand of Peter (Gal. ii.) appears to reach only as far as the 18th verse, excl. What follows, by the transition from the plural to the singular, and by the γὰρ, is shown to be a commentary by Paul on some expressions which, uttered in the warmth of feeling, might be somewhat obscure, and evidently not a continuation of his address. As to the date of this interview with Peter, we readily allow that we cannot attain to absolute certainty. Paul himself narrates the occurrence immediately after speaking of *that* journey to Jerusalem which we find reasons for considering as his *third*. And, accordingly, we suppose that this event followed the apostolic convention at Jerusalem. And probably many persons would be induced, by the report of what had taken place among the Gentile Christians, (which to Jewish Christians must have appeared so very extraordinary), to resort to the assembly of the Gentile Christians at Antioch, partly in order to be witnesses of the novel transactions, and partly out of suspicion. According to what we have before remarked, it is not impossible that these Judaizers, soon after the resolutions for acknowledging the equal rights of Gentile Christians were passed, became unfaithful to them, because they explained them differently from their original intention. But there is greater probability, that these events did not immediately succeed the issuing of those resolutions. It is by no means evident that Paul, in this passage of the Epistle to the Galatians, intended to observe chronological exactness. He rather appears to be speaking of an event which was quite fresh in his memory, and had happened only a short time before. Besides the two suppositions here mentioned, a third is possible, which has been advocated by Hug and Sneckenburgh; namely, that this event took place *before* the apostolic convention. But though Paul here follows no strict chronological order, yet it is difficult to believe that he would not place the narrative of an event, so closely connected with the controversies which gave occasion to his conferences with the apostles at Jerusalem, at the beginning, instead of letting it follow as supplementary.

² Confessedly a mistaken reverence for the apostle led many persons in the ancient (especially the eastern) church to a very unnatural view of this controversy. They adopted the notion that Peter and Paul had an understanding with one another, that both, the one for the advantage of the Jews, the other for the advantage of the Gentile Christians, committed an *officiosum mendacium*, in order that no stain might rest on Peter's conduct. Augustin, in his Epistle to Jerome, and in his book *De Mendacio*, has admirably combated this prejudice, and the false interpretation founded upon it.

following history shows, produced no permanent separation between them—exactly at this period, it will throw much light on the connexion of events. Till now the pacification concluded at Jerusalem between the Jewish and Gentile Christians had been maintained inviolate. Till now Paul had to contend only with Jewish opponents, not with Judaizers in the churches of Gentile Christians;—but now the opposition between the Jewish and Gentile Christians, which the apostolic resolutions had repressed, again made its appearance. As in this capital of Gentile Christianity, which formed the central point of Christian missions, this controversy first arose, so exactly in the same spot it broke forth afresh, notwithstanding the measures taken by the apostles to settle it; and having once been renewed, it spread itself through all the churches where there was a mixture of Jews and Gentiles. Here Paul had first to combat that party whose agents afterwards persecuted him in every scene of his labours. It might at first appear strange, that this division should break out exactly at that time; at the very time when the manner in which Paul had just appeared at Jerusalem, having become to the Jews a Jew, might have served to make a favourable impression on the minds of those Christians who were still attached to Judaism. But although it might thus operate on the most moderate among them, yet the event showed, that on the fanatical zealots, whose principles were too contrary to admit of their being reconciled to him, it produced quite an opposite effect, when they saw the man who had spoken so freely of the law—who had always so strenuously maintained the equal rank of the uncircumcised Gentile Christian with the Jewish Christians, and whom they had condemned as a despiser of the law, when they saw this man representing himself as one of the believing Jewish people. They well knew how to make use of what he had done at Jerusalem to his disadvantage; and by representing his actions in a false light, they accused him of inconsistency, and of artfully attempting to flatter the Gentile Christians.

The influence of this party soon extended itself through the churches in Galatia and Achaia. It is true that Paul, when, after leaving his friends at Antioch, he visited once more the churches in Phrygia and Galatia, on his way to Ephesus,

whither he had promised to come on his return, observed no striking change among them.¹ But still, he remarked, that

¹ He expresses to the Galatian churches his astonishment, that they had deserted, so soon after his departure, the evangelical doctrine for which they had before shown so much zeal; Gal. i. 6. As several modern writers (particularly Rückert) have maintained it as an ascertained fact, that Paul, during his second residence among the Galatian churches, had to oppose their tendency to Judaism, we must examine more closely the grounds of this assertion. As to Gal. i. 9, I cannot acknowledge as decisive the reasons alleged by Rückert, Usteri, and Schott, against these words being an impassioned asseveration of the sentiment in the preceding verse, and in favour of their being a reference to what he had said, when last with them. Might it not be a reference to what was written before, as Eph. iii. 3; 2 Cor. vii. 2? For that what he refers to, in both these passages, is rather more distant, makes no difference in the form of the expression. But if these words must refer to something said by Paul at an earlier period, yet the consequence which Rückert believes may be drawn from them, does not follow; for though Paul had no cause to be dissatisfied with the church itself, yet after what he had experienced at Antioch, added to the earlier leaning of a part of the church to Judaism, he might consider it necessary to charge it upon them most impressively, that under whatever name, however revered, another doctrine might be announced to them, than what he had preached, such doctrine would deserve no credit, but must be Anti-Christian. Although Gal. v. 21 certainly refers to something said by the apostle at an earlier period, yet nothing further can be concluded from it: for in every church, he must have held it very necessary to make it apparent, that men would only grossly flatter themselves if they imagined that they could enter the kingdom of heaven without a complete change of heart and conduct; 1 Thess. iv. 6; Eph. v. 5. 6. The words in Gal. v. 2, 3, must be thus understood, "As I said, that whoever allows himself to be circumcised renounces his fellowship with Christ, so I testify to such an one again, that he is bound to fulfil the whole law." Evidently, the second and third verses relate to one another; the thoughts are correlative. If Paul intended to remind the Galatians of warnings he had given them by word of mouth, why did he not insert the *παλιν* in verse 2? since what is there expressed forms the leading thought, and requires the strongest emphasis to be laid upon it. Also in the fact, that without any preparation, as in his other epistles, he opens this with such vehement rebuke, I cannot with Rückert find a proof that during his former residence among these churches he had detected the Judaizing tendency among them, and was forced to involve all in blame, in order to bring them back to the right path. This very peculiarity in the tone with which the epistle begins may be easily explained, if we suppose that since, during his presence among them, he had perceived no departure from the doctrine announced to them—and had warned them beforehand of the artifices of the Judaizers—the sudden information of the effect produced among them by this class of persons had more painfully surprised, more violently affected him; and the whole epistle bears the marks of such an impression on his mind.

these Judaizing teachers sought to gain an entrance into the churches, that they made a show of great zeal for their salvation, and that the Gentiles might attain to the full enjoyment of the privileges and benefits of the Messiah's kingdom—and that they strove to imbue them with the false notion, that unless they allowed themselves to be circumcised, they could not stand on a level with the Jewish Christians. Still he had cause to be satisfied with the manner in which they maintained their Christian freedom against these persons; Gal. iv. 18. And he sought only to confirm them still more in this Christian mode of thinking and acting, while he endeavoured to impress on their hearts afresh the lesson, that independently of any legal observance, salvation could be obtained only by faith in Christ, and earnestly put them on their guard against everything which opposed or injured this truth. This was interpreted by his Judaizing opponents, who were wont to misrepresent all his actions and words, and in every way to infuse distrust of him, as if he had grudged the Galatians those higher privileges which they might have obtained by the reception of Judaism; Gal. iv. 16.

Paul now chose as the scene of his labours for the spread of the gospel, the centre of intercourse and traffic for a large part of Asia, the city of Ephesus, the most considerable place of commerce on this side of the Taurus. But here also was a central point of mental intercourse; so that no sooner was Christianity introduced, than it was exposed to new conflicts with foreign tendencies of the religious spirit, which either directly counteracted the new divine element, or threatened to adulterate it. Here was the seat of heathen magic, which originally proceeded from the mystic worship of Artemis,¹ and

Whichever among the conflicting interpretations of the words in chap. iv. 18 may be taken, this much is evident, that Paul wished that they would act during his absence as they had done during his presence. And this he surely could not have said, if already during his former residence they had given him such cause for dissatisfaction. It is arbitrary to refer this only to his first residence among them. Had he during that residence noticed such things among them, he would also have felt that ἀπορία in reference to them, he would have perceived the necessity of ἀλλάξει τὴν φωνήν, and have already made use of this new mode of treatment, v. 20.

¹ In the mysterious words on her statue, higher mysteries were sought, and a special magical power ascribed to them. See *Clem. Strom.* v. 568, and after these, forms of incantation were constructed,

here also the Jewish magic, connecting itself with the heathenish, sought to find entrance. The spirit of the times, dissatisfied with all the existing religions, and eager after something new, was favourable to all such attempts.

After Paul had preached the gospel for three months in the synagogue, he was induced, by the unfriendly disposition manifested by a part of the Jews, to turn his attention to the Gentiles, and met his hearers daily in a school belonging to one of their number, a rhetorician, named Tyrannus. It was most important that the divine power which accompanied the promulgation of the gospel should manifest itself in some striking manner, in opposition to the magic so prevalent here, —which by its apparently great effects deceived and captivated many,—in order to rescue men from these arts of deception, and prepare their hearts to receive the truth. And though a carnal “seeking after signs” might have tempted men (like the Goës Simon) to cleave solely to the sensible phenomenon in which the power of the divine was manifested, and to regard Christianity itself as a new and higher kind of magic, a most powerful counteraction against such a temptation proceeded from the genius of Christianity, when it really found an entrance into the heart. One remarkable occurrence which took place at this time greatly contributed to set in the clearest light the opposition which Christianity presented to all such arts of jugglery. A number of Jewish Goëtæ frequented these parts, who pretended that they could expel evil spirits from possessed persons by means of incantations, fumigations, the use of certain herbs, and other arts, which they had derived from King Solomon;¹ and these people could at times, whether by great dexterity in deceiving the senses, or by availing themselves of certain powers of nature unknown to others, or by the influence of an excited imagination, produce apparently great effects, though none which really promoted the welfare of mankind.² When these Jewish Goëtæ beheld the effects which Paul produced by calling on

which were supposed to possess great efficacy, the so-called ἑφεσία γράμματα.

¹ See Justin. Dial. c. Tryph. Jud. f. 311, ed. Colon.

² The cures they performed were sometimes followed by still greater evils, as Christ himself intimates would be the case; Luke xi. 23. See also *Leben Jesu*, p. 291.

the name of Jesus, they also attempted to make use of it as a magical formula for the exorcism of evil spirits. The unhappy consequences of this attempt made a powerful impression on many, who, as it appeared, had certainly been moved by the miraculous operations of the apostle, so as to acknowledge Jesus as the author of divine powers in men, but imagined that these powers could be employed in the services of their sinful practices, and in connexion with their vain magical arts. But terrified by the disaster to which we have referred, they now came to the apostle, and professed repentance for their sinful course, and declared their resolution to forsake it. Books full of magical formulæ, which amounted in value to more than "fifty pieces of silver," were brought together and publicly burnt. This triumph of the gospel over all kinds of enthusiasm and arts of deception was often repeated.

Ephesus was a noted rendezvous for men of various kinds of religious belief, who flocked hither from various parts of the east, and thus were brought under the influence of Christianity; amongst others, Paul here met with twelve disciples of John the Baptist, the individual who was commissioned by God to prepare for the appearance of the Redeemer among his nation and contemporaries; but, as was usual with the preparatory manifestations of the kingdom of God, different effects were produced according to the different susceptibility of his hearers. There were those of his disciples who, following his directions, attained to a living faith in the Redeemer, and some of whom became apostles; others only attained a very defective knowledge of the person and doctrine of Christ; others again, not imbibing the spirit of their master, held fast their former prejudices, and assumed a hostile attitude towards Christianity; probably the first germ of such an opposition appeared at this time from which the sect of the disciples of John was formed, which continued to exist in a later age. Those disciples of John with whom Paul met at Ephesus, belonged to the second of these classes. Whether they had become the disciples of John himself in Palestine and received baptism from him, or whether they had been won over to his doctrine by means of his disciples in other parts,—(which would serve to prove that John's disciples aimed at forming a separate community, which necessarily

would soon assume a jealous and hostile position against Christianity on its first rapid spread)—at all events, they had received the little they had heard of the person and doctrine of Jesus as the Messiah, to whom John pointed his followers, and considered themselves justified in professing to be Christians¹ like others. Paul believed that he should find them such; but, on further conversation with them, it appeared that they understood nothing of the power of the glorified Saviour, and of the communication of divine life through him,—that they knew nothing of a Holy Spirit. Paul then imparted to them more accurate instruction on the relation between the ministry of John and that of Christ, between the baptism of John and the baptism which would initiate them into communion with Christ, and into a participation of the divine life that proceeded from him. After that, he baptized them in the name of Christ, with the usual consecration by the sign of the laying-on of hands and the accompanying prayer; and their reception into Christian fellowship was sealed by the usual manifestations of Christian inspiration.

Paul's residence at Ephesus was not only of considerable importance for the spread of Christianity throughout Asia Minor, for which object he incessantly laboured either by undertaking journeys himself, or by means of disciples whom he sent out as missionaries; but it was also a great advantage for the churches that were already formed in this region, as from this central point of intercourse he could most easily receive intelligence from all quarters, and, by means of letters or messengers, could attend to their religious and moral condition, as the necessities of the churches might require. His anxiety for these his spiritual children always accompanied him; he often reminded them that he remembered them daily in his prayers with thanksgiving and intercession; thus he assured the Corinthians, in the overflowing of his love, that he bore them continually in his heart; and vividly depicted his daily care for all the churches he had founded by his touching interrogations, "Who is weak in faith and I am not

¹ The name *μαθηταί*, Acts xix. 1, without any other designation, can certainly be understood only of the disciples of Jesus; and the manner in which Paul addressed them implies, that they were considered to be Christians.

weak? Who meets with a stumbling-block and I am not disturbed even more than himself?" 2 Cor. xi. 29.

Cases of the latter kind must often have excited the grief of the apostle; for as the Christian faith gradually gained the ascendancy and affected the general tone of thinking in society, new views of life in general, and a new mode of feeling, were formed in the Gentile world; and in opposition to the immoral licentiousness of heathenism, which men were led to renounce by the new principles of the Christian life, an anxiously legal and Jewish mode of thinking, which burdened the conduct with numberless restraints, was likely to find an entrance, and must have disturbed the minds of many who had not attained settled Christian convictions.

Probably it was soon after his arrival at Ephesus that Paul received information respecting the state of the Galatian churches which awakened his fears. During his last residence among them, he had perceived the machinations of a Judaizing party, which were likely to injure the purity of the Christian faith and the freedom of the Christian spirit. He was aware of the danger which threatened from this quarter, and had taken measures to counterwork it; he was not successful, however, in averting the approaching storm, as he now experienced to his great sorrow.

The adversaries whom he had here to contend with were unwilling to acknowledge his apostolic authority, because he had not been instructed and called to the apostleship immediately by Christ himself; they maintained that all preaching of the gospel must rest on the authority of the apostles who were appointed by Christ himself; they endeavoured to detect a contrariety between the doctrine of Paul and the doctrine of the apostles, who had allowed the observance of the law in their churches, and accused him in consequence of a departure from the pure doctrine of Christ. They could also appeal to the fact, that he represented himself when among the Jews as a Jew observing the law, and therefore, when he taught otherwise among the Gentiles, he could only do it in order to flatter them, to the injury of their true interest.

Although the anti-Pauline tendency in the Galatian churches was connected with that party which had its principal seat in Palestine, yet persons who proceeded from the

midst of the Gentile Christians,¹ and had submitted to circumcision, acted here principally as the organs of this party, and exercised the greatest influence. To such the words of Paul in Gal. vi. 13 must relate; that even those who were circumcised, or wished to be so, did not themselves observe the law. These must have been originally Gentiles, and, on this supposition, it is less difficult to understand, how he could say of them that they themselves did not observe the law,—for to persons who had grown up in heathenism, it could not be so easy a matter to practise the complete round of Jewish observances. But, as is most generally the case with proselytes, they were peculiarly zealous for the party to which, notwithstanding their Grecian descent, they had devoted themselves, and their influence with their countrymen was far more dangerous than that of the Jewish false teachers.

Such a mixture of Judaism and Christianity threatened to destroy the whole essence of Christianity, and to substitute a Jewish ceremonial service in the place of a genuine Christian conversion proceeding from a living faith, and the danger

¹ This entirely depends upon whether we adopt the *lectio recepta* in Gal. vi. 13, περιτεμνόμενοι, or the reading of the *codex Vaticanus* approved by Lachmann [and Tischendorf] περιτεγμμένοι. I cannot help considering the first (which has the greatest number of original authorities in its favour) as the correct reading, partly on this account, that we cannot imagine any reason why any one should be induced to explain the latter, a word requiring no explanation, by the former, a more difficult one, and on the contrary, it may be easily accounted for, how a person might think of explaining the former by the latter. If the *lectio recepta* be the correct one, still the expression cannot refer to circumcised Jews, but only to Gentiles who suffered themselves to be circumcised. That the most influential seducers of the Galatian churches were such, appears to me to be intimated by the word ἀποκόψονται, v. 12. Hence may be better explained the impassioned terms, proceeding from a truly holy zeal, with which Paul speaks against these persons. If *circumcision* be not enough for them, let them have *excision* also; if, falling away from the religion of the spirit, they seek their salvation in these outward worthless things and would make themselves dependent upon them. The pathos with which he here speaks, testifies his zeal for the salvation of souls, and for the elevated spiritual character of Christianity, and against all ceremonial services, by which Christianity and human nature would be degraded. And there is no occasion for the apology made by Jerome, although what he says is correct, that we must still look on the apostle as a man subject to human affections: “Nec mirum esse si Apostolus, ut homo et adhuc vasculo clausus infirmo semel fuerit hoc loquutus, in quod frequenter sanctos viros cadere perspicimus.”

which thus threatened the divine work made a deep impression on the apostles. In order to give the Galatian Christians an evidence of his love, of which the Judaizers wished to excite a mistrust, and to make it evident what importance he attached to the subject, he undertook to write an epistle to them *with his own hand*, contrary to his usual custom, and a difficult task for one who, amidst his manifold engagements, had little practice in writing Greek.¹

He begins his epistle with declaring that his apostolic call was given him immediately by Christ himself, as to the other apostles; he assures the Galatian Christians in a most solemn manner that there could be no other gospel than that which he had announced to them, and that it was far from his thoughts to be influenced by the desire of his pleasing men in his mode of publishing the gospel;² though when enthralled in Pharisaism, he was actuated only by a regard to human authority. But since he had devoted himself to the service of Christ, he had renounced all such considerations, and taught and acted in obedience to the divine call, as re-

¹ Although the proper meaning of the Greek *πηλίκως*, Gal. vi. 11, would lead us to understand it as referring to the large unshapely letters of an unpractised writer, yet I could never find in the words so understood, an expression corresponding to the earnestness of the apostle, and the tone of the whole epistle. Why should he not have expressed, in a more natural manner, how toilsome he had found the task of merely writing in this language? See Schott's Commentary. We are inclined to believe, that he uses the word in the less proper sense for *πόσως*, as in the later Latin authors we often find *quanti* for *quot*. And we may refer it most naturally to the whole epistle, as written with his own hand. It will also agree with the use of the word *γράμματα*, when applied to an epistle. But, on the other hand, the use of the dative in this case is unusual, and not agreeable to the Pauline phraseology, and to the frequent use of the word *ἐπιστολή*, for an epistle. The reason of his writing the whole epistle with his own hand, was certainly not to guard against a falsification of it, or the forgery of another in his name; for his opponents, in this instance, were under no temptation to do this, since they were not desirous of ascribing to him any other doctrine than that of his own, but were at issue with him respecting the truth of that doctrine, and actually impugned his apostolic authority. The connexion of the passage plainly shows us for what purpose he so expressly stated that he had written the whole with his own hand,—namely, to testify that his love for them induced him to undergo any labour on their account, in contrast with the false teachers whom he had described in the following verses as seeking their own glory.

² The Judaizers accused him of this in reference to the Gentiles.

sponsible to God alone.¹ He proved to them by a lucid statement of facts, that from the first he published the gospel in consequence of immediate divine illumination, and independently of all human authority ; and that the other apostles had acknowledged his independent apostolic character.² With the firmest conviction that salvation and all the fulness of the divine life were to be found only by faith in the crucified, he turns to the Galatian Christians with the exclamation, "Ye fools, who hath so bewitched you! to forget Jesus the Crucified, whom we have set forth before your eyes as the only ground of our salvation, and to seek in outward things, in the works of the law, that salvation for which ye must be indebted to him alone! Are ye so void of understanding, that after ye have begun your Christianity in the spirit, in the divine life which proceeds from faith, ye can seek after something higher still (the perfecting of your Christianity,) in the low, the sensuous, and the earthly, in that which can have no elevating influence on the inner life of the spirit, in the observance of outward ceremonies!" He appeals to the evidence of their own experience, that though from the first the gospel had been published to them independently of the law, yet by virtue of faith in the Redeemer alone, the divine

¹ Schrader misunderstands Gal. i. 10, when he applies it only to Jews and Judaizing Christians. If we apply the assertion here made in the most general terms, according to the sense intended by Paul, we shall understand it of Gentiles and Gentile Christians. Paul wished to defend himself against the accusation of the Jews, that he wilfully falsified the doctrine of Christ, in order to make it acceptable to the heathen. The *ἄγτι* marks the opposition of his conduct as the *δοῦλος Χριστοῦ* to his former Pharisaism, of which he afterwards speaks more at large. This view of the passage does away with an inference which Schrader attempts to draw from it, that Paul wrote this epistle during the time of his imprisonment at Rome.

² The chief points which it was important for the apostle to establish were these;—that before he made his first journey to Jerusalem, after his conversion, he had appeared as an independent preacher of the gospel—that his first journey to Jerusalem had altogether a different object from being taught by the apostles the right method of preaching the gospel—and that it was not till after he had preached the gospel alone for some years, that he conversed with the most distinguished of the apostles, to whom the Judaizers themselves were wont to appeal, respecting their different method, and notwithstanding that difference, they still acknowledged him as a genuine apostle. Paul's object by no means required a recital of all his journeys to Jerusalem. See the remarks of Bauer in the *Tübinger Zeitschrift*, 1831, Part 4, p. 112.

power of the gospel had revealed itself among them by manifold operations, among which he reckoned the miracles to which he alludes in chap. iii. 5.

As his opponents supported themselves on the authority of the Old Testament, Paul shows, on the other hand, that the final aim of its contents was to prepare for the appearance of the Redeemer, by whom the wall of separation that had hitherto existed among men was to be taken away, and all men by virtue of faith in him were to receive a divine life; that the promises given to Abraham were annexed to the condition of faith, and would be fulfilled in all who were followers of Abraham in faith, as his genuine spiritual children; that the manifestation of the law formed only a preparatory intervening period between the giving of the promise and its fulfilment by the appearance of the Redeemer. He placed Judaism and heathenism—though, in other respects, he viewed these religions as essentially different—in one class in relation to Christianity; the standing-point of pupillage in religion, in relation to the standing-point of maturity which the children of God attained for the full enjoyment of their rights; the standing-point of the dependence of religion on outward, sensible things, an outward cultus, consisting in various ceremonies in relation to the standing-point of a religion of freedom (which proceeded from faith) of the spirit, and of the inward life.

As his opponents charged him with a want of uprightness, and with releasing the Gentiles from the burdensome observance of the law, merely from a wish to ingratiate himself with them, he could adopt no more suitable method of vindicating himself, and of infusing confidence into the Galatian Christians, than by proposing the example of his own life for imitation. He lived among the Gentiles as a Gentile, without submitting to the restrictions of the Mosaic Law, which certainly he would not have done if he had believed that it was impossible to attain the full possession of the blessings of the Messiah's kingdom without the observance of the law. Hence he made this demand on the Galatians (iv. 12,)¹ "Become as I am (in reference to the non-observance of the law),

¹ I agree with Usteri in the explanation of these words. That the Galatians had at that time adopted the practice of Jewish ceremonies, and therefore Paul could not in this respect say, "I am become like you,"—can form no valid objection to this interpretation; for the Gala-

for I am become as you are, like you as Gentiles in the non-observance of the law, although a native Jew." Now, if his method of becoming to the Jews a Jew, by observing the ceremonies of the law when amongst them in Palestine, had been at all inconsistent with what he here said of himself, he would not have appealed with such confidence to his own example. But, according to his own principles, such a contradiction could not exist; for, if he did not constantly observe the ceremonies of the law, but only under certain relations and circumstances, this sufficiently showed that he no longer ascribed to them an objective importance, that according to his conviction they could contribute nothing to the justification and sanctification of men; and as this was his principle in reference to all outward, and in themselves indifferent things, he only submitted to them for the benefit of others, according to the dictates of wisdom and love.

Paul called upon the Galatians to stand firm in the liberty gained for them by Christ, and not to bring themselves again under the yoke of bondage. He assured them, that if they were circumcised, Christ would profit them nothing; that every man who submitted to circumcision was bound to observe the whole law; that since they sought to be justified by the law, they had renounced their connexion with Christ, they were fallen from the possession of grace. What he here says, is by no means inconsistent with his allowing Timothy to be circumcised, and accommodating himself in outward usages to the Jewish Christians.¹ For he means not outward circumcision considered in itself, but in its connexion with the religious principle involved in it, as far as the Gentile who submitted to circumcision did so in the conviction that by it, and therefore by the law (to whose observance a man was bound by circumcision) justification was to be obtained. And this conviction stood in direct opposition to that disposition which felt indebted to the Saviour alone for salvation.

tian Christians, all of whom certainly had not devoted themselves to the observance of the law, still belonged to the stock of the Gentiles, and with this view, the term *ἐθνῆς* is used.

¹ Keil believes that he has detected an inconsistency in principle, and hence concluded, that this epistle belonged to an earlier period in the apostle's life, preceding the apostolic convocation, since in his first zeal after his conversion he indulged in a rude vehemence against Judaism, which afterwards was softened.

The apostle, in contrasting his true upright love to the Galatian Christians, with the pretended zeal of the Judaizers for their salvation, said to them, "They have a zeal on your account, but not in the right way; but they wish to exclude you from the kingdom of God in order that you may be zealous about them, that is, they wish to persuade you, that you cannot as uncircumcised Gentiles enter the kingdom of God, in order that you may emulate them, that you may be circumcised as they are, as if thus only you can become members of the kingdom of God. Those who are disposed of their outward preeminence (of outward Judaism), compel you to be circumcised only that they may not be persecuted with the cross of Christ, that is, with the doctrine of Christ the Crucified, as the only ground of salvation, that they may not be obliged to owe their salvation to Him alone, and to renounce all their merits, all in which they think themselves distinguished above others.¹ They wish you to be circumcised

¹ I here adopt an interpretation of the words in Gal. vi. 12, different from that which from ancient times has been received by most expositors, and which, without being closely examined, has been mentioned by Usteri only with unqualified disapprobation. I will therefore state a few things in its favour. The common explanation of the passage is, "These persons compel you to be circumcised, only because they are not willing to be persecuted for the cross of Christ; that is, in order to avoid the persecutions which the publication of the doctrine of justification through faith alone, in Jesus the Crucified, will bring upon them from the Jews." The use of the dative suits this interpretation, although I believe that Paul, if he had wished to give utterance to this simple thought, would have expressed himself more plainly. Gal. v. 11 is in favour of this interpretation, where Paul says of himself, that if he still preached the necessity of circumcision, then the offence which the Jews took at Christianity, on account of the doctrine that a man by faith in the Crucified, might become an heir of the kingdom of heaven, without the observance of the law—would at once be taken away, and that no reason would be left for persecuting him as a preacher of the gospel. But in order to avoid such persecutions on the part of the Jews, these persons need only observe the law strictly themselves, and beware of publishing the doctrine, that a man could be justified without the works of the law; by no means would they thereby be obliged to press circumcision so urgently on the Gentiles already converted, nor does Paul ever ascribe to his Judaizing opponents the design of avoiding the persecution that threatened them by such conduct. And if, according to the indications that have been pointed out, the most influential opponents of Paul in the Galatian churches were of Gentile descent, this interpretation would still less hold good, for Gentiles might bring persecutions on themselves sooner by the observance of

only that they may glory in your flesh, that is, in the change which they have outwardly effected in you, by bringing you over altogether to the Jewish Christian party." The apostle, lastly, adjured the Galatians that they would not give him any further trouble, since he bore in his body the mark of the sufferings he had endured for the cause of Christ.¹

Jewish ceremonies, than by the observance of the Christian religion, which was not conspicuous in outward rites. And how would this interpretation suit the connexion? Paul says (Gal. vi. 12), "Those who wish to have some preeminence in outward things (some outward distinction before others) oblige you to be circumcised." After this, we expect something related to it, in the clause beginning with *ἵνα μὴ*, something that may serve as an exegesis, or to fix the meaning. But, according to that interpretation, something quite foreign would follow—that thereby they wish to avoid persecution. If this thought followed, Paul would have said at first—"Those who long after ease for the flesh, or who are afraid to bear the cross of Christ (or something of the kind), force circumcision upon you," &c. Verse 14 also shows, that all the emphasis is laid on *glorying* alone in the cross of Christ, which is opposed to setting a high value on any other *glorying*. The thought arising from that interpretation appears quite foreign to the context, both before and after. On the other hand, the interpretation I have adopted suits it entirely. That *εὐπροσωπεῖν ἐν σαρκί*, that *καύχημα κατὰ σαρκὰ* is taken away, if men can glory only in the cross of Christ. Hence they consider the cross of Christ, that is, the doctrine of faith in the Crucified, the only sufficient means of salvation, as something wearing a hostile aspect towards them, by which they are persecuted, since it obliges them to renounce their fancied superiority. With the positive clause in v. 12, "those who wish to have some preeminence according to the flesh," the negative clause agrees very well, "that they may not be persecuted with or by the cross of Christ," (the cross of Christ is something subjective to them, by which they are persecuted). The mention of the cross first, according to the best accredited reading adopted by Lachmann, suits this view of the passage. According to the other view, all the emphasis is to be placed on the not being persecuted. On the whole, the leading idea of the whole passage appears to be, Glorifying in the cross of Christ, in opposition to glorying in the flesh.

¹ If we only consider what is narrated in the Acts of his sufferings hitherto, though it is evident from a comparison with 2 Cor. xi. that all is not mentioned, we shall be as little disposed as by what the apostle says of the persecutions of the Jews, to apply these words (with Schrader) to his imprisonment at Rome. What Paul says in chap. ii. 10, respecting the fulfilment of obligations to the poor at Jerusalem, might favour the later composition of this epistle, but proves nothing; for the words by no means lead us to think of that last large collection, of which he undertook to be the bearer to Jerusalem. He might very often have sent separate contributions from the churches of Gentile Christians to Jerusalem, although, owing to the imperfections of church

During his residence at Ephesus, the affairs of the Corinthian church demanded his special attention. The history of this community presents us with an image of those appearances and disturbances which have been often repeated in later periods of the church on a larger scale. A variety of influences mingled their action on this church, and it is impossible to deduce everything from one common ground of explanation, such as the relation¹ between the different parties; although one common cause may be found which will explain many of these influences, in the particular situation of the Christian Church, which the new Christian spirit had but partially penetrated, opposed as it was by former habits of life and the general state of society. Many of the easily excited and mobile Greeks had been carried away by the powerful impression of Paul's ministry made at Corinth, and at first showed great zeal for Christianity; but the essence of Christianity had taken no deep root in their unsettled dispositions. In a city like Corinth, where so great a corruption of morals prevailed, and so many incentives to the indulgence of the passions were presented on every side, such a superficial conversion was exposed to the greatest danger. In addition to this, after Paul had laid the foundation of the church, other preachers followed him who published the gospel partly in another form, and partly on other principles, and who, since their various constitutional peculiarities were not properly subordinated to the essential principles of the gospel, gave occasion to many divisions among the Greeks, a people naturally inclined to parties and party disputes.² There³ were at first persons of the same

history, we have no certain information respecting them. On his last journey preceding his last visit to the Galatians, he might have brought with him one of these smaller collections.

¹ By attempting to deduce too much from this single cause, Storr has indulged in many forced interpretations and suppositions.

² Owing to this national characteristic, the efficiency of the gospel among them was much disturbed and weakened in after ages.

³ Rückert thinks that the order in which the parties are mentioned in 1 Cor. i. 12, corresponds to the period of their formation; that first the preaching of Apollos occasioned the formation of such a division in the church, who felt a greater partiality to Apollos than to Paul, and were no longer satisfied with the latter, though they had not yet formed themselves into a particular party; then the Judaizers would take advantage of such a state of feeling, and join the favourers of

spirit as those false teachers of the Galatian churches, who wished to introduce a Christianity more mingled with Judaism—who could not endure the independence and freedom with which the gospel published by Paul was developed among the Gentiles, although they were not so violent as the Galatian false teachers, and accordingly named themselves, not after James, whom the most decided Judaizers made their chief authority, but after Peter. Moreover, we must carefully notice the difference of circumstances. The Galatian churches could be more easily operated upon by organs of the Judaizing party who came forward from among themselves; it was altogether different at Corinth, where the Judaizers had to operate upon men of a decidedly Grecian character, who were not so susceptible of the influence of Judaism. Hence they could not venture to come forward at once, and disclose their intentions: it was necessary first to prepare the soil, before they scattered the seed;—to act warily and gently; to accomplish their work gradually; to employ a variety of artifices in order to undermine the principles on which Paul preached the gospel; to infuse a mistrust of his apostolic character, and thus to alienate the affections of his converts from him.¹ They began with casting doubts on Paul's apostolic dignity, for the reasons which have been before mentioned; they set in opposition to him, as the only genuine apostles, those who were instructed and ordained by Christ himself. They understood besides how to instil into anxious minds a number of scruples, to which a life spent in intercourse with heathens would easily give rise, and which Apollos in opposition to Paul; thus two parties would be formed. But, in course of time, the original partisans of Apollos would discover that they could not agree with the Judaizers, who had at first, in order to find an entrance, concealed their peculiarities, and thus at last there would be three distinct parties. But this passage (i. 12) cannot avail for determining the chronological relation of these parties to one another. Paul here follows the *logical* relation, without adverting to the chronological order. He places the partisans of Apollos next to those of Paul, because they only formed a particular section of the Pauline party; he then mentions those who were their most strenuous opponents; and lastly, those through whose existence the other parties would be presupposed. We have throughout no data by which to determine the chronological connexion of the three first parties.

¹ See the remarks of Bauer, in his essay on the Christ-party in the Corinthian church (in the *Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie*, 1831, part iv. p. 83)

persons who had been previously proselytes to Judaism must have been predisposed to entertain.

Persons whose minds took this direction, placed Peter, as an apostle chosen by the Lord himself, and especially distinguished by him, in opposition to Paul, who had assumed the office at a later period. When the strongly marked peculiarities of any of the apostles were blended with their views of Christianity, and it presented them in a varied form, it was in accordance with the different spheres of activity assigned them by God, and served not to injure the unity of the Christian spirit, but rather in this very manifoldness to illustrate its excellence; but now among those who attached themselves to this or the other apostles, one-sided tendencies became prominent, and that variety which might have consisted with unity, was formed by them into an exclusive contrariety. As a one-sided Petrine party was formed in the Corinthian church, so a one-sided Pauline party sprung up in opposition to it, which recognised the Pauline as the only genuine form of Christianity, ridiculed the nice distinctions of scrupulous consciences, and set themselves in stern opposition to everything Jewish. In one of their tendencies we find the germ of the later Judaizing sects, and in the other that of the later Marcionite error.

But in the Pauline party itself, a two-fold direction was manifested, on the following grounds. Among the disciples of John who came to Ephesus, and considered themselves as Christians, though their knowledge was very defective, was Apollos, a Jew of Alexandria, who had received the Jewish-Grecian education, peculiar to the learned among the Alexandrian Jews, and a great facility in the use of the Greek language.¹ Aquila and his wife instructed him more accu-

¹ The epithet ἀνὴρ λόγιος given to him in Acts xviii. 24, probably denotes, not an eloquent but a learned man, which would best suit an Alexandrian, since a learned literary education, and not eloquence, was the precise distinction of the Alexandrians; and his disputation with the Jews at Corinth suits this meaning of λόγιος, taken from the Jewish standing-point. In this sense the word is found both in Josephus and Philo; in the first, λόγοις is opposed to ἰδιώταις, *De Bell. Jud.* vi. 5, § 3; and by Philo, *De Vita Mosis*, i. § 5, Αἰγυπτίων οἱ λόγοι. But another meaning of the word as it was used at that time is also possible, and since it appears from the First Epistle to the Corinthians, that Apollos was also a man eloquent in the Greek language; so that we are left in some uncertainty how to understand this epithet. According to the

rately in Christianity, and when he was about to sail to Achaia, commended him to the Corinthian church as a man who, by his zeal and peculiar gifts, would be able to do much for the furtherance of the divine cause, especially at Corinth, where his Alexandrian education would procure him a more ready access to a part of the Jews and Gentiles. His Alexandrian mode of developing and representing Christian truths, as it approached to the Grecian taste, was peculiarly adapted to the educated classes at Corinth; but fascinated by it, they attached too great importance to this peculiar form, and despised, in contrast with it, the simple preaching of Paul, who, when he taught among them, determined to know nothing save Jesus the Crucified. We here see the germ of that Gnosis which sprung up in the soil of Alexandria, and aimed at exalting itself above the simple faith (Pistis) of the gospel.

But it has been lately maintained,¹ that the difference between the Pauline party and that of Apollos, related not to any difference in the form of doctrine, but only to the position in which Paul and Apollos stood to the founding of the Corinthian church, as the apostle himself, in 1 Cor. iii. 6, 7, indicates, that it was made a question, whether he who laid the foundation, or he who raised the superstructure, deserved the preeminence. But if we follow this hint, it will conduct us much further. We cannot stop short at these merely outward relations, but must seek in the characteristic qualities of these two men, who stood in such different relations to the church, for the reason, that some were more attached to the one, and some to the other. We may presume that the manner in which one laid the foundation, and the other raised the superstructure, depended on the difference of their characteristic qualities. To this difference Paul himself adverts, when, after speaking of the merely outward relations

first interpretation, δύνατος ὂν ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς, would only more precisely express what is contained in λόγιος: according to the second, it would be a perfectly new and distinct characteristic. This exegetical question is of no importance historically, for certainly both epithets are applicable to Apollos.

¹ By a distinguished young theologian, the licentiate Daniel Schenkel, in his *Inquisitio Critico-historica de Ecclesia Corinthiaca*, *primæva*, Basileæ, 1838, with which De Wette, in his late *Commentary on the Epistles to the Corinthians*, has expressed his concurrence.

between himself and Apollos, he represents in figurative language how every genuine teacher of Christianity ought to proceed in building on the foundation that has been once laid; 1 Cor. iii. 12. The connexion evidently shows, that Paul had primarily in view his relation to the party of Apollos; every other explanation is forced.¹ If we compare the qualities possessed by the apostle and his fellow-labourer, as far as our information extends, we may easily infer the difference in their mode of teaching, and in their respective partisans. That Paul possessed great force and command of language, we may conclude with certainty from his epistles, as is also evinced by his discourse at Athens. In that eloquence which is adapted to seize powerfully on men's minds, he was inferior to no preacher of the gospel, not even to Apollos himself. It was his peculiar natural gift, sanctified and elevated by spiritual influence for the cause of the gospel, in which he was probably superior to Apollos; and if the Epistle to the Hebrews is to be attributed to the latter, and we compare it with those of Paul, it would serve to confirm the opinion. In dialectic power also, which was founded on the peculiar character of his intellect, and developed and improved by his youthful training in the schools of the Pharisees, as well as in the skilful interpretation and use of the Old Testament, he was surpassed by none. But still between himself and Apollos a difference not unimportant existed, which affected their peculiar style of teaching; the latter, as an Alexandrian, had received an education more adapted to the Grecian mind and taste, and possessed a greater familiarity with the pure Grecian phraseology, in which Paul was defective, as we may gather from his epistles, and as he expressly asserts; 2 Cor. xi. 6. Now, in making the gospel known at Corinth, he had special reasons for rejecting all the aids that otherwise were at his command for recommending

¹ We must carefully distinguish those who, by assailing the unchangeable foundation of Christianity, destroyed the temple of God in the church, 1 Cor. iii. 16 and 17, from those of whom Paul judged far more leniently, because they preserved inviolate the foundation that was laid, though they added to it what was more or less human. Of the latter, he affirms that, since they held fast the foundation of salvation, they would finally be partakers of sa'vation, though after a painful and repeated process of purification; of the others, that they would come to ruin, because they had destroyed the work of God.

evangelical truth, and for using only the "demonstration of the spirit and of power," which accompanied its simple annunciation. The Alexandrian refinement of Apollos must have formed a striking contrast to the simplicity of Paul's preaching; and, if we take into account the circumstances and social relations of the Corinthians, we cannot wonder that a preference for such a style of address led to the formation of a distinct party in the Corinthian church. It was not the peculiar style of Apollos in itself which Paul condemned;—it became every teacher to work with the gifts entrusted to him, according to the standing-point on which the Lord had placed him;—but he combated the one-sided and arrogant over-valuation of this talent, the excessive estimation in which this form of mental culture was held. It by no means follows, that he attributed a false wisdom to Apollos himself;¹ but the one-sided direction of his partisans, in which the σοφίαν ζητεῖν predominated, would easily produce a false wisdom, by which evangelical truth would be obscured or pushed into the background. Paul perceived this threatening danger, and hence felt himself impelled strenuously to combat the principle on which such a tendency was founded.

Besides the parties already mentioned, we find a fourth in the Corinthian church, whose peculiarities it is more difficult to ascertain, since, judging from its name, we cannot readily suppose that it belonged to a sect blamed by the apostle, and in no other part of the first Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians do we find any distinct references to it from which we might infer its specific character; it was composed of persons who said that they were "*of Christ*;" 1 Cor. i. 12. If we consider this party as involved in the censure expressed by the apostle,² which the grammatical construction of the passage

¹ This charge against Apollos, in the opinion of Schenkel and De Wette, is well founded, but by no means follows from the view taken by ourselves and others of the peculiarities of the party of Apollos.

² The interpretation which has been proposed by Pott and Schott, and according to which, all conjectures respecting the peculiar character of a Christ-party at Corinth would be superfluous, is grammatically possible. It assumes that Paul, in this passage, only enumerated historically the various parties in the Corinthian church, without concluding that all who are specified came under the censure of the apostle. Those indeed who firmly adhered to the doctrine taught by Paul, and esteemed him, as he wished, only as an organ of Christ,—those who wished to keep aloof from all party contentions, and called themselves only after

seems to require, we must believe that these persons did not wish to be "of Christ," in the sense in which Paul desired that all the Corinthians should be, but that they appropriated Christ to themselves in an erroneous sense, and wished to make him, as it were, the head of their party. And we must then suppose that the apostle, though with an allusion in the first instance to their party designation, yet including a reference to all the Corinthian parties, said, "Is the one Christ become divided? has each party their portion of Christ, as their own Christ? No! there is only one Christ for all, who was crucified for you, to whom ye were devoted and pledged by baptism."

We have now to inquire what can be determined respecting the character and origin of this Christ-party. If we pay any regard to its being mentioned next to the party of Peter, and compare it with the collocation of the parties of Apollos and Paul, we might think it most probable that the relation between the two former was similar to that which existed between the two latter; and that, therefore, a subdivision of the general party of Jewish Christians was intended. And as part of these attached themselves to Peter, and part to James, we might be induced to imagine a party belonging to James along with the Petrine; the former more tenacious and violent in their Judaism; the latter more liberal and moderate. But this supposition is not at all favoured by the

Christ their common head, must be represented as a particular party in relation to the other Corinthian parties, and hence Paul distinguished them by the name which they assumed in opposition to all party feelings. If these words in this connexion only contained an historical enumeration of the various parties, such an interpretation might be valid. But this is not the case. Paul evidently mentions these parties in terms of censure. The censure applies to all equally as parties who substituted something in the place of that single relation to Christ which alone was of real worth. "Has then Christ become divided?" he proceeds to ask. "No—he will not allow himself to be divided. Ye ought all to call yourselves after that one Christ who redeemed you by his death on the cross, and to whom ye were devoted by baptism." These words are directed equally against all parties, and perhaps exactly in this form, owing to the preceding designation of those who arrogantly named themselves *οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*. But if these persons had assumed this title in the sense which Paul approved, he would not have classed them with those who incurred his censure; these words could not have applied to them, but he must have expressed his approbation of their spirit, which must have appeared to him as the only right one.

designation, *οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, for it seems very unnatural that the adherents of James should so name themselves, as some have imagined,¹ because the epithet *ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ* was given to that apostle as a title of honour. There can be no doubt that if such a party had existed in Corinth, they would have called themselves *οἱ τοῦ Ἰακωβοῦ*.

If we believe that the Christ-party was composed of Jewish Christians, such a view must be stated and developed very differently in order to bring it nearer to probability.² The name *οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*—it may be said—was one which the partisans of Peter assumed in opposition to Paul and his disciples, in order to mark themselves as those who adhered to the genuine apostles of Christ, from whom they had received the pure doctrine of Christ, and thus by their teachers were connected with Christ himself: and, on the other hand, by applying this title exclusively to their own party, they intended to brand the other Christians at Corinth as those who did not deserve the name of Christians, who were not the disciples of Christ, nor the scholars of a genuine apostle of Christ, but of a man who had adulterated the pure Christian doctrine, and had promulgated a doctrine of his own arbitrary invention as the doctrine of Christ. This view would appear perfectly to correspond with the phrase *οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, and might be confirmed by many antithetical references in both the epistles in which Paul vindicates his genuine apostolic character, and asserts, that he could say with the same right as any one else, that he was "*of Christ*;" 2 Cor. x. 7. But while such passages certainly are directed against those who, on the grounds already mentioned, disputed Paul's apostolic authority, they by no means prove the existence of such a party-name among the Jews. And one difficulty still remains, namely, that by the position of the phrase *οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* we are led to expect the designation of a party in some way differing from the Petrine, though belonging to the same general division; but, according to this view, the Christ-party

¹ Attributed by Storr, or as by Berthold, to several *ἀδελφούς τοῦ κυρίου* among the first preachers of the gospel.

² As it has lately been developed with much acuteness, in the essay already referred to, by Bauer, in the *Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie*, 1831, which no persons can read without instruction, even if they do not agree with the views of the writer on this point.

would differ from the Petrine only in name, which would be quite contradictory to the relation of this party-name to those that preceded it.¹ Accordingly, this view can only be tenable, if not a merely formal, but a material difference can be found between the two last parties. And it might be said that not all the members of the Petrine party, but only the most rigid and violent in their Judaism, who would not acknowledge the Pauline Gentile Christians as standing in communion with the Messiah, had applied to their Judaizing party the exclusive epithet of *οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*.

But it has always appeared to us to be contrary to historical analogy, that those persons who adhered to another apostle, and considered him alone as genuine in opposition to Paul, should not name themselves after one whom they looked upon as the necessary link of their connexion with Christ. In the epistle itself, we cannot find allusions that would establish this, since the passages which contain these references can be very well understood without it.

We cannot hope in this inquiry to attain to conclusions altogether certain and sure, for the marks and historical data are not sufficient for the purpose. But we shall best guard against arbitrary conjectures, and arrive at the truth most confidently, if we first attend to what may be gathered from the name itself and its position, in relation to the other party-names, and then compare this with the whole state of the Corinthian church. In the results which may thus be obtained, we must then endeavour to separate the doubtful and disputable from the certain and probable.

We shall by no means be justified in concluding that, by virtue of the logical connexion of the two members of the sentence to one another, the persons who named themselves after Christ must have borne the same relation to the Petrine party as the adherents of Apollos to those of Paul. This conclusion, if correct, would be favourable to the view which we last considered. But the relation of the two

¹ Bauer says indeed, p. 77, "The apostle's object in accumulating so many names, might be to depict the party spirit prevalent in the Corinthian church, which showed itself in their delighting in the multiplication of sectarian names, which denoted various tints and shades, but not absolutely distinct parties." But if this were the case, that explanation only of one of these party-names can be correct, by which a different shade of party is pointed out.

members is not logical only, but subject to certain historical conditions. Paul does not, as in other cases, form the members of the antithesis merely from the thoughts; but the manner in which he selected his terms was determined by matters of fact. As the Judaizers formed in reality only one party, Paul could designate them only by one name, and since he was obliged to choose his terms according to the facts, he could not make the two members exactly correspond to one another.

From the name of this party viewed in relation to other party-names, we shall arrive at the following conclusion with tolerable certainty. There were those who, while they renounced the apostles, professed to adhere to Christ alone, to acknowledge him only as their teacher, and to receive what he announced as truth from himself without the intervention of any other person. This was such a manifestation of self-will, such an arrogant departure from the historical process of development ordained by God in the appropriation of divine revelation, as would in the issue lead to arbitrary conduct respecting the contents of Christian doctrine; for the apostles were the organs ordained and formed by God, by whom the doctrine of Christ was to be propagated, and its meaning communicated to all men. But it might easily happen, while some were disposed to adhere to Paul alone, others to Apollos, and a third party to Peter, at last some persons appeared who were averse to acknowledge any of these party-names, and professed to adhere to Christ alone, yet with an arrogant self-will which set aside all human instrumentality ordained by God. If we now view this as the result which presents itself to us with tolerable certainty, that there was at Corinth such a party desirous of attaching themselves to Christ alone, independently of the apostles, who constructed in their own way a Christianity different from that announced by the apostles, we may imagine three different ways in which they proceeded. For this object they might make use of a collection of the sayings of Christ, which had fallen into their hands, and set what they found there in opposition to the apostolic character; or they might pretend to derive their Christianity from an inward source of knowledge, either a supernatural inward light or the light of natural reason, either

a more mystical or a more rational direction. If we assented to the first supposition, still we could not satisfy ourselves, without imagining a certain subjective element in the manner of explaining those discourses of Christ ; for without the infusion of such an element, the tendency to this separation from the apostolic instrumentality could not have originated, and thus the principal question would still remain to be answered, whether we are to consider the subjective element as mystical or rational.

According to a hypothesis¹ lately developed with great acuteness, but resting on a number of arbitrary suppositions, the tendency we are speaking of must have been mystical. As Paul had considered the immediate revelation of Christ to himself as equivalent to the outward election of the other apostles ; so there were other persons who thought that they could appeal to such an inward revelation or vision, who from this standing-point assailed the apostolic authority of Paul, while they sought to establish their own, and threatened to substitute an inward ideal Christ for the historical Christ. These representatives of the one-sided mystical tendency, must have been the principal opponents with whom Paul had to contend. But in the Epistle to the Corinthians we can find no trace of such a tendency combated by him ; and in all the passages to which the advocates of this hypothesis appeal, a reference to it seems to be arbitrarily imposed.

When Paul, at the beginning of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, so impressively brings forward the doctrine of Christ the Crucified, and says that he had published this in all its simplicity without attempting to support it by the Grecian philosophy, there is not the slightest intimation that such a tendency (as we have alluded to) existed in the Corinthian church, which aimed at substituting another Christ in the room of Christ the Crucified. In a place where, by the over-valuation of any kind of philosophy, the simple gospel was liable to be set in the background, such language might very properly be used, even though no ideal or mystical Christ were substituted instead of the historical ; and, it is evident to what false conclusions we should be led, if we inferred from such a declaration the existence of a tendency

¹ By Schenkel in the essay before mentioned, and advocated by De Wette in his Commentary on the two Epistles to the Corinthians.

that denied Christ the Crucified. Paul opposed the preaching of Jesus the Crucified to two tendencies,—the Jewish fondness for signs, and the arrogant philosophy of the Greeks, but never to a mystical tendency which would depreciate the historical facts of Christianity. Against a tendency of this kind, he would certainly have argued in a very different manner.

The sensuous tendency of the Jewish spirit we should expect to meet with in the Jewish part of the Corinthian church, —the pride of philosophy in those who attached themselves to Apollos, since from what has been said we must suppose that there was a distinct party composed of such persons. As Paul when he spoke against the Grecian pride of philosophy, had this party of Apollos specially in his mind, by a natural transition he spoke in the next place of his relation to Apollos.

The passage in 2 Cor. xi. 4 has been adduced to prove that Paul's opponents preached another Christ and another gospel. Paul reproached the Corinthians with having given themselves up to such erroneous teachers. But in that whole section he occupies himself, not with combating a false doctrine, as he must have done if the representatives of a mysticism that undermined the foundations of the Christian faith had been his opponents; but he had only to combat the pretensions of persons who wished to make their own authority supreme in the Corinthian church, and not to acknowledge him as an apostle. These people themselves—he says in the context—could not deny, that he had performed everything which could be required of an apostle as founder of a Church, for he had preached to them the gospel of Jesus the Crucified and the Risen, and had communicated to them the powers of the Holy Spirit by his ministry. With justice these persons, he said, might appear against him, and assume the management of the church, if they could really show that there was another Jesus than the one announced by Paul, another gospel than that which he proclaimed, or another Holy Spirit than that whose powers were efficient among them.¹

¹ I account for the irregularity in the ἀνέχουσθε, 2 Cor. xi. 4, in this way,—that Paul was penetrated with the conviction, that the case, which in form he had assumed to be possible, was in fact impossible. This fourth verse is thus connected with the preceding; I fear that you

The opponents of these views of this passage believe, like many others, that those who call themselves οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ are mentioned by Paul himself in 2 Cor. x. 7. But here only such can be understood who boasted of a special internal connexion with Christ. But I do not perceive why the epithet should not be applied to every person who thought that in any sense they particularly belonged to Christ, or could boast of any special connexion with him. From the expression κατὰ πρόσωπον¹ it is clear that these persons boasted of an outward connexion with Christ, which certainly would not suit the representatives of a mystical tendency. Indeed, throughout the whole section he distinguishes the opponents of whom he is speaking, as those who wished to establish a purely outward preeminence (2 Cor. xi. 8), founded on their Jewish descent, and their connexion with the apostles chosen by Christ himself, and with the original church in Palestine. Would Paul, if he had to do with such idealizing mystics, have only conceded to them that they stood in connexion with Christ, that they could call themselves his servants? Would he not from the first have made it a question whether it was the true Christ after whom they called themselves? And how can it be imagined that Paul, if his opponents were of this class, would have used expressions which are directed rather against

have departed from Christian simplicity; for if it were not so, you could not have allowed yourselves to be governed by persons who could impart to you nothing but what you have received from me; for I consider (v. 5) myself to stand behind the chief apostles in no respect. By this analysis, the objections of De Wette against this interpretation are at once obviated. Against the other mode of explanation, I have to object that it does not suit the connexion with v. 5; that the words would then be unnecessarily multiplied; that Paul would then hardly have used the words πνεῦμα ἕτερον λαμβάνετε, which refer only to receiving the Holy Spirit. I also think that he would then have said, not Ἰησοῦν, but Χριστόν, for these mystics would rather have preached another Christ than this historical person Jesus; or as, at a later period, the Gnostics, who held similar notions, taught that there was not a twofold Jesus, but a twofold Christ, or distinguished between a heavenly Christ and a human Jesus. On the contrary, according to the interpretation which I have followed, Paul would of course say, "another *Jesus* than the one I preach," referring to an historical personage, and the events of his life.

¹ A comparison of the passage in 2 Cor. v. 12, (where the ἐν προσώπῳ is opposed to καρδίᾳ), appears to me to prove that the words must be so understood; the antithesis of the outward and the inward is quite in Paul's style.

the sensuous perversion of the religious sentiment, and might easily be misinterpreted in favour of that false spiritualism? Would he have said, "Yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more; but only a spiritual Christ who is exalted above all limited earthly relations, with whom we can now enter into communion in a spiritual manner, since we have a share in the new spiritual creation proceeding from him;" 2 Cor. v. 16, 17.¹

When Paul appealed to the revelations imparted to him, it was not for the confutation of those who supported themselves only by such inward experiences; but of those principally who would not acknowledge him as a genuine apostle, equal to those who were chosen by Christ during his earthly life,—the same persons, against whom he maintained his independent apostolic commission, as delivered to him by Christ on his personal appearance to him; 1 Cor. ix. 1, 2.

Had he been called to oppose the tendency of a false mysticism and spiritualism, he, who understood so well how to strike at the root of error and delusion, would have certainly entered more fully into conflict with an erroneous direction of the religious sentiment, so dangerous to genuine Christianity, for which he would have had the best opportunity in treating of the gifts of the Spirit.

We must then consider this view of the Christ-party as entirely unsupported by this epistle of Paul, and only deduced from it by a number of arbitrary interpretations.² While those whose views we are opposing, trace the origin of such a party to a certain tendency of Judaism, we, on the contrary, are obliged to refer it to a Grecian element.

From the peculiar qualities of the Grecian mind, which was not disposed to submit itself to an objective authority, but readily moulded everything in a manner conformable to its own subjectivity, such a tendency as that we have been

¹ These words contain a contrast to his former Jewish standing-point, and his earlier conception of the character of the Messiah; also to all that was antecedent to Christianity, and independent of it; for from this standing-point all things must in some measure become new.

² I find no ground for a comparison with Montanism, Marcion, and the Clementines, and I must consider as arbitrary the explanations that have been given of the first epistle of Clemens Romanus (to which, too, I cannot ascribe so high an antiquity), in order to elucidate the affairs of the Corinthian church in the times of the apostle Paul.

speaking of, might easily proceed.¹ At that time, there were many educated and half-educated individuals, who were dissatisfied with the popular Polytheism. These persons listened to the words of Christ, which impressed them by their sublimity and spirituality, and believed that in him they had met with a reformer of the religious condition of mankind, such as they had been longing for. We have already remarked, that a collection of the memorable actions and discourses of Christ, had most probably been in circulation from a very early period. Might they not have procured such a document, and then constructed by means of it, a peculiar form of Christian doctrine, modelled according to their Grecian subjectivity? These persons probably belonged to the class of the wisdom-seeking Greeks, at which we need not be surprised, although the Christian church made little progress among the higher classes, since in this city a superior degree of refinement was universally prevalent, and from the words which tell us, that in the Corinthian church, *not many* of the philosophically trained, *not many* of the highest class were to be found, we may infer, that *some* such persons must have belonged to it; one individual is mentioned in Romans xvi. 23, who filled an important civil office in Corinth.²

But against this supposition, the same objections may be urged, which we made against another view of the Christ-party, that Paul has not specially directed his argumentation against the principles of such a party, though they threatened even more than those of other parties to injure apostolic Christianity. Still what he says on other occasions, respecting the only source of the knowledge of truths that rest on divine Revelation;—and against the presumption of unenlightened reason, setting herself up as an arbitress of divine things; and on the nothingness of a proud philosophy, (1 Cor. ii. 11,) forms the most powerful argumentation against

¹ The reasons alleged by Bauer, in his late essay on this subject, why such a form of error could not exist at this time, do not convince me.

² Bauer says (p. 11), "Religion, not philosophy, would lead to Christianity." But it is not altogether improbable, that a person might be led by a religious interest, which could find no satisfaction in the popular religion, to philosophy, and by the same interest be carried onwards to Christianity, without adopting it in its unalloyed simplicity. Why should not such phenomena, which certainly occurred in the second century, have arisen from the same causes at this period?

the fundamental error of this party, though he might not have it specially in view ; and it is a never-failing characteristic of the apostle's mode of controversy, that he seizes hold of the main roots of error, instead of busying himself too much (as was the practice of later ecclesiastical polemics) with its branches and offsets. Nor is it altogether improbable, that the adherents of this party were not numerous, and exercised only a slight influence in the church. They occupied too remote a standing-point to receive much benefit from the warnings and arguments of Paul, and he had only to set the church on its guard against an injurious intercourse with such persons. "Be not deceived," said he, "evil communications corrupt good manners." 1 Cor. xv. 33.

The opposition between the Pauline and Petrine parties, or the Jewish and Gentile Christians, was in reference to the relations of life, the most influential of all these party differences, and gave rise to many separate controversies. The Jews and Jewish Christians when they lived in intercourse with heathens, suffered much disquietude, if unawares they partook of any food which had been rendered unclean by its connexion with idolatrous rites. Various rules were laid down by the Jewish theologians to determine what was, and what was not defiling, and various methods were devised for guarding against such defilement, on which much may be found in the Talmud. Now, as persons might easily run a risk of buying in the market portions of the flesh of animals which had been offered in sacrifice, or might have such set before them in houses where they were guests, their daily life was harassed with constant perplexities. Scruples on this point were probably found, not merely in those who were avowedly among the Judaizing opponents of Paul, but also seized hold of many Christians of weaker minds. As faith in their false gods had previously exercised great influence over them, so they could not altogether divest themselves of an impression, that beings whom they had so lately revered as deities, were something more than creatures of the imagination. But from their new standing-point, this reflection of their ancient faith assumed a peculiar form. As the whole system of heathenism was in their eyes the kingdom of darkness, their deities were now transformed into evil spirits, and they feared lest, by partaking of the flesh consecrated to

them,¹ they should come into fellowship with evil spirits. That these scruples affected not merely Judaizers, but other Christians also, is evident from a case in reference to which Paul gives specific directions. He supposes, namely, the case, that such weak believers were guests at the table of a heathen.² Now we may be certain, that none who belonged to the Judaizers would make up their minds to eat with a heathen.³

¹ Thus Peter, in the Clementines, says to the heathens, *προφάσει τῶν λεγομένων ἱεροθυτῶν χαλεπῶν δαιμόνων ἐμπίπλασθε*. Hom. xi. § 15.

² The passage in 1 Cor. viii. 7, may be understood of persons who though they had passed over to Christian monotheism, were still in some measure entangled in polytheism, and could not entirely free themselves from the belief that the gods whom they had formerly served were divinities of a subordinate class; so that now such persons—since by partaking of the flesh of the victims they supposed that they entered again into connexion with these divine beings—would be led to imagine, that their former idolatry was not wholly incompatible with Christianity, and thus might easily form an amalgamation of heathenism and Christianity. In later times, something of this kind we allow took place, in the transition from polytheism to monotheism; but in this primitive age, Christianity came at once into such direct conflict on these particulars with heathenism, that an amalgamation of this kind cannot be thought natural. Whoever had not wholly renounced idolatry would certainly not be received into the Christian church, nor would have so mildly passed judgment on *such* a weakness of faith. From such passages as Gal. v. 20, 1 Cor. vi. 9, we cannot conclude with certainty that, among those who had professed Christianity, there would be such who, after they had been led to Christianity by an impression which was not deep enough, allowed themselves again to join in the worship of idols; for Paul might here designedly class the vices he named with idolatry, in order to indicate that whoever indulged in the vices connected with idolatry, deserved to be ranked with idolaters. If we compare these passages with 1 Cor. v. 11, it will appear that some such instances occurred of a relapse into idolatry, but those who were thus guilty of participating in idolatry must have been excluded from all Christian communion.

³ The scrupulosity of the Jews in this respect appears in the Jewish-Christian work of the Clementines (though on other points sufficiently liberal), where the following words are ascribed to the apostle Peter: *τραπέζης ἐθνῶν οὐκ ἀπολαύμεν, ἅτε δὴ οὐδὲ συνεστῆσθαι αὐτοῖς δυνάμενοι διὰ τὸ ἀκαθάρτως αὐτοὺς βιοῦν*. No exception could be made in favour of parents, children, brothers, or sisters.

⁴ By the *τις*, 1 Cor. x. 28, on account of the relation of the first *τις*, v. 27, we understand it to mean the same person, the heathen host,—and it would be a very unlikely thing that such a person would remind his Christian guest, that he had set before him meat that had been offered to idols; but we must rather refer it to the weak Christian, who considered it to be his duty to warn his unscrupulous brother

Those who in their own estimation were Pauline Christians, possessed a scrupulosity that thus made daily life uneasy, and fell into an opposite error. They had indeed formed right conceptions of the Pauline principles in reference to theory, but erred in the application, because the spirit of love and of wisdom was wanting. They said: "Idols are in themselves nothing, mere creatures of the imagination; hence, also the eating of the flesh that has been devoted to them, is a thing in itself indifferent. The Christian is bound by no law in such outward or indifferent things; all things are free to him; *παντα ἐξουία* was their motto. They appealed to their knowledge, to the power which they possessed as Christians: *γνωσις*, *ἐξουία* were their watchwords. They had no consideration for the necessities of their weaker brethren; they easily seduced many among them to follow their example from false shame, that they might not be ridiculed as narrow-minded and scrupulous; such an one, who allowed himself to be induced by outward considerations to act contrary to his convictions, would afterwards be disturbed in his conscience. "Thus," said Paul, "through thy knowledge shall the weak brother perish for whom Christ died." Many went such lengths in this pride of knowledge and this abuse of Christian freedom, that they scrupled not to take part in the festive entertainments, consisting of the flesh that was left after the sacrifices had been presented, which the heathens were wont to give their friends; and thus they were easily carried on to indulge in those immoral excesses, which by the decrees of the apostolic convention at Jerusalem, were forbidden in connexion with the eating of flesh sacrificed to idols. In fact, we here find the germ of a one-sided over-valuation of theoretic illumination, a misunderstanding of Christian freedom, a false adiaphorism in morals, which a later pseudo-pauline gnostic tendency carried so far as to justify the grossest im-

against partaking of such food, the same weak Christian whose conscience is spoken of in v. 29.

¹ We might here make use of the words attributed to Christ taken from an apocryphal gospel, and quoted in Luke vi. 4, by the Codex Cantab.: *τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ θεασάμενός τινα ἐργαζόμενον τῷ σαββάτῳ εἶπεν αὐτῷ: ἄνθρωπε, εἰ μὲν οἶδας τι ποιεῖς, μακάριος εἶ· εἰ δὲ μὴ οἶδας, ἐπικατάρατος καὶ παραβάτης εἶ τοῦ νόμου.*—See *Das Leben Jesu*, p. 140.

² As was the case with those whom Porphyry mentions in his book *De Abstinentia Carnis*, i. § 43, who agree in their mode of expression

immoralities. But such wickedness certainly cannot be laid to the charge of the perverters of Christian freedom at Corinth. Though the heathen corruption of morals had infected many members of the Corinthian church, yet they were far from wishing to justify this immorality on such grounds, and had this been the case, Paul would have spoken with far greater severity against such a palliation of sin.¹

very remarkably with the unscrupulous persons described by Paul: οὐ γὰρ ἡμᾶς μολύνει τὰ βρώματα (said they), ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὴν θάλατταν τὰ ῥυπαρὰ τῶν ρευμάτων κυριεύουσιν (like the Corinthian ἐξουσιάζουσιν) γὰρ τῶν ἀπάντων, κάθαραι ἢ θάλασσα τῶν ὑγρῶν πάντων. Ἐὰν εὐλαβήθωμεν βρώσιν, ἐδουλώθημεν τῷ τοῦ φόβου φρονήματι, δεῖ δὲ πάνθ' ἡμῖν ὑποτέταχθαι. They appeal to their *βυθὸς ἐξουσίας*.

¹ The departure from Christian truth in theory to so great an extent in the church at Corinth, has been received by many, owing to a misunderstanding of the apostle's language. They have been led to entertain this opinion, from believing that there is a strict objective connexion between what Paul says in 1 Cor. vi. 12, and the beginning of v. 13, and what he says of the words τὸ δὲ σῶμα, and from supposing that from v. 12, he had the same thought in view. But a comparison of vi. 12, with x. 23, will show, that Paul at first meant only to speak of the partaking of the meat offered to idols, and to explain the subject more fully. With this reference, he had said in v. 13, the food and the stomach, whose wants it satisfies, are both transitory, designed only for this earthly existence. On these things the essence of the Christian calling cannot depend, which relates to the eternal and the heavenly. Compare 1 Cor. viii. 8, Rom. xiv. 17, Matt. xv. 17; and thus he was led to the contrast, "but the *form* alone of the body is transitory." According to its nature, the body is designed to be an imperishable organ devoted to the Lord, which will be awakened again in a nobler glorified form for a higher existence. It must, therefore, be even now withdrawn from the service of lust, and be formed into a sanctified organ belonging to the Lord. It might be, that there was floating in the apostle's mind a possible misunderstanding of his words, against which he wished to guard, or his controversy with the deniers of the doctrine of the resurrection at Corinth. In either case he would be led by these recollections to leave the topic with which he began, and to speak against those excesses in the Corinthian church of which he had not thought at first. And this again led him to answer the questions proposed to him respecting the relation of the sexes. After that he returns again, at the beginning of the 8th chapter, to the subject of "things offered to idols," but from another point; and after several digressions to other subjects, which may easily be explained from the association of ideas, he begun again in ch. x. 23, the exposition of his sentiments in the same form as in ch. vi. 12. What Billroth has said in his commentary, p. 83, against this interpretation, that thus we lose the evident contrast and parallelism between the words τὰ βρώματα τῇ κοιλίᾳ, καὶ ἡ κοιλία τοῖς βρώμασι, and τὸ δὲ σῶμα οὐ τῇ πορνείᾳ, ἀλλὰ τῷ κυρίῳ, καὶ ὁ κύριος τῷ σώματι, appears without foundation. It is only assumed that

The opposition between the Petrine and Pauline parties, had probably an influence on the different views of the married and single life. It was indeed the peculiar effect of Christianity, that it elevated all the moral relations based in human nature, in their pure human form, to a higher significance, so that after the original fountain of divine life had assumed humanity, in order, by revealing himself in it, to sanctify and glorify it—the striving after the god-like, was no more to show itself in an unearthly direction, overstepping the bounds of human nature, but everywhere, the Divine humanized itself the divine life revealed itself in the forms of human development. Yet, as at first, before the elevating and all-penetrating influence of Christianity had manifested itself in all the relations of life, the earnest moral spirit of the gospel came into conflict with a world under the domination of sinful lusts; so, for a short time, an ascetic tendency averse from the marriage union (which though not in accordance with the spirit of the gospel, might be excited by the opposition it made to the corruption of the world)—would easily make its appearance, especially since there was an expectation of the speedy passing away of all earthly things, antecedently to the perfect development of the kingdom of God. The conviction, that ere the kingdom of God would attain its perfection, the earthly life of mankind must in all its forms be penetrated by the life of the kingdom of God, and that all these forms would be made vehicles of its manifestation—this conviction could be formed only by degrees from the historical course of development. And as to what concerns marriage especially, Christ had certainly by presenting the idea of it as a moral union, requisite for the complete development of the type of humanity as transformed by the divine principle of life, and thus for the realization of the kingdom of God in a moral union of the sexes, designed for their mutual complement—by all this, he had at once disowned the ascetic contempt of marriage, which views it only on its sensuous side, and rejects its true idea as realized in the divine life. Yet till

Paul formed this contrast from a more general view of the subject, and without limiting it to a perversion of the doctrine of Christian liberty, actually existing in the church. What De Wette has lately advanced in his commentary against this interpretation, has not altered my views, though I have examined with pleasure the reasons advanced by this distinguished critic.

Christianity had penetrated more into the life of humanity, and thereby had realized this idea of marriage as a peculiar form of manifestation belonging to the kingdom of God, zeal for the kingdom of God might view marriage as a relation tending to distract the mind, and to withdraw it from that one fundamental direction. And besides, though the Christian view in all its purity and completeness, was in direct opposition to the ascetic over-valuation of celibacy; yet Christianity was equally repugnant to the ancient Jewish notion, according to which celibacy was considered as a disgrace and a curse. As Christianity made everything depend on the *disposition*, as it presented the means of salvation and improvement for all conditions of human kind, and a higher life which would find its way into all states of suffering humanity, and open a source of happiness under suffering;—so it also taught, that a single life, where circumstances rendered it necessary, might be sanctified and ennobled by its relation to the kingdom of God, and become a peculiar means for the furtherance of that object.¹

Thus Christianity had to maintain a conflict in the Corinthian church with two opposing one-sided tendencies of the moral sentiments,—the ascetic over-valuation of celibacy, and the tendency which would enforce marriage as an unconditional, universal law, without admitting that variety of the social relations, under which the kingdom of God was capable of exhibiting itself.

The first tendency certainly did not proceed from the Judaizing section of the church, for those apostles to whose authority the Petrine party specially appealed, were married; and took their wives with them on their missionary journeys; 1 Cor. ix. 5; besides, that such ascetism was totally foreign to their national manners. From the Hebrew standing point

¹ Compare Matt. xix. 11, 12; *Leben Jesu*, p. 567. If we think of the desolations that took place at the fall of the Roman Empire, and the national migrations,—how important was it for such times, that Christianity should allow a point of view from which a single life might be esteemed as a charism, though this point of view might be chosen owing to an ascetic bias. How important that that which was occasioned by the pressure of circumstances, should be made a means of blessing, (by the education of the rude nations effected by the monkish orders).—See the valuable remarks of F. v. Meyer, in his review of Olshausen's Commentary.

a fruitful marriage appeared as a peculiar blessing and honour; while unmarried life, or a childless marriage, was esteemed a disgrace. Though by the feeling of sadness at the passing away of the glory of the ancient theocracy, and of dissatisfaction with the existing religion, and by the infusion of foreign oriental elements, ascetic tendencies were produced in the later Judaizers; still the spirit of the original Hebrew¹ system made itself felt, and counteracted to a certain extent the ascetic tendencies, both in Judaism and Christianity.² But among the Pauline party, an over-valuation of the single life more or less prevailed, and in this respect they thought themselves countenanced by the example of their apostle. The Judaizers, on the other hand, remained on the ancient Hebrew standing-point, as uncompromising opponents of celibacy.³

The opposition against the rigidity of Judaism, and that false liberalism which actuated many, disposed them to break through several wholesome moral restraints. It was maintained, and with justice, that Christianity had broken down the wall of separation between the sexes, in reference to the concerns of the higher life, and had freed woman from her state of servitude. But, seduced by the spirit of false freedom, individuals had been led to overstep the limits prescribed by nature and sound morals, and rendered sacred by Christianity. Women, contrary to the customs prevalent among the Greeks,⁴

¹ Hence also the ascetic tendency of the Essenes was corrected by a party who introduced marriage into this sect.

² This opposition appeared among the later descendants of the Judaizers of this age. Thus in the Clementines, it is given as the characteristic of a true prophet, *γάμον νομιτεύει, ἐγκράτειαν συγχωρεῖ*, Hom. iii. § 16. It is enjoined on the overseers of the church, § 68, *νέων μὴ μόνον κατεπειγέτωσαν τοὺς γάμους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν προβεβηκότων*. Epiphanius says of that class of Ebionites whom he describes, that they reject *παρθενία*; “*ἀναγκάζουσι δὲ καὶ παρ’ ἡλικίαν ἐκγαίζουσι τοὺς νέους ἐξ ἐπιτροπῆς δῆθεν τῶν παρ’ αὐτοῖς διδασκάλων*.” Similar things are found in the religious books of the Zabians against monkery.

³ When Paul in 1 Cor. vii. 40, recommends celibacy in certain cases, he appears to have in view the Judaizers, who set themselves against an apostolic authority; for in the words *δοκῶ δὲ καὶ γὰρ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἔχειν*, he appears to contradict those who believed and asserted that they alone had the Spirit of God.

⁴ This appears to me the most simple and natural interpretation. What has been said by some respecting the difference of the Roman and Greek customs of *aperto* or *operto capite sacra facere*, seems hardly applicable here.

appeared in the Christian assemblies unveiled, and, putting themselves on an equality with the men, assumed the office of public teachers.

The want of Christian love was also evinced by the disputes that arose respecting property, which the parties were not willing to decide, as had been hitherto customary in the Jewish and Christian churches, by arbitrators chosen from among themselves; these Gentile Christians, boastful of their freedom, set aside the scruples which restrained Jewish Christians, and appealed without hesitation to a heathen tribunal.

By this defect in the spirit of Christian love, those religious feasts which were particularly fitted to represent the loving communion of Christians and to maintain its vigour, lost their true significance, those Christian Agapæ, which composed one whole with the celebration of the Last Supper. At these love-feasts, the power of Christian fellowship was shown in overcoming all the differences of rank and education; rich and poor, masters and slaves, partook with one another of the same simple meal. But in the Corinthian church, where these differences were so strongly marked, this could not be attained. There existed among the Greeks an ancient custom of holding entertainments at which each one brought his food with him, and consumed it alone.¹ The Agapæ in the Corinthian church were conducted on the plan of this ancient custom, although the peculiar object of the institution was so different; consequently, the distinction of rich and poor was rendered peculiarly prominent, and the rich sometimes indulged in excesses which desecrated the character of these meetings.

The predominant Grecian character and constitution of the Corinthian church, appeared in zeal for mutual communication by speaking in their public assemblies, and for the cultivation of those charisms which related to oral religious instruction; but it took a one-sided direction, which showed its baneful influence at a later period in the Greek Church, an

¹ See *Xenoph. Memorabil.* iii. 14. The *συμπόσια φιλικὰ* bore a greater resemblance to the Agapæ; at these feasts, all that each brought was made a part of a common meal, which the chronicler Johannes Malala mentions as continuing to be practised even in his time. See vii. *Chronograph. e collect.* Niebuhr. p. 80.

aspiring rather after extraordinary powers of discourse, than after a life of eminent practical godliness.¹ This unpractical tendency, and the want of an all-animating and guiding love, were also shown in their mode of valuing and applying the various kinds of charisms which related to public speaking; in their one-sided over-valuation of gifts they sought for the more striking and dazzling, such as speaking in new tongues, in preference to those that were more adapted to general edification.

To which of the parties in the Corinthian church the opponents of the doctrine of the resurrection belonged, cannot be determined with certainty, since we have no precise account of their peculiar tenets. No other source of information is left open to us, than what we may infer from the objections against the doctrine of the resurrection which Paul seems to presuppose, and from the reasons alleged by him in its favour, and adapted to the standing-point from which they assailed it. As to the former, Paul might construct these objections, (as he had often done on other occasions when developing an important subject,) without our being authorized to infer that they were exactly the objections which had been urged by the impugnors of the doctrine. And as to the latter, in his mode of establishing the doctrine, he might follow the connexion with other Christian truths in which this article of faith presented itself to his own mind, without being influenced by the peculiar mode of the opposition made to it.

When Paul, for example, adduced the evidence for the truth of the resurrection of Christ, this will not justify the inference, that his Corinthian opponents denied the resurrection of Christ; for, without regarding their opposition, he might adopt this line of argument, because to his own mind, faith in the resurrection of Christ was the foundation of faith in the resurrection of the redeemed. He generally joins together the doctrines of the resurrection and of immortality, and hence some may infer that his opponents generally denied personal immortality. But still it remains a question, whether Paul possessed exact information respect-

¹ Paul reminds them in 1 Cor. iv. 20, that a participation in the kingdom of God is shown not in high-sounding words, but in the power of the life.

ing the sentiments of these persons, or whether he did not follow the connexion in which the truths of the Christian faith were presented to his own mind, and his habit of seeing in the opponents of the doctrines of the resurrection those also of the doctrine of immortality, since both stood or fell together in the Jewish polemical theology.

This controversy on the resurrection has been deduced from the ordinary opponents of that doctrine among the Jews, the Sadducees, and it has hence been concluded that it originated with the Judaizing party in the Corinthian church. This supposition appears to be confirmed by the circumstance that Paul particularly mentions, as witnesses for the truth of Christ's resurrection, Peter and James, who were the most distinguished authorities of the Judaizing party; but this cannot be esteemed a proof, for he must on any supposition have laid special weight on the testimony of the apostles collectively, and of these in particular, for the appearance of Christ repeated to them after his resurrection. Had he thought of the Sadducees, he would have joined issue with them on their peculiar mode of reasoning from the alleged silence of the Pentateuch, just as Christ opposed the Sadducees from this standing-point. But we nowhere find an example of the mingling of Sadduceeism and Christianity, and as they present no points of connexion with one another, such an amalgamation is in the highest degree improbable.

A similar reply must be made to those who imagine that the controversy on the doctrine of the resurrection, and the denial of that of immortality, may be explained from a mingling of the Epicurean notions with Christianity. Yet the passages in 1 Cor. xv. 32—35, may appear to be in favour of this view, if we consider the practical consequence deduced by Paul from that denial of the resurrection as a position laid down in the sense of the Epicureans, if we find in that passage a warning against their God-forgetting levity, and against the infectious example of the lax morals which were the offspring of their unbelief. Yet the objections would not apply with equal force to this interpretation as to the first.¹ From the delicacy and mobility of the Grecian character, so susceptible of all kinds of impressions, we can more easily imagine such a mixture of contradictory

¹ As Bauer correctly remarks in his *Essay on the Christ-party*, p. 31.

mental elements and such inconsistency, than from the stiffness of Jewish nationality, and the strict, dogmatic, decided nature of Sadduceeism. To this may be added, that the spirit of the times, so very much disposed to Eclecticism and Syncretism, tended to bring nearer one another and to amalgamate modes of thinking that, at a different period, would have stood in most direct and violent opposition. Yet it would be difficult to find in Christianity, whether viewed on the doctrinal or ethical side, anything which could attract a person who was devoted to the Epicurean philosophy, and induce him to include something Christian in his Syncretism, unless we think of something entirely without reference to all the remaining peculiarities of Christianity, relating only to the idea of a monotheistic universal religion, in opposition to the popular superstitions, and some moral ideas detached from their connexion with the whole system; but this would be at least not very probable, and might more easily happen in an age when Christianity had long been fermenting in the general mind, rather than on its first appearance in the heathen world. All history, too, testifies against this supposition; for we always see the Epicurean philosophy in hostility to Christianity, and never in the first ages do we find any approximation of the two standing-points. As to the only passage which may appear to favour this view, 1 Cor. xv. 32—35, it is not clear that the opponents of the doctrine of the resurrection had really brought forward the maxims here stated. It might be, that Paul here intended only to characterise that course of living which it appeared to him must proceed from the consistent carrying out of a philosophy that denied the distinction of man to eternal life; for the idea of eternal life and of the reality of a striving directed to eternal things were to him correlative ideas. And when persons who had made a profession of Christianity could fall into a denial of eternal life, it appeared to him as an infatuation of mind proceeding from *ἀμαρτία*, and hurrying a man away to sinful practice; a forgetfulness of God, or the mark of a state of estrangement from God, in which a man knows nothing of God. It is much more probable, that philosophically educated Gentile Christians were prejudiced against the doctrine of the resurrection from another standing-point, as in later times; the common rude conception

of this doctrine which Paul particularly combated probably gave rise to many such prejudices. The objections, how can such a body as the present be united to the soul in a higher condition, and how is it possible that a body which has sunk into corruption should be restored again; these objections would perfectly suit the standing-point of a Gentile Christian, who had received a certain philosophical training, although it cannot be affirmed with certainty, that precisely these objections were brought forward in the present instance. And if we are justified in supposing, that by the Christ-party is meant one that, from certain expressions of Christ which they explained according to their subjective standing-point, constructed a peculiar philosophical Christianity, it would be most probable that such persons formed an idea of a resurrection only in a spiritual sense, and explained in this manner the expressions of Christ himself relating to the resurrection, as we must in any case assume that those who wished to be Christians and yet denied the future resurrection, were far removed from the true standard of Christian doctrine in other respects, and had indulged in arbitrary explanations of such of the discourses of Christ as they were acquainted with.

It may be asked, where, and in what manner did Paul receive the first accounts of these disturbances in the Corinthian church? From several expressions of Paul in his Second Epistle to the Corinthians,¹ it appears, that when he wrote his admonitory epistle, he had been there again, but only for a very short time, and that he must have had many painful experiences of the disorders among them, though they might not all have appeared during his visit.²

¹ Between which and the First Epistle, Paul could have taken no journey to Corinth, and yet in the First Epistle, as we shall presently see, there is a passage which must be most naturally referred to a preceding second journey to that city.

² I must now declare myself, after repeated examinations, more decidedly than in the first edition, in favour of the view maintained by Bleek in his valuable essay in the *Theologischen Studien und Kritiken*, 1830, part iii., which has since been approved by Rückert,—by Schott, in his discussion of some important chronological points in the history of the apostle Paul, Jena, 1832,—and by Credner, in his Introduction to the New Testament,—and by others. Though some of the passages adduced as evidence for this opinion admit of another interpretation,

Owing to the breaks in the narrative of the Acts, it is difficult to decide *when* this second visit to Corinth took

yet, taken altogether, they establish the second visit of Paul to this church as an undeniable fact. The passage in 2 Cor. xii. 14, compared with v. 13, we must naturally understand to mean, that, as he had already stayed twice at Corinth without receiving the means of support from the church, he was resolved so to act on his third visit, as to be no more a burden to them than on the two former occasions. If verse 14 be understood to mean (a sense of which the words will admit), that he was planning to come to them a third time, we must supply what is not expressly said, that he would certainly execute this resolution, and yet the words so understood do not quite suit the connexion. According to the most approved reading of 2 Cor. ii. 1, the *πάλιν* must be referred to the whole clause *ἐν λύπῃ ἔλθειν*, and then it follows, that Paul had already *once* received a painful impression from the Corinthians in a visit made to them, which cannot refer to his first residence among them, and therefore obliges us to suppose a second already past. In the passage 2 Cor. xii. 21, which cannot here be brought in proof, it is indeed possible, and, according to the position of the words, is most natural, to connect the *πάλιν* with *ἐλθόντα*; but we may be allowed to suppose that the *πάλιν* belongs to *ταπεινώσει*, but is placed first for emphasis. In this case, the introduction of the *πάλιν*, which yet is not added to *ἐλθών* in v. 20, as well as the position of the whole clause *πάλιν ἐλθόντα*, is made good, and the connexion with what follows favours this interpretation. Paul, in v. 21, expresses his anxiety lest God should humble him a second time among them when he came. Accordingly, we should thus understand xiii. 1, following the simplest interpretation, though this passage may be otherwise understood, (if it be supposed to mean, that as he had already twice announced his intended coming to Corinth, having now a third time repeated his threatening, he would certainly execute it). "I am now intending for a third time to come to you, and as what is supported by two or three witnesses must be valid, so now what I have threatened a second and a third time will certainly be fulfilled. I have (when I was with you a second time) told beforehand, those who had sinned, and all the rest, and I now say it to them a second time, as if I were with you—though I now (this *now* is opposed to formerly, since when present among them, he had expressed the same sentiments,) that if I come to you again, I will not act towards you with forbearance," (as Paul, when he came to them a second time, still behaved with forbearance, though he had already sufficient cause for dissatisfaction with them.) De Wette, indeed, objects against this interpretation, that the mention of the first visit of Paul to Corinth would be in this case quite superfluous; but if, during his second visit, he had not acted with severity towards the Corinthians, but intended to do so on this third occasion, because they had not listened to his admonitions, he would have reason to mention his two first visits together, in order to mark more distinctly in what respect the third would be distinguished from the other two. And though, during his first residence among them, his experience was on the whole pleasing, yet in this long period many things must have

place. If the Second Epistle to the Corinthians had not been addressed at the same time to the churches in Achaia, we might suppose that Paul, during his long residence at Corinth, had taken missionary or visitation journeys throughout other parts of Achaia, and that he then once more returned to Corinth, only for a short time, in order to fetch Aquila for the journeys he had in prospect. It appears that on this journey he was exposed to many dangers, and that on his deliverance from them he made the vow mentioned above. But since the second epistle was also directed to the churches in Achaia, this supposition, in order to be maintained, must be so modified, that Paul could have made in the meantime another longer journey, and returned back again to Achaia—which it is not easy to admit. Or we must suppose, that during his longer residence at Ephesus, of which we are now speaking, he undertook another missionary journey, and called in passing at Corinth; or that, by the anxiety which the news brought from Corinth excited in his mind, he was induced to go thither from Ephesus, but on account of circumstances which called him back to Ephesus, he could stay only a short time with the Corinthian church, and therefore gave them notice of a longer residence among them. But it does not well agree with this last supposition, that Paul distinguishes this visit as one that took place “by the way.” And especially if it took place not long before the first epistle, we might the more expect allusions to it in that. The communications between Paul and the Corinthian church seem also to presuppose, that he had not been with them for a considerable time. There remains only a third supposition, that the visitation which he made after his departure from Antioch to the churches earlier founded by him (Acts xviii. 23) before he entered on a fresh field of labour, was of greater extent than is distinctly stated in that passage, and that it extended as far as Achaia. Perhaps he then travelled first from Phrygia

happened with which he could not be satisfied, but which he treated gently, trusting to the future progress of their Christian life. We may find in the first epistle, a trace of this his second residence at Corinth. When in 1 Cor. xvi. 7, Paul says, that he intended not now to see them by the way, *ἄρτι* and its position allows us to assume a reference to an earlier visit, which he made only “by the way,” *ἐν παρόδῳ*, and as this was so very transient, we may account for his making no further allusions to it in the first epistle.

towards the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, and then sailed to Hellas. Possibly he then found at Corinth Apollos who had proceeded thither, when Paul coming from Antioch, passed through the upper parts of Asia (Acts xix. 1),¹ and perhaps joined him on his return, and went with him to Ephesus.

We must therefore at all events suppose, that Paul had obtained his first knowledge of the alteration for the worse in the Corinthian church by his own observation. He could not indeed have witnessed the strife of the various parties, for, as appears from 1 Cor. xi. 12, he heard of this first at Ephesus from the report of strangers. But already he must have had the painful experience, that in a church which once was inspired with so much Christian zeal, their old vices and enormities again appeared under a Christian guise. He admonished them for their improvement, and threatened to use severer measures, if, when he returned from Ephesus, he should find that no improvement had taken place. At Ephesus, he could obtain information respecting the effect of his last admonitions on the church.

But he received worse news than he expected of the corruption of morals in the Corinthian church, and especially of the vicious conduct of an individual who had maintained unlawful intercourse with his step-mother. Hence, in an epistle² he addressed to the Corinthian church, he reproached them with allowing such a man still to remain among them,

¹ We must in this instance interpolate Paul's journey to Corinth, Acts xix. 1, and suppose that since the author of the Acts knew nothing of the wider extent of Paul's visitation at that time, he represented that he immediately betook himself from Upper Asia to Ephesus.

² The epistle in which Paul wrote this could not at any rate be that still retained by the Armenian church, which treats of subjects entirely different, and must be an answer to an earlier Epistle to the Corinthians. This pretended Epistle to the Corinthians by Paul, and their answer, bear on them, as is now universally acknowledged, the most undeniable marks of spuriousness. The account of the opponents of the doctrine of the resurrection at Corinth, who were thought similar to later deniers of it among the Gentiles, connected with the tales of Simon Magus, and the account of the Jewish founders of sects, by Hegesippus, gave an idle monk the inducement to put together these fragments of Pauline phrases. If they were quoted in a genuine homily of Gregory *φωτιστής*, they were perhaps in existence in the 3d century, but this address of Gregory to the newly baptized may itself be supposititious.

and required them to renounce all connexion with so abandoned a character.¹

It was indeed sufficiently evident what Paul here intended, that the Corinthians should not only exclude from the meetings of the church those who called themselves Christians, but denied Christianity by their vicious lives ; but also abstain from all kind of intercourse with them, in order to testify emphatically that such a merely outward profession was of no value, to bring these persons to a sense of their guilt, and to declare practically to the heathen world, that whoever did not exemplify the Christian doctrine in the conduct of his life, must not flatter himself that he was a Christian. But since Paul had not thought it necessary to add, that he spoke only of the vicious in the church, and not of all persons in general who lived in such vices, the Corinthians did not think of the limitation which the thing itself might easily have suggested, and thus they were thrown into perplexity, how to comply with such an injunction ; for how could they, while living in the midst of an evil world, renounce all intercourse with the vicious ? They addressed a letter to the apostle, in which they stated their perplexity, and proposed several other questions on doubtful cases in the concerns of the church.

By means of this letter, and the messengers who brought it, he obtained a more complete knowledge of the concerns and state of the church. In the communication which contained his reply to the questions proposed, he poured forth his whole heart full of paternal love to the church, and entered minutely into all the necessities of their situation. This epistle, a master-piece of apostolic wisdom in church

¹ It may be asked, whether Paul in the last epistle treated merely of the case which was immediately under consideration in the Corinthian church, only of abstaining from intercourse with *πόρνοις*, or whether he expressly spoke of such who had fallen into other notorious vices ;—the covetous, who had no regard for the property of others ; the slanderous, those addicted to drinking, those who took any part whatever in the worship of idols. The manner in which he expresses himself in 1 Cor. v. 9—11, might signify, though not decisively, that since he was obliged to guard his words against misapprehension, he took advantage of this opportunity, to give a wider application to the principles they expressed, which he certainly had from the beginning in his mind, yet had not occasion to mention in his first epistle, which bore no one particular point. At all events, it is important to know how far Paul extended the strictness of church discipline.

government, contains much that was important in reference to the change produced by Christianity on the various relations of life. It was probably conveyed by the messengers on their return to Corinth.

Paul condemned in an equal degree all party feeling in the Corinthian church ; his salutation in verse 2, was opposed to it, and suited to remind all that they equally belonged to one church, which composed all the faithful and redeemed. He taught them that Christ was their sole head, to whom they must all adhere—that all human labourers were to be considered only as instruments, by each of whom God worked according to the peculiar standing-point on which God had placed him, in order to promote in the hearts of their fellow-men a work which they were all destined to serve. They ought to be far from venturing to boast that they had this or that man for their teacher—for such boasting, by which they owned themselves dependent on man, was rather a denial of their being Christians ; for if they only, as became Christians, referred everything to Christ, to whom they were indebted for communion with God, they might view all things as designed to serve them, and as belonging to them ; those sublime expressions in 1 Cor. iii. 21, show how the truest spiritual freedom and the highest elevation of soul are the offspring of Christian humility. This general truth in reference to the manner in which all Christian teachers (each according to his peculiar qualifications) were to be estimated and made use of, he applies particularly to his relation to Apollos ; of whom he could speak most reservedly and unsuspectedly, since he was a man with whom he stood in the closest connexion, and who had adopted his own peculiar form of doctrine. To those persons who could not find in his simple preaching the wisdom which they sought after, and preferred Apollos as a teacher more according to their Grecian taste,¹ he said, that it was wrong on their part to regret the absence of such wisdom in his preaching, for the fountain of all genuine wisdom, the wisdom of God, was not to be found in any scheme of philo-

¹ We have already spoken of the reference of this whole section, 1 Cor. i. 1—18. We need not enter more at large into the dispute respecting the meaning proposed by Eichorn and others—that Paul here directed his argumentation against Grecian Sophists, who had made an entrance into the church, and threatened to seduce many into unbelief.

sophy, but only in the doctrine of the crucified Jesus, the Saviour of the world, which he had made the central-point of his preaching; but this divine wisdom could only be found and understood by a disposition that was susceptible of what was divine. For this reason, he had never yet been able to lead them by his discourses to perceive in the simple doctrine of the gospel, (which in the eyes of the world was foolishness,) the depths of divine wisdom, because an ungodlike disposition predominated in their minds, of which these party strifes were an evident sign. He gave the Corinthians a rule by which they might pass a judgment on all teachers of Christianity. Whoever acknowledged the immovable foundation of the Christian life, which had been laid by himself, that Jesus was the Saviour, that men were indebted for salvation to him alone, and on this foundation proceeded to erect the Christian doctrine, would thereby prove himself to be a Christian teacher, and by his faith in Him who alone could impart salvation, would attain it himself, and lead others to it. But in the structure of doctrine which was raised on this foundation, the divine might more or less be mixed with the human, and so far be deteriorated. The complete purifying process, the separation of the divine and the human, would be left to the last judgment. Many a one who had attached too great value to the human, would see the work destroyed which he had constructed, though the foundation on which it rested would remain for himself and others: such a one would be saved after many severe trials, which he must undergo for purification from the alloy of self; 1 Cor. iii. 11—15.¹ But from the teachers who adhered to the unchangeable foundation of God's kingdom, and built upon it, either with better or worse materials, Paul distinguishes those of whom he says, that they destroy the Temple of God itself in believers, and

¹ Since the whole passage which speaks of fire, of the building constructed of various materials, some fire-proof and others destructible by fire, and of being saved as from the midst of the fire, is composed of images, and is figurative throughout,—it is very illogical, as Origen has justly remarked, arbitrarily to detach from the rest, and take in a literal sense, a single trait in the picture as that of fire. Nor let any one say that the idea of such a judgment in the historical development is somewhat unpauline. The idea of such a judgment connected with the publication of the gospel, and accompanying its operations, pervades the whole New Testament,—by which indeed, a final judgment of the world, to which this is only preparative, is not excluded.

and eating of peculiar sacrifices, against such he banished the most awful punishment. "If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy," 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17.

It is worthy of notice, that where Paul treats of eating meat offered to idols, he does not, in order to impress the Gentile Christians with their obligations to abstain from all such food, appeal to the decision of the apostolic convention at Jerusalem, any more than he opposed the authority of that decision to the Jewish Christians, who wished to compel the Gentiles to be circumcised. It is one of the characteristics of his method, that he here rests his argument, not on outward positive command, a *leges*, but on the inward law in the hearts of believers, on what the spirit of the gospel requires. As in the instance of those who wished to impose the law of circumcision on Gentile Christians, instead of appealing to an outward authority, he pointed out the internal contrariety of their conduct to the peculiar and fundamental principles of the gospel; so on this point he opposed to the abuse of Christian freedom, the law of love which was inseparable from the gospel. In short, it appears that, though the authority of that decision was held sacred in Palestine, Acts xxi. 25, yet beyond these limits it seems to have been little regarded. Since that decision rested on mutual concessions, it followed that if one of the parties of the Jewish Christians failed to fulfil the condition—if they would not acknowledge the uncircumcised as their heathen brethren,—then, on the other side, the obligation ceased to operate on the Gentile Christians, who by the observance of that decision, would have made an approach to the Jewish Christians. At a later period, after the settlement of the opposition between these two hostile tendencies could no longer be accomplished, but a Jewish element gained entrance into the church itself in an altered form, this decision might again acquire the strict power of law.

Paul did not dispute the position which the free-thinking Christians at Corinth were always contending for, that no law could be laid down about outward things that were in themselves indifferent; he did not even exact their deference to the apostolic decision, by which such food was absolutely forbidden; but he shows them from the standing-point of the gospel, that what is in itself lawful, may, under special cir-

either side, came to be seen as far as it concerned the law of love.—the obligation of Christians to act in all circumstances that the salvation of others may be most promoted, and the glory of God be secured. He points out that they even denied their own Christian freedom, when in another way they brought themselves into subjection to outward things, which they ought to have used with freedom in the spirit of love, according as circumstances might vary.

In reference to the question proposed to him respecting a single life, he took a middle course between the two contending parties, those who entirely condemned a single life, and those who wished to prescribe it for all persons as something essential to Christian perfection. Though by his own peculiar character he might be supposed to attach a rigorous value to a single life, (which for his own method of labouring was certainly an important assistance,) than could be ascribed to it from the Christian standing point, when viewed only objectively; yet the power of a higher spirit was here more clearly manifested, by which, though his own subjective inclination was not denied, in the regulation of his own conduct, yet it was not allowed to interfere injuriously with his views of Christian morals, and with his wisdom in the guidance of the church; but how could it be otherwise with a man who, although as a man he retained a strongly marked individuality, was influenced in so extraordinary a degree by the Spirit of Christ, of that Saviour for whom he had suffered the loss of all things? He discerned how injurious a forced celibacy would be in a church like the Corinthian, and hence sought to guard against this evil. He represented a single life for those who were fitted for it by their natural constitution, as a means of attending with less distraction to the concerns of the kingdom of God, without being diverted from them by earthly cares, especially under the great impending tribulations, until the second coming of Christ; from which we must infer what an influence the near approach of that event had on his own course of conduct. He placed the essence of Christian perfection not in celibacy, nor in the out-

¹ 1 Cor. vi. 12. πάντα μοι ἔξεστιν· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐγὼ ἐξουσιασθήσμαι ὑπὸ τινος. If everything is lawful for me, yet I must not allow myself to be governed by external things, as if, because I *can* use them, I *must* necessarily use them.

ward denial of earthly things ; but in that renunciation of the world which has its seat in the disposition, which would make the married and the rich, as well as the unmarried and the poor, ready to sacrifice everything which the exigencies of the times might demand ; to suffer the loss of all things, however dear to their hearts, for the sake of the gospel ; 1 Cor. vii. 30.

In speaking of the various relations of life in which men might be placed at the time of their conversion, Paul lays down as a rule, that that event should produce no change in this respect. Christianity did not violently dissolve the relation in which a man found himself placed by birth, education, and the leading of divine Providence, but taught him to act in them from a new point of view, and with a new disposition. It effected no abrupt revolutions, but gradually, by the power of the Spirit working from within, made all things new. The apostle applies this especially to the case of slaves, which it was more needful to consider, because from the beginning that gospel which was preached to the poor found much acceptance among this class, and the knowledge imparted to them by Christianity of the common dignity and rights of all men, might easily have excited them to throw off their earthly yoke. Likewise in this view, Christianity, in order not to mingle worldly and spiritual things together, and not to miss its main object, the salvation of the soul, did not presume to effect by force a sudden revolution in their condition, but operated only on the mind and disposition. To slaves the gospel presented a higher life, which exalted them above the restraints of their earthly relation ; and though masters were not required by the apostles to give their slaves freedom, since it was foreign to their ministry to interfere with the arrangement of civil relations, yet Christianity imparted to masters such a knowledge of their duties to their slaves, and such dispositions towards them, and taught them to recognise as brethren the Christians among their slaves, in such a manner as to make their relation to them quite a different thing.

Paul, therefore, when he touches on this relation, tells the slave, that though by the arrangement of Providence he was debarred from the enjoyment of outward freedom, he should not be troubled, but rejoice that the Lord had bestowed upon

him true inward freedom. But while he considers the latter as the only true freedom, in the possession of which man may be free under all outward restraints, and apart from which no true freedom can exist, he is very far from overlooking the subordinate worth of civil freedom, for he says to the slave, to whom he had announced the true, the spiritual freedom, "but if thou mayst be free, use it rather," 1 Cor. vii. 21;¹ which implies that the apostle viewed the state of freedom as more corresponding to the Christian calling, and that Christianity, when it so far gained the ascendancy as to form anew the social relations of mankind, would bring about this change of state, which he declares to be an object of preference.²

¹ The later ascetic spirit forms a striking contrast on this point to the spirit of primitive Christianity. Although, in a grammatical view, it is most natural to supply the *ἐλεύθερος γένεσθαι* which immediately precedes, or *ἐλευθερία*, yet the later Fathers have not thus understood it, because the worth of civil freedom appeared to them not so great, but they took the apostle's meaning to be exactly opposite, *μᾶλλον χρῆσαι τῇ δουλείᾳ*. What De Wette has lately urged against this interpretation, does not appear to me convincing. The *εἰ καὶ* (he thinks) is against it; but it suits very well. The apostle says, If called, being a slave, to Christianity, thou shouldst be content. Christian freedom will not be injured by slavery—but yet, if thou canst be free (as a still additional good, which if thou dost not attain, be satisfied without it; but which, if offered to thee, is not to be despised) therefore make use of this opportunity of becoming free, rather than by neglecting it to remain a slave. The connexion with v. 22, is not against it, if we recollect, that the clause beginning with *ἀλλὰ* is only a secondary or qualifying assertion, which certainly does not belong to the leading thought, a mode of construction similar to what we find elsewhere in Paul's writings.

² To this also the words in v. 23 may relate. "Ye are bought with a price (ye are made free from the dominion of Satan and sin), become not the slaves of men." Thus it would be understood by many. Christians ought not voluntarily, merely to escape from some earthly trouble, to put themselves in a condition which is not suited to their Christian calling. But since the apostle previously, when speaking of such relations as could only concern individuals in the church, used the singular, but now changed his style to the plural, it is hence probable, that he is speaking of a relation of a general kind, that is, giving an exhortation, which would apply to all the Corinthians,—an exhortation, indeed, which is not so closely connected with what is said in v. 22, but which he might easily have been led to make from the idea of a *δούλος Χριστοῦ*, so familiar and interesting to his mind, an idea that would equally apply to both bond and free; "Refuse not this true freedom which belongs to you as the bondsmen of Christ, do not become by a spiritual dependence the slaves of men, from being the bondsmen of Christ"—an exhortation which was adapted in many

The Corinthian church had probably requested that Apollos might visit them again, and Paul acknowledged him as a faithful teacher, who had built on the foundation of the faith which he had laid, who had watered the field that he had planted. He was far from opposing this request; he even requested Apollos to comply with it, but Apollos was resolved not to visit Corinth immediately. The importance attached to his person, and the efforts that had been made to place him at the head of a party, perhaps led him to this determination.

Paul wrote our first Epistle to the Corinthians about the time of the Jewish Passover, as appears from the allusion in v. 7. He had then the intention of staying at Ephesus till Pentecost; he informed them that many opportunities offered for publishing the gospel, but that he had also many enemies to contend with. He spoke of his being in daily peril of losing his life; 1 Cor. xv. 30.¹

respects to the condition of the Corinthian church; and this warning against a servitude totally incompatible with being a servant (or bondsman) of Christ, (which could not be asserted of a state of outward servitude, or slavery, simply as such,) this warning would be a very suitable conclusion to the whole train of thought on inward and outward freedom. It was needless for him to notice the case of a person selling himself for a slave, since it was one that could hardly occur among Christians. Verse 24 is rather for than against this interpretation; for since v. 23 does not refer to outward relations, he once more repeats the injunction respecting them.

¹ Schrader infers from the words in 1 Cor. xvi. 8, that Paul could not have written this epistle at the close of his long residence at Ephesus, but at the beginning of another short stay there; for otherwise he must have said, ἐπιμενῶ δὲ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἔτι, and could not have hoped to effect that in a few weeks for the spread of the gospel, and the counteraction of false teachers, which he could not accomplish even after several years. But we do not see why Paul, merely having the future in his eye, and not reflecting on the past, might not leave out the ἔτι, as similar omissions frequently occur in an epistolary writing; and even if Paul in the course of a long time had effected much for the spread of the gospel, still he could say, since the sphere of his labours in Lesser Asia was continually extending, that "a great and effectual door" was opened for publishing the gospel. But the ἀντικείμενοι in this passage, which relates to the publication of the gospel, are certainly not false teachers, but open adversaries of Christianity. As the opportunities for making known the gospel were manifold, so also its enemies were many. This, therefore, does not contradict the preceding longer evidence of the apostle, but rather confirms it; for the most violent attacks on the preachers of the gospel, if they did not proceed from the

At the time of his writing this Epistle to Corinth, he had formed an extensive plan for his future labours. As during his stay of several years in Achaia and at Ephesus, he had laid a sufficient foundation for the extension of the Christian church among the nations who used the Greek language, he now wished to transfer his ministry to the West ; and as it was his fundamental principle to make those regions the scene of his activity where no one had laboured before him—he wished on that account to visit Rome, the metropolis of the world, where a church had long since been established, in his way to Spain,¹ and then to commence the publication of the gospel at the extremity of Western Europe. But before putting this plan into execution, he wished to obtain a munificent collection in the churches of the Gentile Christians for their poor believing brethren at Jerusalem, and to bring the amount himself to Jerusalem accompanied by some members of the churches. Already some time before he despatched this Epistle to the Corinthians, he had sent Timothy and some others to Macedonia and Achaia to forward this collection, and to counterwork the disturbing influences in the Corinthian church.² He hoped to receive through him

Jews, would first arise, after by their long-continued labours they had produced effects which threatened to injure the interests of many whose gains were derived from idolatrous practices.

¹ Rom. xv. 24, 28. Dr. Bauer, in his Essay on the Object and Occasion of the Epistle to the Romans, in the *Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie*, 1836, part iii. p. 156, has attempted to show that Paul could not have written these words. He thinks that he discovers in them the marks of another hand, of which, in my opinion, no trace whatever can be found,—all appears wholly Pauline. It might indeed seem strange, that the apostle of the Gentiles had not yet visited the metropolis of the Gentile world. Accordingly, he gives an account of the causes which had hitherto prevented him, and expresses his earnest desire to become personally acquainted with the church of the metropolis. Since it was most important, first of all, to lay a foundation everywhere for the publication of the gospel, on which the superstructure might afterwards be easily raised, so it was his maxim—the same which he expresses in 2 Cor. x. 16, and which we see him always acting upon—to labour only in those regions where no one before had published the gospel. But among the Gentiles at Rome a church had been long founded, and hence he could not be justified on his own principles in leaving a field of labour in which there was still so much to be done, in order to visit a church that had been long established, and was in a state of progressive development. The difficulties which Bauer finds in this passage are only created by a false interpretation.

² 1 Cor. iv. 17. The manner in which Paul mentions Timothy both

an account of the impression which his epistle had made. But he found himself deceived in his expectations, for Timothy was probably prevented from travelling as far as Corinth, and came back to Ephesus without bringing the information which the apostle expected.¹ The apostle, animated by a tender paternal anxiety for the church, became uneasy respecting the effect produced by his epistle; he, therefore, sent Titus to Corinth for the purpose of obtaining information, and that he might personally operate on the church in accordance with the impression made by the epistle. As Paul had resolved, on sending away Titus, to leave Ephesus soon, he agreed with him to meet at Troas, where he designed to make a longer stay in order to found a church, 2 Cor. ii. 12, and perhaps intended to shape his future course by the information which he would there receive from Titus.

But here the question arises, Could Paul have sent Titus to Corinth without an epistle? And if we find in his second Epistle to the Corinthians numerous allusions to an epistle which he simply designates as *the* epistle, shall we not most naturally conclude that it means an epistle sent by Titus? And so much the more, if these allusions contain many things that do not tally with the First Epistle to the Corinthians.²

here and in xvi. 10, plainly shows that he was not the bearer of this epistle, and the latter passage makes it not improbable that Paul expected he would arrive at Corinth after his epistle, which would naturally happen though Timothy departed first, because he was detained a considerable time in Macedonia. Perhaps the messengers from the Corinthian church were already come to Ephesus when Timothy was going away, and as Paul wished to give them a copious reply, on that account he sent no epistle by Timothy.

¹ It favours the supposition that Timothy did not come as far as Corinth, that, in Acts xix. 22, only Macedonia is mentioned as the object of his mission. And if he came to Corinth as Paul's delegate, he would have mentioned him, as Rückert justly remarks, in connexion with others who were sent by him; for though we are not justified that Paul here mentioned by name all who were sent by him to Corinth, yet the object for which he named them, in order to appeal to the fact that they had acted with the same disposition as himself, and were as little burdensome to the Corinthian church, required the mention of a man like Timothy so closely connected with him, if he had stayed at Corinth as his delegate. This therefore is opposed to Bleek's view, which we shall afterwards mention, according to which Timothy really came to Corinth, and must have been the bearer of bad news from thence.

² Bleek has endeavoured to prove all this in his valuable essay already mentioned, in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1830, part iii. But

We ask then, in this second epistle are such things really found which lead us to suppose another document composed in a different tone from the first epistle now extant? Let us examine this more closely. Paul says at the beginning of the second chapter that he had altered his former plan of travelling immediately from Ephesus to Corinth, and had resolved to go first to Macedonia, in order that he might not be obliged to produce a painful impression among them, if he came to them while the evils which he censured in his first epistle were still in existence. On this account, he wished, instead of coming immediately from Ephesus to Corinth, rather to communicate by letter what was painful to them, (which may very well refer to the reprehensions contained in the first epistle,) and to await its operation in producing repentance, before he came to them in person. He says of the epistle in question, that he had written it in great anguish of heart and with many tears, for his object had been not to give them pain, but to evince his love for them. Does not that suit such passages as 1 Cor. iv. 8—19; vi. 7; x. ? Does not that which he here says of his disposition correctly describe that state of mind, in which the news respecting the dangerous condition of the Corinthian church must have placed him? It can well be referred to that individual who lived in unlawful intercourse with his step-mother, against whose continuance in church-fellowship he had so strongly expressed himself, when he says of such a one that he troubled not only himself as the founder of the church, but in a certain degree the whole church. That epistle was indeed suited to call forth in the Corinthians the consciousness of their corrupt state, that sorrow which leads to salvation, as Paul says of that epistle, 2 Cor. vii. 9, &c. But chiefly we might be induced, by verse 12 of the same chapter, to suppose a reference to what was said by Paul in an epistle now lost: "He had written such a letter to them, not on his account

this is connected with the assumption that Timothy really came to Corinth, and the bad news which he brought influenced Paul to send Titus thither. If we only assume that Paul was informed that a part of the church had shown themselves more haughty after the receipt of that first epistle, it can be explained how he was induced to send a severer epistle by Titus. But we have noticed above, what opposes the supposition that Timothy at that time really extended his journey as far as Corinth

a personal reference to the apostle. He who was fond of contrasts and accustomed to mark them strongly, would on this occasion have marked very strongly the contrast between his personal interest, and the interest of the church, if he had wished to express anything of the kind. On the other hand, we may fairly understand by the person against whom the wrong was committed, the father, whom his son by his incestuous conduct had so grievously injured; whether the father was already dead, or still living, which on this supposition would be more probable.¹ Perhaps the complaints of the father had been the occasion of making known the whole affair to the apostle.² The meaning of the passage would then be, that they ought not to believe that a reference to any individual whatever, that resentment against any person, or attachment to any one, had moved him thus to write, but that he had been actuated chiefly by a concern for the welfare of the church. Nor is it necessary to assume, that the whole of the epistle to which he here alludes, was occupied with this one affair, if only his readers can infer from the connexion that he here wishes to speak of this one object (among several others) of the epistle.

The manner also in which Paul speaks of the sending away of Titus, contains no such marks which justify the supposition that this step was occasioned by the unfavourable account brought by Timothy of the state of the Corinthian church; for he declares in 2 Cor. vii. 14, that on his leaving he said many things to him in the praise of that Church, and hence had raised good expectations respecting it in his mind.³

¹ It is singular, that in the first epistle, no mention is made of the father of the offender.

² All difficulties would vanish, if with Daniel Heinsius, we understand the words τοῦ ἀδικηθέντος as neuter = τοῦ ἁμαρτηθέντος, which the New Testament use of ἀδικεῖν would allow. The transition from the masculine to the neuter may surprise us less, since the neuter follows immediately after. The ἀδικηθὲν would then correspond to the πᾶγμα before mentioned. And though it may appear objectionable that Paul should so express himself as if such a sin was a thing of minor importance, yet this is not an idea conveyed by the words; but he wishes only to express very strongly in an antithetical form, that his anxiety for the welfare of the whole church, for the preservation of its purity, had induced him so to write. But it suits the contrast still better, if all personal references were kept out of sight.

³ The words in 2 Cor. vii. 14, I cannot understand, according to the mutual relation of the clauses, otherwise than thus: By what I have

Still the objection may be urged, Titus must at all events, as a messenger from Paul, have brought with him an epistle to Corinth; and if Paul quotes a letter without marking it more precisely, we can understand by it no other than the last, and therefore the one brought by Titus. But if he sent Titus after Timothy's return, and soon after he had despatched his first Epistle to the Corinthian church, we may more readily presume that he would not think it necessary to send a long epistle at the same time, but perhaps give him only a few lines in which he intimated that Titus was to supply the place of Timothy, who was not able to come to them himself.¹

said to Titus in your praise. I have not been put to shame; but as I have spoken to you all according to truth, so also this has been proved to be true.

¹ A difficulty is here presented, from the manner in which Paul mentions the sending Titus in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians. 2 Cor. viii. 6, compared with v. 16, and ix. 3; xii. 18. Billroth and Rückert (who does not however assent to all the reasons alleged by the former) have hence concluded, that the sending of Titus was by no means after the despatch of that first epistle, but took place long before, and that the arrangement of the collection was the object of his visit. But Titus would be still at Corinth when that letter arrived, and hence could communicate to Paul respecting the effect it produced. Perhaps Titus was the bearer of the first lost epistle to the Corinthian church. Hence it may be explained, why Paul could consider his second epistle (the first now extant) as his last written epistle, and quote it without any further designation. But if this had been the case, we must necessarily look for an express mention of Titus in our first epistle; and since none such occurs, we must either assume that the sending of Titus mentioned in the second epistle, is the same as that which we have spoken of in the text, or if we consider it as different, it occurred much earlier, so that Titus, when Paul wrote his first Epistle to the Corinthians, must have been a long while returned to them. And for this latter assumption, it may be urged, that at that first sending a companion of Titus is mentioned; and, on the other hand, when Paul mentions his meeting with Titus in Macedonia, no one else appears; not that this is a decisive proof, because Titus alone might be mentioned as being the principal person. But, on the contrary, when Paul states that he boasted of the Corinthian church to Titus, it seems implied (if not absolutely necessary) that this church was not personally known to him. If we are disposed to assume, that this mission of Titus was the same as that mentioned in the first epistle, the chronological order of events would not oppose this supposition. But first, there is the question, whether Paul reckoned the year according to the Roman, Greek, or Jewish Calendar; in the last case, he might mention the sending of Titus as having taken place in the preceding year, if it was before Easter; in the second, if it was after Easter, and if he wrote this epistle in autumn. But it is not at all necessary to assume that the

But after the sending of Titus, a violent popular tumult arose at Ephesus against the apostle, which was nevertheless an evidence of the great success of his ministry in Lesser Asia. Small models in gold and silver of the famed temple of Artemis were used to be made,¹ which being sent to distant parts as an object of devotion, brought great gain to the city. A man named Demetrius, who had a large manufactory of such models, and a great number of workmen, began to fear, since the gospel had spread with such success in Lesser Asia, and faith in Artemis had so far declined² as to lessen the sale of his wares in this region, that the gains of his trade would soon be lost. He assembled his numerous workmen, and easily inflamed their anger against the enemies of their gods, who threatened to deprive the great Artemis of her honour, and them of their gain. A great tumult arose, they all hastened to the public place where they were wont to assemble, and many cried out, some one thing, some another, without knowing why they were come together. As the Jews here lived in the midst of a numerous Greek population who viewed them with constant aversion, any special occasion easily roused their slumbering prejudices into open violence, and they had then much to suffer: they feared therefore, that the anger of the people against the enemies of their gods—especially as many did not know who these enemies were exactly—would be turned upon themselves; and one of their number, Alexander by name, came forward, in order to shift the blame from themselves upon the Christians; but the

sending away of Titus was in the preceding year; for it might be the case that the Corinthian church had begun the collection, before Titus had proposed it to them. Nor ought it to excite our surprise, that Paul mentions only one object for which he sent Titus, the arrangement of the collection; for he might be sent for this purpose, and at the same time, to obtain information for Paul respecting the state of the Corinthian church, and the effect produced by his epistle. But as he was writing respecting the collection, he had no occasion to advert to another topic.

¹ The words of Paul, Acts xx. 19, perhaps intimate that this popular disturbance proceeded from the machinations of the Jews, though it afterwards threatened to be dangerous to the Jews themselves.

² It is possible, that the successful ministry of Paul already threatened the destruction of idolatry, though after the first successful propagation of the gospel, a pause in its progress intervened, similar to what has often occurred. Compare Pliny's account of the decline of heathenism, in my Church History, vol. i. p. 140.

appearance of such a person whom they ranked among these enemies, aroused the heathen to still greater fury, and the clamour became more violent. But on this occasion only the populace appear to have been hostile to the teachers of Christianity; the manner in which Paul had lived and acted during his long residence in the city must have operated advantageously on the public authorities of the city. Some even of the magistrates who were placed this year at the head of regulating all the *seera* in Lesser Asia, and presided over the public games, showed their sympathy for him, for when he was on the point of exposing himself to the excited crowd, they besought him not to incur this danger. And the chamberlain of the city at last succeeded in calming the minds of the people by his representations—by calling on them to give an account of the object of their meeting—of which the majority were totally ignorant—and by reminding them of the serious responsibility they incurred for their turbulent and illegal behaviour.

It is very doubtful whether Paul was determined by this disturbance, which seems to have been quite transitory, to leave Ephesus earlier than he had intended according to his original plan. When he wrote his first letter to the Corinthians, he spoke to them of the dangers which daily threatened him, and yet these had no influence in determining the length of his sojourn in this city. Perhaps we may find several allusions to this new disturbance.* A comparison of the

* ¹ Ἀσιάρχαι: each of the cities which formed the Κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας chose a delegate yearly for this college of Ἀσιάρχαι. See *Aristid. Orat. Sacr.* iv. ed. *Dindorf*, vol. i. p. 531; and probably the president of this college would be called ἀρχιεπὶς, ἀσιάρχης: his name was employed in marking the date of public events: see the Letter of the Church at Smyrna, on the martyrdom of Polycarp; and Ezechiel Spanheim, *de Præstantia et Usu Numismatum*, ed. *secunda*, p. 691.

² He says, 1 Cor. xv. 31, that he was daily exposed to death, which may lead us to conclude, that when Paul had reached the end of this epistle, (which was probably not written all at once,) this disturbance had taken place. Thus we may take the words in v. 32, κατὰ ἀνθρώπινον λογισμὸν θηρίων ἐγενομένη βορὰ—ἀλλὰ παραδόξως ἐσώθη, with Theodoret, in a literal sense, namely, that it was demanded by the raging populace, as afterwards was often the case in the persecutions of the Christians, that the enemy of the gods should be condemned *ad bestias*, *ad leonem*. But though such a cry might be raised by the infuriated multitude, it is very difficult to suppose, considering the existing circumstances, that their desire would be granted, and Paul therefore

First and Second Epistles to the Corinthians with one another, may indeed favour the belief, that Paul wrote the latter after this event, since he here writes as one who had been rescued from impending death.¹ But it may indeed be supposed,

could never say, that, as far as he could expect according to human judgment, he would have been a prey to the wild beasts without the wonderful help of God. Also this interpretation of the words *κατὰ ἀνθρώπων*, is not the easiest and most favoured by the connexion. I rather find in these words, according to the connexion, the contrast to the Christian hope, the designation of the standing-point of men in general who are destitute of this hope. By the wild beasts must therefore be understood, savage infuriated men with whom Paul had to contend. From Rom. xvi. 4, where it is said that Priscilla and Aquila had ventured their lives for him, as well as from what Paul says in Acts xx. 19, we may gather that he was exposed to many dangers at Ephesus, which are not mentioned in the Acts.

¹ According to the interpretation proposed by Rückert, these expressions do not refer to persecutions endured by Paul, but to a dangerous illness, the effects of which accompanied him to Macedonia, and were felt by him when he wrote this second Epistle to the Corinthians. But on comparing all that relates to it, I cannot assent to this view. As to the passage in 2 Cor. i. 8, it appears to me that these words must be explained according to v. 5. I grant, indeed, that natural diseases may be called in a certain sense *παθήματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ*; but, in accordance with the Pauline phraseology, we should certainly apply them primarily to suffering for the cause of the kingdom of God, in which the believer follows Christ. Rückert thinks that if Paul had intended to signify the persecution that had been excited at Ephesus, he would have named the city itself, as in the first epistle. But I do not see why he should not choose the general designation of the region of which Ephesus was the metropolis; and, it is possible, that the exasperation of the heathens against him spread from Ephesus to other parts of Lesser Asia which he visited. Why then might he not say, that the persecutions exceeded the measure of his human strength, that he was almost overcome, and despaired of his life? In 2 Cor. iv. 9 and 11, he distinctly notices persecutions by which he was in continual danger of death, with which 1 Cor. xv. 30—31 agrees; from these passages we may conclude that he was exposed to more dangers than are recorded in the Acts. And in this way other passages must be explained. The mention of the earthen vessels is not against this view, for the conflicts which Paul had to sustain always served to awaken in his mind a more vivid consciousness, that he carried about the divine treasure in an earthen broken vessel, that this shattered receptacle would soon be entirely destroyed by such assaults unless strengthened and rescued by Almighty power. He might well say in v. 10, that he always bore about in his body the *ρέκρωσις τοῦ Ἰησοῦ*, because he was always exposed to death for the cause of Christ (v. 11), and bearing the marks of these sufferings in his body, he thus carried with him an image of the suffering Saviour in his own person. What he says in v. 9, and in the

that when he found himself in the midst of those dangers, the higher concerns of which he treated in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, so occupied him, that he forgot everything personal—but that when he had left Ephesus, the recollections of the special leadings of Providence, which had rescued him from such dangers, filled him with overflowing gratitude which he could not suppress.

After Paul had laboured at Troas in preaching the gospel, and had waited in vain for Titus, whom he expected on his return from Corinth, he left that place with troubled feelings and went to meet him in Macedonia. Among the Macedonian churches he met with gratifying proofs of the advance of the Christian life, to which their conflicts with the world had contributed. No persecutions of Christianity as a *religio illicita* had as yet been commenced by the authorities of the state. But at all events, the Christians, by their withdrawing from the heathen worship and all that was connected with it, must have unfavourably impressed the heathen among whom they lived, and excited the hatred of the fanatical populace who were instigated by the Jews. Even if no legal charge could be brought against the believers as apostates from the religion of the state, still without this instrument, zealous heathens, who formed so large a majority, possessed sufficient means to oppress or injure in their worldly prospects a class of persons so far below themselves, in numbers, respectability, and political influence. It may illustrate this, if we only think of what converts to Christianity in the East Indies have had to endure (though under a Christian government), from their heathen

whole context, marks the disposition of one who had reason to consider the duration of his life as very uncertain, whether he met with a natural or violent death. 2 Cor. vi. 9 is to be explained according to iv. 9 and 11. 2 Cor. vii. 5 shows that even in Macedonia he had no respite from his sufferings, but was overwhelmed with fresh trials. Here we find no trace of illness. The word *σάπξ* by no means justifies us in understanding the passage of illness; it denotes everything which could affect the outer man, while within the highest peace might be enjoyed. The passage in 2 Cor. xii. 7 is too obscure to draw any conclusion from it with certainty; and even if here a chronic disorder were intended, it would not be clear that what was said before had any reference to it. We do not deny that Paul had to combat with much bodily weakness;—we do not deny that the tribulation he endured must have impaired his bodily strength; but it does not follow that the passages above quoted have such a reference

relatives and connexions! But the Macedonian Christians cheerfully endured everything for the cause of the gospel, and, however much their means of subsistence had been injured, they were ready to take an active part in the collection made by Paul in the church at Jerusalem, even "beyond their power;" 2 Cor. viii. In Macedonia, the apostle had also the satisfaction of meeting with Titus, and of learning from him that his epistle had produced a salutary effect, if not on the whole, yet on the greater part of the Corinthian church. The disapprobation of the larger and better part had been expressed against the incestuous person, and the voice of this majority, which as such must have been decisive in the assemblies of the church, had either actually expelled him from church-communion, according to the judgment expressed by Paul, or the actual execution of the sentence had been put off in the event of his not receiving forgiveness from the apostle. When the resolution of the majority was announced to the offender with expressions of severe reprehension, he expressed the greatest sorrow and penitence. On this account, the majority, who always acknowledged the apostolic authority of Paul, interceded on his behalf that a milder course might be adopted, and Paul assented, in order that the penitent might not be plunged in despair, and thus a greater calamity ensue.¹ The majority showed the greatest

¹ In the words 2 Cor. ii. 5—10, I cannot find anything different from what I have stated in the text. Nor do they support Rückert's assertion, that the majority of the church, though they expressed their disapprobation of the offender, were not disposed to proceed against him as severely as Paul desired, and that the apostle only yielded to their wishes from prudential motives, in order to maintain his authority, and to preserve the appearance of directing their decisions. Paul says, 2 Cor. ii. 6, "Sufficient to such a man is this punishment which was inflicted of many." From this we cannot infer that it differed from the sentence passed by the apostle himself. *This*, said he—only referring to what had taken place, and in connexion with what followed—is indeed not unanimous, but yet the punishment awarded to him by the voice of the majority. It is sufficient—may mean, enough has been done that this sentence of the majority has been expressed, and that he has been brought to contrition, so that now a milder course may be adopted, and he may be received again into church-communion. Or, it is sufficient that the majority have adopted this resolution. But, since he is now penitent, it need not be carried into effect. The pain which he has already suffered is enough. Hence, instead of continuing to act with that strictness, and carrying into effect that resolution of the

regard for the apostle's authority ; they lamented having occasioned him so much trouble, and assured him how earnestly they longed to see him soon among them. But Paul's opponents among the Judaizers were not humbled, but, on the contrary, were only embittered against him by his reprimand and the submission paid to him by the rest of the church, and used every means in their power to make the church suspicious of him. They said, that he was powerful only in his letters, but that "his bodily presence was weak, and his speech contemptible ;" 2 Cor. x. 10. He threatened more than he could perform, and hence was very far from formidable. He was conscious of his weakness, and, therefore, was always threatening to come, but never came. In his first epistle, which has not come down to us, he probably threatened the contumacious, that he would soon come to Corinth, and if what was amiss were not rectified, he would exert the utmost prerogative of his office. In that last epistle, or by verbal communications, he had announced to them that as soon as he had left Ephesus, he would come immediately to them, as he wished, after a transient sojourn at Corinth, to travel into Macedonia, and return again to them in order to remain with them till his intended departure to Jerusalem. But as he now remained longer in Ephesus, as he had altered the plan of his journey, and had announced to the Corinthians that he would first go into Macedonia and then come to them ;¹ so he took advantage of this arrangement to excuse a sense of his weakness, of vacillation, and of ambiguity in his expressions. And thus uncertain and vacillating—they concluded, he would be as a teacher. Hence his self-contradictory conduct in reference to the observance of the Mosaic Law by the Jews and Gentiles. They endeavoured to set in a false light that Christian prudence which always distinguished church, they might announce forgiveness to him, for (v. 9) Paul had attained his object ; they had, by virtue of that resolution of the majority, given him the proof he required of their obedience. He required nothing more (v. 10), as they had assented to his severe sentence ; so now he was ready to excuse them, as he had attained the object he had at heart, the welfare of the church. Paul also expressly commends (vii. 11) the indignation they had manifested in this affair, the ἐκδίκησις they had felt, thus acquitting themselves of all participation in the wickedness.

¹ We therefore need not assume a lost epistle containing this altered plan of the journey.

Paul, but which was united in him with perfect simplicity of intention, as if he had employed a variety of artifices to deceive men. Also all that was amiss which he had denounced in his letters, had not yet been put away by that part of the church which adhered to the apostle. Such being the state of the Corinthian church, Paul thought it best—in order that his own visit to Corinth might be disturbed by no unpleasant occurrences, and that his intercourse with the Corinthians might be one of joy and love—to write once more to them, in order to prepare the way for his personal ministry among them. He sent Titus with two other able persons in the service of the church, as bearers of this epistle to Corinth.¹

In reference to that marked suspicion of his conduct and character, Paul appeals in this epistle to the testimony of his own conscience, that in his intercourse with men in general, and especially with the Corinthians, he had been guided not by worldly prudence, but by the Spirit of God; he contrasts one with the other, since he considered simplicity and uprightness of intention as the essential mark of the agency of the Divine Spirit. His epistle also testifies this; as he wrote, so he thought; ² he had nothing in his mind different from his avowed intentions. He states the reasons of the alteration in the plan of his journey, and draws the conclusion, that no

¹ One of these (2 Cor. viii. 18) was chosen from the Macedonian churches, that he might in their name convey the collection to Jerusalem, and he is distinguished as one, whose “praise was in all the churches,” for his activity in publishing the gospel. We may indeed suppose, that Luke is the person intended, and must then assume, that Paul was left behind at Philippi, where Luke afterwards joined him; but that the latter, after his return from Corinth, again stayed at Philippi, and on the departure of Paul to Jerusalem, intended to join him there. It is indeed remarkable that Luke, who generally gives a fuller narrative when he was an eye-witness, touches so slightly on this in the Acts. But his brevity may be explained from the fact of his being more copious only in relating the personal ministry of Paul.

² 2 Cor. i. 12, 13. The grounds on which De Wette objects to this interpretation, are not obvious to me. “But what suspicion of duplicity might the confident assertions in v. 12 awaken.” This verse could indeed awaken no such suspicion, but rather contradicts that suspicion which Paul’s enemies sought to excite; v. 13 serves to corroborate what he had said in v. 12. Paul makes the appeal, that in his epistle, as well as in his whole ministry, nothing could be found of *α σοφία σαρκική* which his adversaries wished to find in those words; he maintains, that all his words, not less than his actions, bore the impress of *ἀπλότης*.

inconsistency can be found in what he had said on this matter. And he could call God to witness, that no inconsistency could be found in his manner of publishing the gospel, that he had always preached one unchangeable doctrine of Christ, and the promises which they received would be certainly fulfilled through Christ.¹ God himself had given them as well as him the certain pledge of this, by the common witness of the Holy Spirit in their hearts ; (2 Cor. i. 16—22.)

The duty of vindicating his apostolic character against the accusations of his opponents, forced him to speak much of himself. The palpably evident object of his doing this, and the distinction which he was always careful to make between the divine power connected with his apostolic functions, and the person of a feeble mortal, between the "man in Christ" and the weak Paul,² sufficiently acquitted him of the charge of self-conceit and vain-glory. To common men, who would measure everything by the same measure, many things might seem strange in Paul's manner of speaking of himself and his ministry, so that they were ready to accuse him of extravagance, of a self-exaltation bordering on insanity. But what impelled him to speak in such strong terms, was not personal feeling, but the inspired consciousness of the divine power attached to the gospel and to his apostolic calling, which would triumph over all opposition. Thus the fact of his "not being able to do anything of himself" redounded in his view to the glory of God.

Paul spent the rest of the summer and autumn in Macedonia ; he probably extended his labours to the neighbouring country of Illyria,³ and then removed to Achaia, where he spent the winter.

¹ Therefore independently of the law of which his adversaries prescribed the observance.

² To this the passage in 2 Cor. v. 13 refers. "For whether we be beside ourselves, (the inspiration with which the apostle spake of the divine objects of his calling, of what the power of God effected through his apostolic office—but which his adversaries treated as empty boasting, and ascribed to an ἀπποσύνη or μανία) it is to the glory of God ; or whether we be sober (when the apostle speaks of himself as a weak mortal, puts himself on a level with the Corinthians, and makes no use of its apostolic power and its privileges) it is for your welfare."

³ In 2 Cor. x. 14—16, Paul seems to mark Achaia as the extreme limit of his labours in preaching the gospel ; (this indeed does not follow from the ἔχρη καὶ ὑμῶν, since ἔχρη in itself does not denote

Since he was now resolved, after his return from the journey to Jerusalem, which he proposed undertaking at the beginning of the spring, to change the scene of his labours to the West, and to visit the metropolis of the Roman empire for the first time, he must have been gratified to form a connexion previously with the church in that city. The journey of Phœbe, the deaconess of the church at Cenchræa, who had been induced by various circumstances to visit Rome, gave him the best opportunity for this purpose, while, at the same time, he recommended her to the care of the Roman church.¹

a fixed or exclusive limit, see Rom. v. 13, though Paul sometimes uses the word in this latter meaning, Gal. iii. 19; iv 2; yet it appears to proceed from the comparison of the three verses in connexion; on the other in Rom. xv. 19, Illyria is thus marked. But it does not follow from this last passage, that Paul himself had preached the gospel in Illyria; possibly he only mentioned this as the extreme limit *as far as* which he had reached in preaching the gospel.

¹ It is here taken for granted, that the 16th chapter belongs with the whole of the Epistle to the Romans, which in modern times has been disputed by Schulz in the *Studien und Kritiken*, vol. ii. p. 609; but, as it appears to me, on insufficient grounds. It may excite surprise that Paul should salute so many individuals in a church to which he was personally a stranger, and that we find among them relations and old friends of the apostle from Palestine, and other parts of the East. But we must recollect, that Rome was always the rendezvous of persons from all parts of the Roman empire, a fact stated by Athenæus in the strongest terms, *Deipnosoph.* i. 20, τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ἐπιτομὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης, ἐν ᾗ συνιδεῖν ἔστιν πάσας τὰς πόλεις ἰδρυμένας, (such as Alexandria, Antioch, Nicomedia, and Athens)—καὶ γὰρ ὅλα τὰ ἔθνη ἀνθρώπων αὐτόθι συνψέσται. Paul might easily become personally acquainted at Ephesus and Corinth with many Christians from Rome, or learn particulars respecting them. Among those whom he salutes were persons of the family of Narcissus, who was well known to be a freed-man of the Emperor Claudius. That Aquila and Priscilla were again in Rome, that a part of the church assembled in their house, and that a number of years afterwards, as may be inferred from the 2d Epistle to Timothy, they are to be found at Ephesus,—all this, from what we have before remarked, is not so surprising. The warning against the Judaizing teachers, xvi. 17, who published another doctrine than what they had received (from the disciples of the apostle), agrees perfectly with what is said in the 14th chapter, and with what we may infer from the epistle itself, in reference to the state of the Roman church. The passage in xvi. 19 agrees also with i. 8, and the comparison confirms the belief that they both belong to the same epistle. Bauer, in his essay before quoted, has endeavoured to prove the spuriousness of the two last chapters. He believes that, in the 15th chapter especially, he can trace a later writer attached to Pauline principles, who thought that, in order to justify Paul, and to bring about a union between the Jewish and Gentile

It is not improbable that, at an early period, the seed of the gospel was brought by Jewish Christians to the Jews at Rome, as at that time, if we may judge from the salutations at the end of the epistle, persons who were among the oldest Christians lived at Rome; but these certainly did not form the main body of the church, for the greater part evidently consisted of Christians of Gentile descent, to whom the gospel had been published by men of the Pauline school, independently of the Mosaic Law, to whom Paul, as the apostle of the Gentles, felt himself called to write, and whom, in consequence of the relation, he could address with greater freedom.

Christians, it was necessary to make some additions to the epistle; but I cannot perceive the validity of the evidence adduced by this acute critic. Paul was probably prevented when he had finished the 14th chapter, from continuing the epistle to the close. And when he took it up again where he left off, and looked back on what he had last written, he felt himself impelled to add something on the theme of which he had last treated, the harmony between the Gentile and Jewish Christians in the Roman church. His object was, on the one hand, to check the free-thinking Gentile Christian from self-exaltation in relation to their weaker Jewish brethren in the faith; and on the other hand, to remind the Jewish Christians that the admission of the Gentiles into the kingdom of God was no infringement of the rights of the Jewish people, and that it was in unison with the predictions of the Old Testament. He exhorts them, xv. 7, to receive one another mutually as members of the same kingdom of God, though with a special reference to the Gentile christians, to whom Paul at the beginning of the chapter particularly addressed himself, if we follow the best accredited reading, *ἀλλήλους*. He then states the reasons why the Gentiles had especial cause to praise God, to be thankful and humble, since God had in so unexpected a manner brought them to a participation of his kingdom, who previously knew nothing of it, and who had no hopes of this kind, (a train of thought which he introduces elsewhere, Ephes. ii. 12, and in several other passages). He shows that God, by the sending of Christ to the Jews, manifested his faithfulness, since thus he had fulfilled the promises made to the fathers; but had manifested his mercy to the Gentiles, since he had called to a participation in the kingdom of God, those among whom the foundation of this kingdom had not been laid, and to whom no promises had been given. Such a theoretical contrast is of course not perfectly strict, but partial, and of a kind frequently employed by Paul. For he says, and the Old Testament intimates, that the Messiah would extend his saving efficiency to the Gentiles; hence, it is evident, that God while he shows mercy to them, at the same time verifies his faithfulness. In all this, we find nothing unapostolic, nothing foreign to the object of this epistle. It is impossible that Paul could intend to close with the 14th chapter, but according to the usual style of the Pauline epistles, a conclusion must necessarily follow which these two last chapters furnish.

How could Paul, from his call to publish the gospel to all the nations of the world, infer his call to announce the doctrine of salvation to the Romans, if he had not believed that those to whom his epistle was especially addressed were Gentiles? For the Jews, whether living among the Romans or Greeks, always considered themselves as belonging not to the $\epsilon\theta\eta$, $\epsilon\theta\eta$, but to the one $\epsilon\theta\eta$, the $\lambda\alpha\acute{o}\varsigma$ in the $\delta\iota\alpha\sigma\pi\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}$. In reference to them, Paul could only have spoken of being sent to one nation. How could he say (Rom. i. 13) that he wished to come to Rome in order "to have some fruit" there, "even as among other Gentiles," by the publication of the gospel, if he was not writing principally to persons belonging to the Gentiles, among whom alone he had hitherto been wont to gain fruit? Verse 14 shows that he was not thinking of Jews in distant parts. How otherwise could he be induced to assert, that as elsewhere, so also in the metropolis of the civilized world, he was not ashamed to publish the gospel? For in reference to the Jews, it could make no great difference whether he met with them at Jerusalem or at Rome; the same obstacles to their believing the gospel existed in both places, owing to which Jesus the Crucified was an offence to them. It cannot be concluded from his addressing the Gentile Christians so pointedly in xi. 13, that the epistle in general was not intended for them; for at all events—since there were Jews in the Church, though they formed the minority—when he expressed anything which was applicable only to the Gentile members, it was needful that he should thus distinguish it. If we suppose those Jewish Christians who taught the continued obligation of the Mosaic Law to have formed the original body of the Church, it will not be easy to explain how Gentile Christians who adopted the Pauline principles (and who must evidently have been a minority), could join themselves to such. But it is very different, if we suppose this church to have been constituted like others of the Gentile Christians of whom we have before spoken. Moreover, in the Neronian persecution, the Christian church appears as a new sect hated by the people, a *genus tertium*, of whom the people were disposed to credit the worst reports, because they were opposed to all the forms of religion hitherto in existence. But this could not have been the case if Judaism had been the predominant element in the Roman

church. The Christians would then have been scarcely distinguished from the Jews, and it was not usual to pay much attention to the internal religious disputes of the Jews. In the controversy with the churches in Lesser Asia, the bishops of Rome were the opponents of the Jewish Christian Easter ; this was closely connected with the formation of the Christian cultus on Pauline principles, and an appeal could here be made to an ancient tradition. To the marks of an anti-Jewish tendency belongs also the custom of fasting on the Sabbath. The opinion that this anti-Jewish tendency arose as a reaction against an earlier Judaizing tendency, is at variance with what has been said, and is also inconsistent with historical truth ; for since at a later period we see the hierarchical element (which is decidedly Jewish, and favourable rather than otherwise to Judaism), peculiarly prominent in the Roman church, so it is difficult to suppose that exactly at this time a reaction should be produced against Judaism,¹ arising from primitive Christian knowledge and the Pauline spirit. In the work of Hermas, we recognise indeed a conception of Christianity more according to James than according to Paul. (and yet not throughout and entirely Judaizing,) but we know too little of the relation in which the author of this book stood to the whole Roman church, to determine anything respecting the leading tendency of the latter. This remark applies more strongly to the Clementines of which the origin is so uncertain, and which by the leading sentiments is essentially distinguished from the Shepherd of Hermas, although some points of affinity exist in the two works. In Rome, the capital of the world, where the various kinds of religion were assembled from all countries, the different Christian sects would soon seek a settlement, and establish themselves. We, therefore, are not justified in saying of every sect which we see arising out of the bosom of the Roman church, that it proceeded from the religious tendency that originally predominated in it, and was a reaction against tendencies subsequently formed. This applies particularly to the Monarchians,

¹ Dr. Bauer, whose views I am here opposing, in his essay against Rothe, on the origin of episcopacy in the Christian church, (*Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie*, 1838, part iii. p. 141), endeavours to prove that this reaction against Judaism, supposing that to have originally predominated, took place at a later period in the Roman church.

who yet could not all be referred to a Judaizing element ; for a Praxeas, of whom we certainly know, that he found a point of connexion in the whole Roman church,—which cannot be asserted of other kinds of Monarchians—formed by his peculiar conceptions of the doctrine of Christ as a God revealing and revealed, the most direct opposition to the Judaizing standing-point, in many respects still more, than was at that time the case with the common church doctrine of Subordination. But when the Artemonites appealed to their agreement with the earlier Roman bishops, we cannot accept this as historical evidence. All sects have always an interest to claim a high antiquity for their doctrine, and the Artemonites could easily make use for their purpose of many indefinite expressions of earlier doctrinal statements. They appealed generally to the antiquity of their doctrine in the church, and yet we know that the ancient hymns and the apologies could with justice be adduced against them as witnesses for the doctrine of the divinity of Christ. We consider, therefore, the opinion is well grounded, that the Roman church was formed principally from the stock of Gentile Christians, and that the Pauline form of doctrine originally prevailed among them.¹

In this church, the state of affairs was similar to that which for the most part existed in churches where the Gentile Christian element predominated, though mingled with the Jewish Christian. The Jewish Christians could not bring themselves to acknowledge the Gentiles, who neglected the ceremonial law, as altogether their equals in relation to the kingdom of God ; the Gentile Christians also still retained those feelings of contempt with which they were wont to contemplate the Jews, and the manner in which the greater part of the Jews opposed the publication of the gospel, confirmed them in this temper of mind ; Rom. xi. 17, 18.

Paul in this epistle lays before the church, which he had not yet taught personally, the fundamental principles of the

¹ The testimony of Hilarius (the so-called Ambrosian), to which Bauer appeals as historical evidence, we certainly dare not estimate too highly ; for this writer of the second half of the fourth century could hardly make use of historical sources on the constitution of the Roman church to which Paul wrote. He had scarcely any other sources of information than we have ; his testimony appears to be only as deduced from this epistle according to his own interpretation of it.

gospel, he viewed, as he himself says, Rom. xv. 15, to recall to their remembrance what had been announced to them as the doctrine of Christianity, and to testify that this was the genuine Christian truth, which alone could satisfy the religious wants of human nature, and exhorted them not to allow themselves to be led astray by any strange doctrine. This epistle may therefore serve to inform us, what was in Paul's estimation the essence of the gospel. He begins with assuring them that shame would not have kept him back from publishing the gospel in the capital of the civilized world, for he never had reason to be ashamed of the doctrine of the gospel, since everywhere, among Gentiles as well as Jews, it had shown itself capable of working with divine power for the salvation of men, if they only believed it, by this doctrine they all obtained what all alike needed,—that which was essential to the salvation of men,—the means by which they might be brought from a state of estrangement from God in sin, to become holy before God. In order to establish this, it was necessary for the apostle to show that all, both Jews and Gentiles, were in need of this means. He endeavoured to

It is generally supposed that the 1st verse in this verse relates to some particular passages of the epistle, which might seem to be written in too bold a tone. We might admit this, if any severe censure were to be met with in this epistle on the facts of his church, as in the first Epistle to the Corinthians. In this case, we might suppose that Paul would think proper to apologise for such harsh expressions, as proceeding from one who was not personally known to the church. But such considerations on the church we do not find in this epistle; and as that he says respecting the state of the Gentile world, to which they belonged before their conversion, as well as in all that he says to warn them against self-exaltation, I can find nothing which would occasion an apology on the part of such a man as Paul. Hence, I cannot help considering the 1st verse only as qualifying the *τολμώρεσθαι*, or that it relates to what follows. Paul places the boldness in this, that he, though personally unknown to the church as a teacher, ventured to write to them such an epistle in which he might appear to announce the doctrine of salvation, as if it were entirely new to them. But he explains his design, that it was only to "put them in mind" of what they had already heard, and he believed that, in virtue of the ministry committed to him by divine grace, that he was justified in making known the gospel to the Gentiles. He even qualifies the "putting them in mind" by the addition of *ἐν*, thus representing it as something accessory, and not absolutely required. In these words, in the interpretation of which I cannot agree with Bauer, I can detect nothing unapostolic. On the contrary, I find here the same Pauline mode of address as in Rom. i. 12

lead them both to a consciousness of their sinfulness and guilt, and to take notice of that which might prevent either party, according to their respective standing-points, from attaining this consciousness, the self-deceptions and sophisms, which obstructed the discernment of the truths which he announced. He had then to point out to the Gentiles that their consciences testified against them, that they could not excuse themselves in their sins by pleading ignorance of God and his law; he objected to the Jews, that that law, in the possession of which they were so proud, could only utter a sentence of condemnation against them as its violaters; he exposed their self-delusion in thinking, that by the works of the law such as they could perform, or in virtue of their descent from the theocratic nation, they could appear as holy before God. After pointing out that both parties were equally in need of the means of salvation, the object he had in view led him to develop the manner in which man, by faith in the Redeemer, might become holy before God, and to exhibit the blessed consequences that followed from this new relation to God, and in this development, he takes pains, as is evident in various passages, so to influence the two parts of which the church at Rome consisted, the Gentile and the Jewish Christians, that uniting in an equally humble acknowledgment of the grace to which they were indebted for their salvation, neither might exalt themselves above the other; he closes the whole development with extolling that grace, to which all stood in the same relation, being equally in need of deliverance, and which all must at last unite in glorifying.

In the practical exhortations which form the last part of this epistle, the wisdom is apparent with which Paul treats of the relations in which the new converts to Christianity were placed; he anticipates the errors into which they were likely to be seduced, and endeavours to suggest the best preservatives against their influence. The seditious spirit of the Jews, which refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of any Gentile government (see my Church History, vol. i. p. 50,) could not find ready entrance into the Church at Rome, since the majority of its members, being Gentile Christians, were not exposed to infection on this side. But similar errors, from a misunderstanding of Christian truth, might

easily arise among them, as actually happened at a later period. Accustomed to consider themselves as members of the kingdom of God, in opposition to the heathen world, they were in danger of giving an outward form to this opposition, which properly belonged to the internal disposition, and thus a hostile tendency would be called forth against all existing civil institutions, since they would be looked upon as all belonging to the kingdom of the evil spirit. With the consciousness of belonging to the kingdom of God, a misapprehension arising from carnal views might be connected, that those who were destined to rule hereafter in the kingdom of the Messiah, need not in the present life submit to worldly governments. Such a carnal misapprehension might easily be combined with the doctrine of Christian freedom, and the apostle on other occasions had thought it needful to caution against it; Gal. v. 13. He wished to be beforehand in opposing such practical errors, which his knowledge of human nature led him to anticipate, even if they were not already visible; accordingly, he strictly enjoined on the Roman Christians, that they ought to consider the institution of civil government generally as a divine ordinance, for a definite object in the plan of Providence;¹ that, under this aspect, they must view the government actually existing, and demean themselves conformably to it.

At the close, he notices a special practical difference in the church. But it may be disputed, in what light we are to view it. As in the fourteenth chapter he places in opposition those who eat, and those who eat not, and by the latter apparently intends those who scrupled to eat flesh and drink wine, and confine themselves to a vegetable diet. (compare v. 2, and v. 21,) some have been led to conclude,² that in this church a strong ascetic tendency, entirely forbidding animal food and

¹ It was not the apostle's design in that passage to develop the whole doctrine of the reciprocal duties of rulers and subjects; but he pursues only one marked antithetical reference, in order to warn Christians of that misapprehension, and hence he leaves all other topics untouched, which otherwise would naturally fall under discussion.

² This view, with various modifications, has been brought forward by Eichorn, in his introduction to the New Testament, and by Bauer in his essay on this epistle; by the latter in connexion with his view of a predominant Jewish Christian tendency in the Roman church, allied to the later Ebionitism, and containing its germ.

strong drink, had found an entrance, similar to the doctrine of the later Encratitæ. Such a tendency, however foreign to the Hebrew and Grecian religious systems, had in that age insinuated itself in various forms, both among the Jews and Gentiles, owing to the change produced by the breaking up of the ancient mental habitudes of the world, and effected a junction with Christianity, by a mistaken view of the contrariety between the spirit and the flesh, and of the opposition between the world and Christianity. But how can what Paul says on individual cases, be referred to persons under the influence of this tendency? "Let not him that eateth" (he says in v. 3), "*despise* him that eateth not; and let not him who eateth not *judge* him that eateth;" that is, not condemn, not disallow his participation in the kingdom of God; yet persons of this ascetic tendency did not altogether condemn those who would not consent to such abstinence, but they believed that they were inferior to themselves, and not so far advanced in the perfection of the spiritual life. Paul therefore ought rather to have said, Let such a one *despise* him that eateth. Or we must assume that these persons had gone so far as to consider the eating of flesh to be absolutely sinful. But this they could have said only on the principles of a certain dualistic theosophy, which viewed God not as the origin of all creatures; and if Paul had met with such a scheme, he would certainly not have treated it with so much tolerance, but have felt it his duty to combat it strenuously, as utterly opposed to the standing-point of Christian piety. Nor would the exhortation addressed to the other side not to despise such a one, have been suitable in this case; for persons of this tendency had nothing which exposed them to contempt, but it was rather to be feared that, by such a stricter mode of living, they would be held in greater respect than was their due. Besides, how could Paul say of such a one in v. 6, "He that eateth not, to the Lord he eateth not and giveth God thanks?" Such persons would want the disposition to thank God for all the gifts which he had granted for human subsistence. How could he, in reference to such a case, say in v. 21, "It is good neither to eat flesh nor to drink wine, in order to give no offence to a brother?" It could give no offence to one who was zealous in practising such asceticism, if he saw another brother living with less strict-

ness But if other Christians believed that they ought to follow his example, he might to his injury be confirmed in his delusion, that such a mode of living had something in it excellent or meritorious. Least of all could we suppose that Paul would treat persons of this sort simply as weak, and show them so much indulgence, without discussing more fully the principle that formed the basis of their standing-point. And if we do not assume that this principle was an avowed dualism which he must have combated, yet, on any supposition, he could not have acted with so much mildness and forbearance towards an ascetic arrogance of this kind, which was equally in diametric opposition to his doctrine of justification and to the essence of Christian humility. Of such a perversion of religious sentiment, it could not be expected that it would gradually be overcome by the progressive development of faith as the root of the whole Christian life; but it was rather to be feared, that a principle so alien to the Christian life, and so much favoured by certain tendencies of the times, would gather increasing strength, and injure more and more the healthy development of Christianity: several appearances of this kind in the following age justify us in this conclusion. How very differently does Paul speak against such a tendency in the Epistle to the Colossians! Evidently the persons towards whom Paul enjoins forbearance, were such who distinguished certain days as in a special sense dedicated to God, and who could not yet bring themselves to the Christian standing-point, that all days ought in an equal manner to be dedicated to God. We must here recognise the reaction of the Jewish standing-point, (which, since it had its indisputable right in the development of religious truth, and could not be altogether set aside by a single effort, Paul, unless its claims were arrogantly set forth, always treated with indulgence), and we shall find sufficient reason for referring another topic which concerns the question of abstinence to the same tendency. We shall be led to think of the Jewish Christians, who were still strict observers of the Mosaic law, not only in keeping certain days, but also in refraining from certain kinds of food. We shall be less surprised at this, if we recollect that generally the Christians of Jewish descent, particularly those of Palestine, when they lived at Rome, adhered to their former Jewish mode of life. But in the Mosaic

laws relative to food, there was nothing that could occasion scruples about eating flesh or drinking wine. Or we must assume that Paul spoke here only hypothetically and hyperbolically, without thinking of a case, which might really occur under existing circumstances, although this is by no means probable, judging from his mode of expressing himself.

Further, if we think of those Jewish Christians who believed that the Mosaic laws respecting food were still obligatory, it is indeed evident, that Paul must admonish the Gentile Christians who were entangled in no such perplexities, that they ought not to despise their weaker Jewish brethren on account of their scrupulosity, nor lead them to act against their consciences, by working on their feelings of shame. But would he have expressed himself so mildly, if these Jewish Christians had ventured to condemn others who partook of food which they held to be prohibited? In this case, we must suppose it to be the opinion of these Jewish Christians, that the Mosaic law was binding on Gentile Christians, and that without its observance they could not be partakers of the kingdom of God. But we know how emphatically Paul always expressed himself against those who maintained such a sentiment, and in doing so, invalidated his doctrine of justification by faith alone. In addition—and on this point we must lay still greater weight—Paul exhorts the strong in faith and the unscrupulous to take into consideration the necessities of the weak, and rather to refrain from food, which from the standing-point of their own conviction they could partake of without scruple, than give offence to their weaker brethren. But how would it agree with the principles of this apostle, that he should advise the Gentile Christians to make such a concession, by which they would practically have recognised for their own standing-point the obligatory force of the Mosaic law—since he was more wont to urge on the Gentile Christians not to give place to the Judaizers, who wished to compel them to the observance of the law, but to maintain their Christian freedom against them. In fact, there was no ground for such an exhortation. The Jewish Christians had no cause to be uneasy, because the Gentile Christians did not trouble themselves about the Mosaic laws respecting food. By the stipulation concluded by the apostolic convention at Jerusalem, they were set at liberty from

every such restriction. If this gave offence to the Jewish Christians, the offence was unavoidably founded in the evangelical truth itself.

We must therefore think of something connected indeed with the religious standing-point of the Judaizers, but yet something separable from the observance of the Mosaic law,—something that with more appearance of justice the Jewish Christians might require of their Gentile brethren,—something, in which a concession to the weakness of others might be demanded of Gentile Christians, without encroaching on their Christian freedom. This could be nothing else than abstaining from the flesh of animals offered to idols. Everything in this section would agree with this alone. The passage would have a meaning applicable to the circumstances of the times, if we suppose those persons to be spoken of who, in certain cases, would rather abstain altogether from animal food, and eat only herbs, that they might unknowingly be in danger of eating something unclean and defiling, the flesh of idolatrous sacrifices. In v. 2, Paul presents the contrast in the extreme point; on the one side, a strength of faith which proceeds so far as to banish all scruples respecting the enjoyment of food, and on the other side, the extreme of scrupulosity, arising from weakness of faith, which would rather eat no meat whatever, in order to avoid the danger of eating the flesh of animals offered to idols. Now, it is evident, how Paul could say, that if needs be, it would be better not to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, rather than disturb the conscience of a weak brother. We need only recollect that the heathens accompanied their sacrifices with libations;¹ that the same scruples which existed relative to the meat of the sacrifices, would also arise in reference to the wine of the libations. But that the apostle has not expressly mentioned the sacrifices, can in our opinion occasion no perplexity. He had in view only such readers as would at once understand from his words what he meant; so in ordinary letters, many things are not stated in detail, because it is presumed that the persons to whom they are addressed perfectly understand the allusions.

We must therefore conceive the state of affairs in this church to have been similar to that in the Corinthian, which

¹ See the Mishnah in the treati עֲנֵה נָהָר on idolatrous worship c. ii. § 3, ed. Surenhus. P. iv. 369, 371.

we have already noticed. Some gave themselves no concern about the injunction against meat offered to idols, like the free-thinking Corinthians, and ridiculed the scrupulosity of the Jewish Christians; others, on the contrary, considered the eating of such food as absolutely sinful, and hence passed sentence of condemnation on those who ventured to eat everything without distinction. Thus also some were still too much accustomed to consider certain days as peculiarly sacred, according to the Jewish standing-point; those who thought more freely, and viewed the subject from the pure Christian standing-point, were disposed to make no religious difference between one day and another. Such a state of things as this could only exist in a community which was formed similarly to the Corinthian church, which consisted of a majority of Christians of Gentile descent, but with an addition to the original materials of a subordinate Jewish element.¹ Paul begins his exhortation, without particularly designating the persons he addressed, yet having chiefly in view the more free-thinking Gentile Christians, which also confirms the notion, that these formed the main body of the church. He declares the standing-point of these persons to be correct in theory; but as in the first epistle to the Corinthians, he censures the want of Christian love in them, who so little regarded what affected the welfare of their weaker brethren, and with that defect, the misapprehension of Christian freedom, which was shown in their laying such great stress on what was outward and in itself indifferent, as if the true good of Christians consisted in such things, instead of being something grounded in their inner life, which would remain secure whether they could use or not use these outward things. The participation of the kingdom of God consisted not in meat and drink, (the true possessions and privileges, the true freedom of the members of God's kingdom consisted not in eating or drinking this or that, outward things in general being signified by this expression,) but in the participation of those heavenly possessions of the inner man—righteousness (in the Pauline sense, the designation of

¹ It agrees with this view, that in Rom. xv. 7 (a passage closely connected with what goes before), the subject is the agreement between Gentile and Jewish Christians; and that Paul in Rom. vi. 17, warns them of the common Judaizers, who by the spread of their principles endeavoured to excite divisions in such mixed churches

the whole relation in which the ἐκ πίστεως ἔλεος stands to God,) the heavenly peace flowing from it, the happiness of the divine life, Rom. xv. 17. He recommends mutual forbearance and love to both parties, that no one should judge another, but each one should seek to be well grounded in his own convictions, and act accordingly; but that the more mature in Christian conviction should condescend to the standing-point of those who were not so far advanced, since more is required from the strong than from the weak.

After Paul had spent three months in Achaia, he wished to depart with the sums collected for the poor Christians at Jerusalem, and thus to close his apostolic ministry in the East.¹ This plan was wisely formed by him, and this his last

¹ Though I agree for the most part with Dr. Schneckenburger in what he says (in his work on the Acts) on the intention of this last journey to Jerusalem; yet I cannot entirely assent to what he thinks may be deduced from the silence of the Acts on this collection, and the object of this journey, in favour of the hypothesis which he has advanced. I must also avow myself opposed to Dr. Bauer's views, who in his Essay on the Romans, and his Dissertation on Episcopacy, endeavours to show that the author of the Acts misrepresented the facts, and set them in a false light from a one-sided, apologetic intention; see his review of Dr. Schneckenburger in the *Jahrbuch für wissenschaftliche Kritik*. March 1841. These two critics are struck with the omission of a transaction of so much importance in the historical connexion of events, and hence believe, that they must find out a special reason for it in the object which the author of the Acts proposed to himself in writing his work. As he was disposed to assume ignorance of the continued division between the Jews and Gentile Christians, and always represents only the Jews, and not the Jewish Christians, as adversaries of the apostle, so he could not adduce anything which might testify against his assumption, or that even might serve to lessen the opposition which he kept out of sight; and hence he could not represent this last journey of Paul in its true light. Had we reason to expect in this age of the church, a comprehensive historical representation explaining the causes and connexion of events, if the Acts wore the appearance of such a work, had its author been a Christian Thucydides or Polybius—we might then have admitted the inference, that either he was at too great a distance from the events to know anything of this collection, or of the real object of this journey, or that owing to a one-sided bias, he had consciously or unconsciously falsified the history. But such a statesmanlike point of view, which could be formed only where the development of events could be surveyed with a certain calmness of mind and a philosophic interest, was totally foreign to the standing-point of Christian history at this time, and especially to that of the Acts. It consists of memoirs, as the author gave them from the sources of information within his reach, or from his own

journey to Jerusalem with the collection is to be viewed as marking an epoch in the development of the church, whose importance we must consider more closely. A year had passed since he had with great zeal set this collection on foot among the churches of Gentile Christians in Asia and Europe, and it was of importance to him that it should be very productive. He had already written to the Corinthian church, 1 Cor. xvi. 4, that if this collection equalled his wishes, he would convey it himself to Jerusalem. It was certainly not merely his intention to assist the poor of the church at Jerusalem in their temporal necessities; he had an object still more important for the development of the church, to effect a radical cure of the breach between the Jewish and the Gentile Christians, and to seal for perpetuity the unity of the church. As the immediate power of love can effect more to heal the schism of souls, than all formal conferences in favour of union, so the manner in which the Gentile churches evinced their love and gratitude to the Mother church, would accomplish what had not yet been attained by all attempts at union. Paul wished, since he was accompanied to Jerusalem by the messengers of these churches, who practically contradicted the charges disseminated against him by his Jewish

recollection, without following any definite plan. He mentions the last journey of Paul to Jerusalem, on account of the serious consequences to the apostle himself, without reflecting further on his object in undertaking it, and probably passed over the collection as being in that view unimportant; his interest would be engaged by other objects; and reflections which would only present themselves from a comprehensive survey of history, would be totally absent from his thoughts. Yet this bountiful collection might be included among the practical proofs which Paul gave (Acts xxi. 19), of the success of his ministry among the Gentiles; why should he have been intentionally silent respecting it? If he could say what is mentioned in that passage, without injury to the design imputed to him, could he not also say, The presbyters of the church at Jerusalem praised God for kindling such active brotherly love in the hearts of the believing Gentiles. Yet the author of the Acts, by his account in ch. xx. v. 21, implies the continued enmity of the Jewish Christians against Paul. I do not see, therefore, what could have induced him designedly to have suppressed earlier facts relating to it. In Paul's defence in Acts xxiv. 17, there is actually an allusion to the collection, which therefore the author could not have intended to conceal. But if the Acts had been a connected history, or a narrative from one source, this collection, that is only mentioned accidentally, must have been recorded earlier in its place in the regular series of events.

and Judaizing adversaries,—that the proofs of the sympathising and self-sacrificing love of the Gentile Christians should serve as evidence to the Jewish Christians, who had imbibed prejudices against them, of what could be effected by the preaching of the gospel independently of the law of Moses ; so that they would be obliged to acknowledge the operation of God's Spirit among these, whom they had always been indisposed to receive as brethren in the faith. Paul himself plainly indicates this to have been his chief object in this collection and journey, (2 Cor. ix. 12—15 :) that not only this service of love might relieve the wants of the Christians at Jerusalem, but that many hearts might be excited to gratitude to God ; when they saw how the faith of Gentile Christians had verified itself by this act of kindness, they would feel compelled to praise God for this practical testimony to the gospel, and through the manner in which the grace of God had shown its efficacy among them, being filled with love to them, they would make them objects of their intercessions. A reciprocal communion of prayer in thanksgiving and intercession, was always considered as the mark and seal of genuine Christian brotherhood ; he therefore wished to bring about such a union of heart between the Jewish and Gentile Christians. Before he extended his labours for the spread of the church in other lands, he was anxious for the security and stability of the work of which the foundation had been already laid ; but which was exposed to the greatest danger on the side of that earliest controversy, which was always threatening to break forth again.

Yet it all depended on this, whether the apostle of the Gentiles could succeed in carrying his wisely formed plan into effect ; he was well aware, what hindrances and dangers obstructed his progress. It was questionable whether the power of love would succeed in overcoming the narrow-heartedness of the Jewish spirit, and induce the Jewish Christians to receive as brethren, the Gentile brethren who accompanied him. And what had he to expect from the Jews, when he, after they had heard so much of his labours among the Gentiles, which had excited their fanatical hatred,—personally appeared among them ; if he who in his youth had been known as a zealous champion of Pharisaism, was now seen accompanied by uncircumcised Gentiles as messengers from

Gentile churches, whose equal birthright for the kingdom of the Messiah he zealously advocated? Fully alive to the difficulties and dangers which he must overcome in order to attain his great object, he entreated the Roman Christians for their intercessory prayers, that he might be delivered from the unbelievers among the Jews, and that this service might be well received by the Christians at Jerusalem, that he might come to them from thence with joy and be refreshed by them ; Rom. xv. 31, 32.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FIFTH AND LAST JOURNEY OF PAUL TO JERUSALEM—ITS IMMEDIATE CONSEQUENCES—HIS IMPRISONMENT IN PALESTINE.

AFTER staying three months in Achaia, Paul departed from Corinth in the spring of the year 58 or 59, about the time of the Jewish Passover. His companions went before him to Troas, and he first visited Philippi, where he joined Luke, who had been left there some time before. As he earnestly wished to be in Jerusalem at the Pentecost, it was necessary to hasten his journey ; on that account he did not venture to go to Ephesus, but sent from Miletus for the overseers of the Ephesian church, and probably those of other neighbouring Asiatic churches,¹ to come to him, that in the anticipation of

¹ We cannot conclude with certainty from Paul's farewell address to the overseers of the church, which is given in the 20th chapter of the Acts, that the overseers of other churches in Lesser Asia, besides those of Ephesus, were present on that occasion. The words in Acts xx. 25, *ἐν οἷς διήλθον*, may favour this supposition, since they denote rather travelling through a certain district, than a continued residence in one place ; but these words may also be fairly understood of the apostle's labours in different parts of Ephesus, and the visits he paid to the houses of the presbyters. The singular *τὸ ποίμνιον*, v. 28, 29, leads us to think most naturally of only one church, though it may be here used collectively, and include many churches. It is worthy of notice, that Irenæus applies it to the overseers of distinct churches, and speaks of it in very decided language. "In Mileto convocatis episcopis et presbyteris, qui erant ab Epheso, et reliquis proximis civitatibus," iii. c. 14, § 2. Judging from the character of Irenæus and his times, it is not probable that he would be induced simply by that expression in Paul's

the great dangers that awaited him, he might pour forth his heart to them perhaps for the last time, and utter the parting words of fatherly love.¹ We recognise in this farewell ad-

address, to deviate from the letter of the narrative in the Acts. Hence we might rather suppose, that Irenæus was decided in giving a different representation by historical traditions or documents with which he had become acquainted in Lesser Asia. Yet the bias of the episcopal system (which was then germinating) might perhaps occasion a different construction of the passage, than the literal narrative would warrant, independently of any tradition. Paul applies to the presbyters the epithet ἐπίσκοποι; now it could not then be surprising to find the ἐπίσκοποι designated presbyters, for this latter name was still the generic term by which both might be denoted, but the name ἐπίσκοποι was already exclusively applied to the first church governors, the presidents of the college of presbyters. Since, then, we proceed on the supposition that this institution of church government was the same from the beginning, we must hence conclude from the name ἐπίσκοποι that the bishops of other churches were present at this meeting, and hence Irenæus says expressly "*episcopis et presbyteris.*" But if we admit that this meeting consisted of the overseers of the various churches in Lesser Asia, the discrepancy between the three years, Acts xx. 31, and the two years and three months, of the duration of Paul's stay at Ephesus, according to Luke's narrative, would cease; for we might then suppose, that Paul, before he went to Ephesus, spent nine months in other places of Lesser Asia, where he founded churches.

¹ Dr. Bauer and Dr. Schneckenburger think that it can be shown, that this address in the 20th ch. of the Acts was not delivered by Paul in its present form, but that it was framed by the author of the Acts, on the same plan as the whole of his history, according to the conciliatory apologetic tendency already noticed. We would not indeed pledge ourselves that the address was taken down as Paul delivered it, with official accuracy—but that it has been faithfully reported in its essential contents, and that an outline of it was in existence earlier than the whole of the Acts. Not only do we find nothing in it which does not correspond to the situation and feelings of the apostle, but it also contains several marks of not being cast in the same mould as the whole of the Acts. Among these marks we reckon the mention of the three years, which does not agree with the reckoning in the Acts, the mention of teaching "from house to house," v. 20, and of the warning voices of the prophets, v. 23. (Schneckenburger, indeed, considers this to be a prolepsis, and finds in it a mark of non-originality; but it is not at all improbable, that already in the churches with whom Paul had stayed, he had received warnings of the dangers that threatened him from the fanatical rage of the Jews, though Luke, who did not accompany Paul everywhere, has not mentioned this in his brief narrative). Besides, as Paul, speaking of a higher necessity, by which he felt compelled to go to Jerusalem, "bound in spirit," we may infer that this journey, undertaken for what he considered the work committed to him by the Lord, had a greater significance and importance, as appears from the explanation we have already given, but which is not so represented in the

dress, in which Paul's heart, thoroughly imbued with the love of Christ, expresses itself in so affecting a manner, his fatherly anxiety for the churches, whose overseers heard his warning voice for the last time, and whom he was about to leave at a time full of sad and dark foreboding, when many dangers threatened pure Christianity.

He could not foresee with certainty what consequences would result from his journey to Jerusalem, for these depended on a combination of circumstances, too intricate for any human sagacity to unravel. But yet he could not be unaware of what the fanatical rage of the Jewish zealots threatened, and what it might perpetrate, under the maladministration of the worthless Procurator Felix,¹ who combined the meanness of a slave with the caprice of a tyrant ; at Jerusalem, too, where Might prevailed against Right, and assassins (the notorious Sicarii) acted as the tools of any party who were base enough to employ them. In the churches which he had visited on his journey hither, many individuals had warned him in inspired language of the danger that threatened him at Jerusalem, and thereby confirmed what his own presentiments, as well as his sagacity, led him to expect, similar to those sad anticipations which he expected when he was last at Corinth ; Rom. xv. 31.

There are especially two warnings and exhortations relative

Acts. If this address indicates that it was delivered before delegates from various Asiatic churches, we may also number this among the marks, not that we would attach equal weight to all these marks ; but taken collectively, their testimony appears to prove something. And if Luke had before him an earlier written draft of Paul's address, containing the presentiment he expressed of his impending death, I do not see how any one is justified in maintaining that Paul could not have uttered it, in case this anticipation had not been fulfilled. According to truth, he must have allowed him to speak as he actually spoke. But it could not be any difficulty to Luke or to the persons for whom this memoir was in the first place designed, if a presentiment of Paul's respecting his impending fate was not fulfilled in its full extent. Infallible foreknowledge of future events was certainly, according to the Christian idea of that age, not among the marks of a genuine apostle, and the contrary is rather implied in Paul's own words, v. 22. He speaks in a somewhat dubious tone of the fate that awaited him. Whoever might have forged after the event an address of Paul's, would have made him speak in a very different and more decided tone.

¹ Of whom Tacitus says ; " Per omnem sævitiam ac libidinem jus regium servili ingenio exercuit." Hist. v. 9.

to the future which he addressed to the overseers of the church, and enforced by the example of his own labours during three years' residence among them. He foresaw, that false teachers from other parts would insinuate themselves into these churches, and that even among themselves such would arise and gain many adherents. He exhorts them, therefore, to watch that the doctrine of salvation which he had faithfully published to them for so long a period might be preserved in its purity. The false teachers whom he here pointed out were most probably distinct from the class of common Judaizers; for in churches in which the Gentile Christian, that is, the Hellenic element,¹ so predominated as in those of Lesser Asia, such persons could not be so dangerous; and particularly when such false teachers were described as proceeding from the bosom of the church itself, it must be presumed that these heretical tendencies must have developed themselves from a mixture with Christianity of the mental elements already existing in the church. Might not Paul's experience during his long stay in Lesser Asia, have given him occasion to feel these anxieties for the future? As immediately after announcing the danger that threatened the church, he reminded them that for three years he had not ceased, day or night, to warn each one among them with tears, we may infer that he had at that time cause thus to address the consciences of their overseers, and to warn them so impressively against the adulteration of Christian truth. We here see the first omens indicated by the apostle of a new conflict which awaited pure Christianity.² At the close

¹ Schneckenburger, p. 136, objects against this remark, that in the Gentile-Christian Galatian churches, Judaizing false teachers could produce the greatest confusion; but the degree of Grecian cultivation in Galatia and at Ephesus makes a difference here.

² As from what is said in the text it is easily shown, that Paul must have held such a warning of the propagation of new perversions of Christian truth to be called for; so I can find no ground for Bauer's and Schneckenburger's assumption, that something is here attributed to Paul which he could not say from his own standing-point; whether with Bauer, it is assumed that such a prophesying is formed according to the appearances of a later period, or with Schneckenburger, that what was present, what had actually fallen under Paul's own notice, is here transferred to the future. Schneckenburger finds something intentional in Paul's mentioning nothing of the conflicts which he had sustained with the false teachers, the Judaizers; and in speaking only of such conflicts which would follow his departure. But there certainly lies in Paul's

of his address, Paul refers them to the example of disinterested and self-denying love, which he had given them :—he had required of them neither gold, nor silver, nor raiment, but as they well knew, had provided for his own temporal wants and those of his followers by the labour of his own hands. These words are admirably suited to the close of the address. By reminding the presbyters of the proofs of his disinterested love, and of his zeal which shunned no toil and no privation for the salvation of souls, he gave still greater weight to his exhortations. The 33d verse is closely connected with the 31st, where he reminds them of his labours among them for their souls, and in both verses he holds out his own example for their imitation. He expresses this still more clearly in the words, “I have showed you all things (or in every way), how that so labouring ye ought to support the weak,¹ and remember the words of the Lord Jesus, ‘It is more blessed to give than to receive.’” It conveyed the exhortation, that in the discharge of their office they should avoid all appearance of selfishness, that they should rather earn their own livelihood, and give up their claim to what they had a right to expect from the church to which they had consecrated their powers. He impressed this upon them in the most

words a reference to that which he had already said by way of warning to the presbyters. But he could speak of these adulterations of Christianity as future, since he had detected them in the germ, and their further development was at first checked by the power of his personal influence.

¹ Certainly the ἀσθενείς in Acts xx. 35, are not those who needed help in respect of their bodily wants; in that case, why should not a more definite word be used? Neither does the connexion suit such an interpretation, for Paul does not say that he laboured that he might be able to give to the poor, or that he might support his poor associates; but that the church might not be obliged to contribute neither to them nor to him any thing for their support. And this manifestly in order that every occasion might be taken from the weak, who were not sufficiently established in Christian principles, who would be easily disposed to entertain the suspicion of private advantage. The use of the word ἀσθενής in 2 Cor. xi. 29 also favours this interpretation, and what he assigns in both the Epistles to the Corinthians as the reasons of such conduct. Thus also this exhortation stands in closer connexion with what goes before; for if the presbyters avoided all appearance of selfishness, they would have a firmer hold on the general confidence, and thus, like Paul himself in reference to the Judaizers, could more successfully oppose the false teachers, who endeavoured for their own ends to excite mistrust of the existing teachers and guides of the church.

delicate manner, since he does not use the express form of exhortation, but presents his example for imitation under similar circumstances. Paul indeed declares elsewhere, that the preachers of the gospel, as Christ himself had expressed it, were entitled to receive their maintenance from the churches for whose spiritual welfare they laboured. And it may appear strange that he here departs from this rule, and that he should here prescribe to all the presbyters what elsewhere he has represented as an exception arising out of very peculiar circumstances, and as something suited only to his individual standing-point.¹ But there is a difference between the circumstances of itinerant missionaries and those of the overseers of churches whose activity at first is not so claimed by their pastoral duties as to prevent their carrying on at the same time their former secular employment; and if they thus laboured with self-sacrificing love without any appearance of selfishness, their authority and influence, which would be required to counteract the false teachers, would be much increased.

In this whole address, as suited the feelings and aim of one who was probably taking a last farewell of his spiritual children, the hortatory element is throughout predominant; if we suppose an apologetic element, which is very doubtful, it is at all events quite subordinate to the former. It is very improbable, that when he spoke of his own disinterestedness, he intended to repel the accusations of his Judaizing adversaries; for though he was obliged to answer such charges in writing to the Corinthians, we are not to infer that a similar exculpation of himself was required in all the churches. With greater reason we may find in what he says of the completeness of his teaching in the doctrines of salvation, a reference to the accusations of his Judaizing opponents, of which we have so often spoken. But even this is very doubtful; for in any case, without an apologetic design, and simply to excite the presbyters to fidelity in holding fast the pure doctrine which they had received, he would of necessity remind them how important he had felt it to keep back nothing from them that was necessary for salvation, and that he was free from blame if, after all, they should be guilty of unfaithfulness.

¹ For which reason Schneckenburger thinks it improbable that Paul so expressed himself.

Such an address could not but make a deep impression on their hearts, of which we have a simple and striking description in the Acts **xx. 37, 38.**

When Paul arrived at Cæsarea Stratonis, within two days' journey of Jerusalem, he was warned of fresh dangers that threatened him. The members of the church and his companions united their entreaties that he would be careful of his life, and not proceed any further. But though he was far from the enthusiastic zeal that panted for martyrdom, though he never neglected any methods of Christian prudence, in order to preserve his life for the service of his Lord and of the Church, yet as he himself declared, he counted his life as nothing, if required to sacrifice it in the ministry entrusted to him. However much a heart so tenderly susceptible, so open to all pure human emotions as his, must have been moved by the tears of his friends, who loved him as their spiritual father, yet he suffered not his resolution to be shaken, but resisted all these impressions, in order to follow the call of duty; he left all events to the will of the Lord, in which at last his Christian brethren concurred.

The next day after his arrival at Jerusalem, Paul with his companions visited James the brother of the Lord, at whose house the presbyters of the church were assembled. They listened with great interest to his account of the effects of the gospel among the Gentiles. But James called his attention to the fact, that a great number of Jews who believed on Jesus as the Messiah, and were yet zealous and strict observers of the Mosaic law, were prejudiced against him;¹ for

¹ Dr. Bauer has attempted to show, that the words in Acts **xxi. 20**, τῶν πεπιστευκότων, are a gloss, and that the Jews here spoken of are those who had not received the gospel. It appears to him incredible, that the number of Christians among the Jews, who in later times were confined to the small sects of the Ebionites and Nazarenes, could have been so very great. He thinks, that what James said would perfectly apply to Jews who had not yet embraced the gospel, of whose plots it behoved Paul to be careful, and who afterwards actually raised a tumult against him. Origen indeed says, *Tom. I. in Joh. § 2*, that the number of believing Jews in the whole world would not amount to one hundred and forty-four thousand; but from the times of Origen we cannot draw an inference respecting an earlier period. Since Christianity had for a long time spread so successfully among the Jews, their numbers in the course of twenty years might have increased to several myriads, as Hegesippus likewise testifies in Eusebius **ii. 23**; and we

those Judaizers, who everywhere sought to injure Paul's ministry, had circulated in Jerusalem the charge against him, that, not content with releasing the believing Gentiles from the observance of the Mosaic law, he had required of the Jews who lived among them not to circumcise their children, and not to observe the law. This charge, so brought forward, was certainly false; for Paul combated the outward observance of Judaism only so far as the justification and sanctification of men were made to depend upon it. It was his

need not confine the expression to Jews resident in Jerusalem, since at the Pentecost many would be brought together from other parts. But many of these believing Jews might not distinguish themselves from others, excepting by the acknowledgment of Jesus as the Messiah, and hence we may account for many of them relapsing into Judaism, when their own Messianic expectations were not fulfilled. We also find no intimation that James had warned Paul of danger threatening him from this class of Jews; but he only required that he would seek to regain the confidence of these brethren in the faith, who were filled with mistrust and suspicion towards him. The connexion of verse 20, absolutely requires the addition of τῶν πεπιστευκότων, for how could James be supposed to tell Paul a fact he well knew beforehand, that at Jerusalem there were so many myriads of Jews, who were all zealous observers of the law? Bauer in his review of Schneckenburger's work has acknowledged that this alteration of the text formerly proposed by him, is untenable; but attempts to solve the difficulty which he here believes to exist, by another method in connexion with the views held by himself and Schneckenburger respecting the peculiar standing-point and object of the Acts. Historical truth must here make her way through the subjective point of view, into which the author of the Acts forces everything, and assert her right even against his will. He wished, forsooth, so to represent matters, as if, by the arrangement agreed upon by the apostolic convention at Jerusalem, the differences between the Jewish and Gentile Christians had been settled, and Paul henceforward had to combat, not with Jewish Christians, but solely with Jews. Yet against his will he was obliged to grant to historical truth, that in the machinations against Paul on his last visit to Jerusalem, the Jewish Christians had the principal share. But as this is opposed to the point of view on which he proceeds everywhere else, the subjective and the objective are so mingled by him, that the Jewish Christians become Jews again, and hence he is led into the error of overrating the numbers of the former. But after what has been said, we cannot accede to the correctness of this too artificial hypothesis. And if the author had once allowed himself to distort history according to his subjective point of view, he would surely have remained faithful to this view, and on this last occasion would have named only Jews as the calumniators of Paul, against whose false accusations he would have to justify himself. He was under no necessity by such inconsistency to testify against himself.

principle, that no one should relinquish the national and civil relations in which he stood at his conversion, unless for important reasons; and on this principle he allowed the Jews to retain their peculiarities, among which was the observance of the Mosaic law; 1 Cor. vii. 18. But it could not fail to happen, that those who entered into the Pauline ideas of the relation of the law to the gospel, and were thereby freed from scrupulosity in the observance of the former, were led into a freer line of conduct in this respect, and some might go further than Paul wished in the indulgence of their inclinations. Such instances as these might have given occasion to the charge that he had seduced the Jewish Christians to release themselves from the law.¹ As by this accusation, the

¹ Dr. Schneckenburger and Bauer think that the manner in which this transaction is mentioned in the Acts, is an important confirmation of their views of the whole history. The mode of acting here ascribed to Paul, appears to them totally irreconcilable with the principles he lays down in his epistles. According to Schneckenburger, the Acts would be a confused, partial representation of a real transaction, sketched according to a subjective point of view lying at its basis; according to Bauer, it would be an entirely false narration. Either (in the opinion of the latter) the historical credibility of the Acts must be given up, or the character of Paul must stand in an unfavourable light. I will here cite Bauer's words: "If it were really so, as the author of the Acts represents the fact, that the apostle, as *φυλάσσω τὸν νόμον*, became the object of an intensely vehement persecution, with what right can we oppose the language of the apostle to all who think they can defend the perfect historic credibility of the Acts in Gal. v. 11, *ἐγὼ δὲ, ἀδελφοί, εἰ περιτομὴν ἔτι κηρύσσω, πῶς ἔτι διώκομαι; ἔρα κατήγγηνα τὸ σκάνδαλον τοῦ σταυροῦ*, and the same apostle, who in Gal. v. 3 declares in so solemn a tone, *μαρτύρομαι δὲ πάλιν παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ περιτεμνομένῳ, ὅτι ὀφειλεῖς ἐστὶν ὅλον τὸν νόμον ποιῆσαι*, (therefore must place his whole trust in the law, and expect salvation from it alone,) must according to the Acts (xxi. 23) have consented to an act which represented him as a *φυλάσσω τὸν νόμον*, and bore public testimony that, so far from abrogating the law, he was rather a teacher of it, who taught as much as others this universal obligation of the Mosaic law with all its ordinances, and especially that of circumcision (xxi. 23). That in Acts xxi. 21, only the *Ἰουδαῖοι κατὰ τὰ ἔθνη* are spoken of makes not the least difference. Had the apostle also wished to give up nothing respecting the continual validity of the law, only among the Jews whom he sought to convert to Christianity, as he practically declared in Acts xxi. 26, compared with 23, with what untruth would he have expressed himself to the Galatians!" But I cannot perceive the alleged contradiction between this mode of acting and the principles expressed by Paul. Such a contradiction appears only when they are separated, and not viewed in connexion with his whole style of thinking.

conduct of Paul would be presented in a false light, and since he was far from being such an enemy to Judaism as his

In all those passages in which he so emphatically speaks against circumcision and the observance of the ceremonial law, everything is referred to the standing-point of those who were Gentiles by birth, among whom nothing of the kind was founded in their historical development, or in their national institutions. It was not circumcision in itself, it was not the observance of the Mosaic ritual in itself, which he so strenuously opposed. He never attached so much importance to outward things either negatively or positively; these he always declared were in themselves indifferent, and impressively said that neither circumcision availed anything, nor uncircumcision, but that all depended on the new creation, which must be effected equally in the circumcised and uncircumcised by the Spirit of Christ; Gal. vi. 15. It was the same thing whether a man lived as a Jew or a Gentile, provided, under these different forms of national culture, he was actuated by the same spirit of faith in Jesus as the Saviour working by love; Gal. v. 6. As that which he considered of most importance in life as the principle of the new Christian creation was only this one thing, so that which he so strenuously combated was only that one thing which stood in opposition to this principle, and exactly as far as it was thus in opposition. But among Gentile Christians, the outward act or rite, and the principle on which it rested, the reason for practising it, were alike nugatory; it was something contradictory to their national character,—it was the introduction of a foreign element into the course of their religious development,—and they could be brought to submit to such a burdensome ceremonial, only on the supposition that it had a favourable influence on their relation to God. It is therefore evident, that the principles which Paul expressed on the outward observance of the Mosaic law in reference to Gentile Christians, were totally inapplicable to Jewish Christians. The sense of the words in Gal. v. 11, is, if Paul now, as an apostle (as formerly from his Pharisaic standing-point), taught that no one could obtain salvation without circumcision,—that the Gentiles, in order to be admitted to the privileges of the Messianic kingdom, must submit to circumcision,—then the Jews would have no reason for persecuting him; his object would be the same as that of the Jewish proselyte-makers, to convert all men to Judaism. The doctrine of Jesus the Crucified was so obnoxious to the Jews, because they were compelled by it to renounce all their self-righteousness, everything in which they seemed to take precedence of the Gentiles. If it were admitted that the Gentiles must first become Jews, in order to be on an equality with the Jews as citizens of the kingdom of God, this stone of offence would be taken away. But if Paul allowed the Jews to continue in their outward manner of life as Jews, and in this respect acted himself like a Jew, this was something very different from περιτομήν κηρύσσειν in the former sense. According to the Pauline doctrine, the position that, equally for Jews and Gentiles, men are freed by Christ from the yoke of the law, is constantly valid. This refers to the internal relation to the law, and the position of the religious consciousness to it.

adversaries wished him to appear, he declared himself to be ready, as James proposed, to refute that charge by an overt act, by taking part in the Jewish cultus in a mode which was highly esteemed by pious Jews.¹ He joined himself to four members of the church, who had undertaken a Nazarite's vow for seven days. He submitted to the same restraints, and intimated to the priests that he would be answerable for the expense of the offerings that were to be presented on the accomplishment of the purification.² But though he might

But notwithstanding this truth, the Jewish Christians might retain the outward observance of the law. Has not Paul himself, in 1 Cor. vii. 18—20, plainly expressed the principle? the Jews after their conversion are to continue Jews; Christianity requires no one to make a change in these outward things, on which the essence of religion does not depend. When he says in 1 Cor. ix. 20, that to the Jews he became a Jew, that he appeared as one subject to the law, can this have any other sense than that among the Jews he lived as a Jew, so that if any one looked only at what was external, he must have supposed that Paul was still subject to the yoke of the law, still held it to be binding? Must we not, from what he here asserts of himself, conclude with certainty, though we had no historical data, that he acted in several instances exactly as we find described in the Acts? But it may be said, If Paul took a part in the observance of such a Nazarite's vow, he thereby practically sanctioned the notion, that it was something acceptable in itself to God, and conducive to salvation. If this had been the case, such practices must have been recommended to the Gentile Christians in general as well-pleasing to God. But as Paul, under all circumstances, expressed the same principle, that by the works of the law no one can be justified before God,—as he always insisted that the Gentile Christians, though they observed none of these things, ought to be acknowledged as members of the kingdom of God on an equality with the Jews,—as those who desired him to practise such an outward observance of Jewish rites, agreed with him in his leading principle,—he sufficiently guarded himself against the false conclusion which might have been deduced from a misapprehension of his conduct. Those who merely observed externally the different conduct of the apostles among the Jews and Gentiles, must indeed believe that they had detected an inconsistency; and we have already noticed what imputations were cast upon him by his adversaries on this account. Indeed, when James says of Paul "that he walked orderly and kept the law," Acts xxi. 24, we must understand it with the necessary limitation, that the same Paul had no scruple to live among the Gentiles as a Gentile. But the author of the Acts reports only single facts; we find not an assumption of consecutiveness and comprehensiveness in his history, but a want of these qualities altogether in his apostolic memoirs.

¹ Josephus, *Archæol.* xix. 6, § 1.

² The common supposition that Paul joined himself to these Nazarites, when they had yet seven days, Acts xxi. 27, to continue their

have satisfied by this means the minds of the better disposed among the Jewish Christians, the inveterate zealots among the Jews were not at all conciliated.¹ On the contrary, they were only more incensed, that the man who, as they said, had everywhere taught the Gentiles to blaspheme the people of God, the law and the temple, had ventured to take a part in the Jewish cultus. They had seen a Gentile Christian, Trophimus, in company with him, and hence the fanatics concluded that he had taken a Gentile with him into the temple and defiled it. A violent tumult instantly arose, and Paul was rescued from the enraged multitude only by means of the Roman tribune, who hastened to the spot with a band of soldiers from the *Arx Antonia* situated over against the temple, the quarters of the Roman garrison.

Paul was on the point of being scourged, (a common mode of torture among the Romans,) for the purpose of extorting a confession respecting the cause of this tumult, but by declaring himself a Roman citizen he was saved from this ignominy. The tribune now endeavoured to ascertain the facts of the case, that he might send Paul to appear before the Sanhedrim. The manner in which the apostle conducted himself on this occasion, shows him to have been a man who knew how to control the agitation of his feelings by a sober

abstinence for the discharge of their vow, and that during this time he kept the vow with them, is at variance with the mention of twelve days, Acts xxiv. 11, for in that case there must have been seventeen days. It is indeed in itself possible, that Paul did not reckon the five days which he spent in confinement at Cæsarea, since they signified nothing for his object; but it does not appear so from his own words. There remains, therefore, nothing else but to assume, that the seven days denote a definite number of days, to which at that time the Nazarites' vow used to extend, and that Paul had joined the Nazarites on one of the last of these days. But, on the other hand, in the section of the Mishnah on the Nazarites' vow, the number of thirty days is mentioned as the fixed term for this oath. As to the seven days mentioned in Numbers vi., they are not applicable to the present case; for they refer to the case of a person who, during the time of his vow, has defiled himself, and who, after the interval of seven days' purification, begins his vow afresh.

¹ I find no reason for assuming with Bauer, that the machinations against Paul proceeded chiefly from the Jewish Christians, and to charge the author of the Acts with falsifying a matter of fact. But I consider it possible that, among the great multitude of Jewish Christians, some might be found to whom their Judaism was more important than the little Christianity they possessed, and that such persons would **make common cause** with the Jewish zealots against Paul.

judgment, and to avail himself of circumstances with Christian prudence, without any compromise of truth. When he was suddenly carried away by the impulse of righteous indignation to speak with greater warmth than he intended, he was able to recover the mastery of his feelings, and to act in a manner becoming his vocation. In a moment of excitement at the arbitrary conduct of the high priest Ananias, while thinking only of the person and losing sight of the office whose duties had been violated, he had used intemperate expressions though containing truth; but on being informed that it was the high priest whom he had so addressed, he at once corrected himself and said, he had not considered the dignity of the person he had thus addressed, to whom reverence was due according to the law.¹ In order to secure the voice of the majority among his judges, he availed himself of that means for the victory of truth, which has often been used against it—the *divide et impera* in a good sense; he enlisted on his side the bias for that truth by the acknowledgment of which the greater number of his judges really approached nearer to him, than the few who denied it, in order to produce a division in the assembly. He could say with truth, that he was brought to trial because he had testified of the hope of Israel, and of the resurrection of the dead, for he had preached Jesus as the personage by whom this hope was fulfilled. These words had the effect of uniting the Pharisees present in his favour, and of involving them in a warm debate with the Sadducees, to whom the high priest himself belonged. The former could find no fault in him. If he had said that the spirit of a deceased person or that an angel had appeared to him—(the appearance of the risen Jesus)—whatever he might mean by this, and whether what he averred were true or not, they did not pretend to determine, nor trouble themselves about it;—at all events, they could not criminate him on this account.² The tribune of the Roman cohort at last saw himself obliged, by the plots of

¹ If we are not disposed to think of the meaning of ᾔδειν, Acts xxiii. 5, in the language which probably Paul used on this occasion, the Aramaic, the meaning which נִיָּן may well have; yet it is plain from the circumstances under which he said this, that he could not, in the strict sense of the word, affirm that he did not know him.

² The words μὴ θεομαχῶμεν, Acts xxiii. 9, are certainly a gloss, and a gloss at variance with the general tenor of the passage, for this was

Paul's enemies against his life, to send him under an escort to the metropolis of the province Cæsarea, and to transfer the affair to the Procurator Felix, who resided there.

The accusation which the Sanhedrim by their counsel were allowed to bring against him, was the only one which, according to the privileges secured to the Jews by the Roman laws, could with any show of reason be made, namely, that he everywhere disturbed the Jews in the enjoyment of these privileges, the peaceful exercise of their cultus.—that he excited disturbances and divisions among them, and that at last he had dared to desecrate the temple. The tribune was accused of preventing the Jews from judging Paul according to the privileges secured to them by law. Felix, who was not disposed to meddle with the internal disputes of the Jews, perceived no fault in the accused, and hence would at once have set him at liberty, if he had not hoped, as it was his practice to make justice venal, to obtain money from him ; but as Paul was not willing to purchase his freedom by such an unlawful method, which would cast suspicion both on himself and his cause, Felix, in order to gain favour with the Jews on leaving them, to whom he had been sufficiently obnoxious, left him in confinement, and thus he remained for two years till the arrival of the new Procurator, M. Porcius Festus.¹

certainly more than the Pharisees could be willing to say from their standing-point.

¹ If the precise time at which Felix was recalled, and Festus received the government of the province, could be exactly determined, we should have an important chronological mark ; but this period cannot be so exactly determined. The chronological data on which we here proceed, are the following. When Felix laid down the procuratorship, he was accused at Rome, as Josephus (*Archæol.* xx. 8, § 9) relates, by the Jews, on account of the oppressions he had practised, and would have been punished if he had not been delivered by the intercession of his brother Pallas, who at that time had much influence with the emperor. But Pallas was poisoned by Nero in the year 62, see Tacit. *Annal.* xiv. 65. This enables us to fix the extreme *terminus a quo* of the recal of Felix. But according to the narrative of Tacitus, Pallas had long before lost his influence, (*Annal.* xiii. 14.) At the beginning of his reign, Nero had removed Pallas from the office he held under Claudius, and treated him with displeasure. And since Josephus says that when Pallas interceded for his brother Felix he stood in favour with the emperor, it follows, that the recal of Felix must have taken place in the beginning of Nero's reign, which can by no means be admitted. What Josephus says in the

Paul had for a long time previous to this event entertained the thought of preaching the gospel in the metropolis of the world. But it was now uncertain whether he would ever attain the fulfilment of this inward call; but on the night after he had borne testimony to his faith before the assembled Sanhedrim, the Lord imparted the assurance to him by a vision, that as he had been his witness in the capital of the Jewish world, he should also be the same in that of the Gentile world. It was this which confirmed him in his resolution, when the procurator was about to sacrifice him to the wishes of the Jewish Sanhedrim, of seeking deliverance by an appeal to the emperor. The arrival at Cæsarea of the young King Agrippa II., as a person acquainted with the Jews and their religion, was acceptable to Festus, since he hoped that by admitting Paul to an examination in his presence, he could learn something more decisive in this affair, which might be communicated in his report to Rome. Paul appeared before so numerous and august an assembly, before the Roman procurator and the Jewish king, with exultation at the thought of being able to testify of what filled his heart before such an audience. He addressed himself especially to King Agrippa, in whom, as a professor of the Jewish faith, he

history of his life, of his own journey to Rome in his six-and-twentieth year, gives no sure foundation for determining the time when Felix laid down his office. Schrader thinks indeed, that he can find a certain chronological mark in this, that something which Josephus puts in connexion with the entrance of Festus into office, was decided by the influence of Poppæa, already married to Nero (*Joseph. Archæol.* xx. 8, § 1); for it would follow that since Nero, according to Tacitus, married Poppæa in 62, Festus must have entered on his government about this time. But the words of Josephus, xiv. 60, *κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον*, cannot avail for exactly determining the time; Poppæa, long before her marriage to Nero, had great influence over him, as appears from the words of Tacitus, *Annal.* xiv. 60, "Ea diri pellex et adulteri Neronis, mox mariti potens," and had already accomplished much by interceding with the emperor. We need not attach much weight to the circumstance that Josephus calls her at that time the wife of Nero. But in all this much uncertainty attaches to the chronology of events, and the supposition that Felix laid down his office in the year 62, and therefore that Paul's confinement took place in 60, is by no means sufficiently proved. We may therefore safely place it some years earlier. If Paul was set at liberty from his confinement at Rome, we must necessarily admit the earlier date; for if his confinement at Rome had been contemporaneous with the great conflagration, he would certainly have fallen a sacrifice to the fury then excited against the Christians.

hoped to find more points of connexion than in a heathen magistrate. He narrated how he had been educated in zealous attachment to Pharisaic principles, and from a violent persecutor had, by a call from the Lord himself, become a devoted preacher of the gospel,—that in obeying this call up to that time he had testified before Jews and Gentiles, great and small, but had published nothing else than what Moses and the Prophets had foretold, that the Messiah should suffer, that he should rise from the dead, and by the assurance of an everlasting divine life diffuse light among Jews and Gentiles. This he might presume was admitted by the king as an acknowledged article of faith, but it must appear utterly strange to the Romans; strange also must the religious inspiration with which Paul uttered all this appear to the cold-hearted Roman statesman. He could see nothing in it but enthusiastic delusion. “Too much Jewish learning,” he exclaimed, “hath made thee mad.” But with calm confidence Paul replied, “I am not mad, but speak the words of truth and soberness!” and, turning to Agrippa, he called upon him as a witness, since he well knew that these things were not done in a corner of the earth, in secret, but publicly at Jerusalem. And with a firm conviction, that in all he had testified the promises of the prophets were fulfilled, he said to the king, “Believest thou the prophets? I know that thou believest!” Agrippa, offended by Paul’s confidence, answered, “Truly in a short time¹ thou wilt make me a Christian.” Paul, with his fetters on his arm, was conscious of possessing more than all the glory of the world, uttered the noble words, “Yes, I pray God that in a longer or a shorter time, he would make not only thee, O king, but all who hear me to-day, what I now am, except these bonds!”

¹ I understand the words ἐν ὀλίγῳ (Acts xxvi. 28) in the only sense which they can have according to the *usus loquendi* and Paul’s answer. The interpretation adopted by Meyer and some others is indeed possible, but appears to me not so natural. If the reading of the Cod. A. ex. and of the Vulgate, which Lachmann approves, be adopted, ἐν μεγάλῳ, in Paul’s answer, the words of Agrippa must be thus explained, “With a little, or with few reasons (which will not cost you much trouble) you think of making me a Christian”—and the answer of Paul will be, Whether with great or with little—for many or few reasons, I pray God, &c. But I cannot make up my mind to receive as correct this reading, which may be explained as a gloss, and is not supported by very preponderating authorities.

As the king and the procurator after this examination could not find Paul guilty of any offence punishable by the laws, the procurator would probably have set him at liberty, if after his appeal to Cæsar it had not been necessary for the matter to take its legal course ; yet the report (*elogium*) with which he would be sent to Rome, could not be otherwise than in his favour. The centurion to whom he was committed with other prisoners in order to be taken to Rome, certainly corroborated the impression of this favourable report by the account he gave of Paul's conduct during his long and dangerous voyage. Hence he met at Rome with more indulgent treatment than the other prisoners : he was allowed to hire a private dwelling in which only one soldier attended him as a guard, to whom he was fastened by a chain on the arm (the usual mode of the *custodia militaris*), and could receive all who were disposed to visit him, and write letters.

As he had cause to fear that the Jews dwelling at Rome had received from Jerusalem a report inimical to his character, and regarded him as an accuser of his people, he endeavoured speedily to remove this unfavourable impression. Accordingly, three days after his arrival, he invited the principal persons among them to visit him. It proved that no report to Paul's prejudice had yet reached them, if it be allowed that they spoke the truth. It also appeared from the statements of these respectable Jews, that they had heard little or nothing of the Christian church which existed in the same city with themselves. Nor is this inconceivable, if we only consider the immense size of the metropolis, and the vast confluence of human beings it contained, and if to this we add, that the main body of that church consisted of Gentiles, and that these wealthy Jews busied themselves far more about other objects than about the concerns of religion. Yet it by no means appears from the statements of the Jews that they had scarcely heard of a Christian church existing at Rome, but only that they had not taken any pains to acquire an accurate knowledge of it. They knew indeed that this new sect met everywhere with opponents, and hence it might be inferred that they had heard of the controversies which had been carried on at Rome about it, for the "everywhere" (*πανταχού*), in Acts xxviii. 22, includes (certainly does not exclude) a reference to what was

going on at Rome itself, and we must not forget that only the substance of what the Jews said is handed down to us.¹ As they heard much of the opposition excited against this new sect, but nothing precise respecting their doctrines. they were well pleased that Paul proposed to give them an address on the subject. But here, as everywhere else. Paul's preaching found more acceptance with the Gentiles than with the Jews.²

¹ I cannot find any foundation for the contradiction which Dr. Bauer, in his treatises so often quoted, thinks he has detected between this narration in the Acts, and the existence of such a church at Rome, which we must suppose according to Paul's Epistle to the Romans.

² The position developed and advocated with equal acuteness and learning by H. Böttger in the second part of his *Beiträge zur historisch-kritischen Einleitung in die paulinischen Briefe*, Göttingen, 1837, —that Paul was a prisoner only for the first three or five days after his arrival in Rome, that he then obtained his freedom, and lived for two years in a hired house, quite at liberty ;—this position, if it were true, would cast a new light on Paul's history during this period ; for it would then appear that all those Epistles, which evidently were written during some one imprisonment, could not have been written at Rome or during his first confinement there. But the narrative in the Acts is directly opposed to this supposition. I cannot understand Acts xxviii. 16, otherwise than that permission was then granted to Paul to reside in a private house, the same which is designated in v. 23, his lodging, *ξενία*, and in v. 30, as *ἐν ἰδίῳ μισθώματι*, "his own hired house." It cannot be imagined, that if, after three days, so important an alteration had taken place in Paul's circumstances, Luke would not have mentioned it, for the assertion that his readers must have supposed this of themselves, from the known forms of Roman justice, cannot satisfy us. Even if this could have been supposed, he would hardly have omitted to point out in a few words so important a change in Paul's lot. But it is not easily proved that such an inference could be drawn, from what is known respecting the course of Roman justice at that time. The manner also in which Luke expresses himself (Acts xxviii. 30, 31) respecting Paul's residence for two years at Rome, certainly implies that he had not then obtained his freedom, for we are merely told that he preached the gospel in his own dwelling ; but it is not narrated that he visited the synagogue or any place where the church met, for which omission no other reason can be given, than that, although he could receive any visit in his own residence, under the inspection of his guard, he was not at liberty to go to whatever place he chose ; and least of all, would a prisoner, whose cause was not yet decided, have been permitted to attend these meetings of the church, even if accompanied by his guard. Here, therefore, we have a fact which cannot be explained, unless we admit the continued confinement of Paul. How likewise can it be imagined, that Paul, who wished to visit the church at Rome only on his way, would have stayed there for two years, where suitable measures had already been taken for

With the confinement of Paul, a new and important era commenced not only in his life and ministry, but also in the development of the churches founded by him, for in proportion as Christianity spread more widely, a number of heterogeneous mental elements were brought into action, many important phenomena became conspicuous, while the divine word operated among them in an independent manner, and they were deprived of the apostle's personal oversight and guidance.

the continued propagation of Christianity, instead of travelling to those regions of the West, where nothing had yet been done for making known the gospel? This is explicable only on the supposition, that he remained so long a time at Rome *under constraint*.

According to the account in the Acts, we may receive it as an established fact, that Paul lived two years in Rome as a prisoner,—a fact which can be overturned by nothing that we know of the course of Roman justice in the case of such appeals; even without waiting to examine how both could be reconciled to one another.

Meanwhile, from what is known of the legal processes in the time of the first Cæsars, it can by no means be proved, what is in the highest degree imp. obable, that all the causes which, in consequence of an appeal, were brought to Rome for decision, were decided in the course of five or ten days. It was one thing to decide on the admissibility of the appeal, and another thing to decide on the point of law respecting which the appeal was made. My respected colleague, Professor Rudorff, who has had the goodness to make me a written communication on this subject, concludes with the statement, that the term of five or ten days related not to the duration of the judicial proceedings, but to the lodging of the appeal, and to the *apostoli* (= *literæ dimissoriæ*), that it gave no prescription relative to the term of the transaction itself, and that the accused remained under arrest till the decision of the emperor. Thus, in the *Sententiæ Receptæ* of Julius Paulus, lib. v. tit. 34, it is said expressly of the *apostoli*, “*Quorum postulatio et acceptio intra quintum diem ex officio facienda est.*” In a law enacted by the Emperor Constantine in 314, according to which we are not justified in determining the legal process in the times of the first Cæsars, is the express provision that the *appellator* should be free from arrest only in *causæ civiles*, but of *criminales causæ* it is said, “*In quibus, etiâmsi possunt provocare, eum tamen statum debent obtinere, ut post provocationem in custodia perseverent.*” Cod. Theodos. lib. xi. tit. 30, c. 2.

CHAPTER IX.

PAUL DURING HIS FIRST CONFINEMENT AT ROME, AND THE DEVELOPMENT DURING THE SAME PERIOD OF THE CHURCHES PREVIOUSLY FOUNDED BY HIM.

IN examining this portion of Paul's history, we must fix our attention on three principal points ; his relation to the Roman state,—to the Church at Rome,—and to the Churches in other parts.

With respect to the first, the main thing to be considered is, from what point of view the charge under which he was detained as a prisoner is to be viewed? Christianity was not yet denounced as a *religio illicita*, therefore Paul could not, like the later teachers of Christianity, be accused of violating the laws of the state, on account of his exertions in propagating this religion. Christians appeared only as a sect proceeding from Judaism, who were accused by Paul's Jewish adversaries of adulterating the original doctrines of their religion ; so that at Rome no attention was paid to disputes that merely concerned the religious institutions of the Jews. This charge against Paul might therefore be considered as altogether foreign to Roman judicature, and he would soon regain his liberty ; in this manner, the affair would soon be brought to a close ; but it cannot be shown, that it would be viewed under this aspect, the most favourable for the apostle. The Jews might accuse him as being a disturber of the public peace, who interfered with the privileges guaranteed to them by the Roman government, as their advocate Tertullus had already attempted to prove. Hence an additional allegation might be made, which from the standing-point of the Roman law would tend much more to Paul's injury—that he had caused among other Roman subjects and citizens in the provinces, and in Rome itself, movements which were detrimental to the good order of the state ; that he had tempted them to apostatize from the state religion, by propagating a religion at variance with the ancient Roman institutions, in which religion and politics were

intimately blended.¹ If the church at Rome, consisting mainly of Gentile Christians, gave the impression in its whole appearance of being unjewish, in short, a *genus tertium*; this view of Paul's conduct would be formed so much the more easily. The existence of this new religious sect in the capital, would be made an object of public attention by the proceedings against Paul. We may suppose, that his fanatical and artful adversaries among the Jews would leave no artifice untried to set his conduct in the worst possible light to the Roman authorities. Thus the investigation of his cause, with the accusation and defence, might be protracted, and his prospects might by turns become favourable or unfavourable. During the first period of his residence at Rome he underwent no public examination.² His situation justified the most favourable expectations, and he proposed when set at liberty, before he extended his sphere of labour towards the West, according to the plan he had previously formed, to visit Lesser Asia, where his personal exertions seemed to be very necessary to counteract many influences that were operating injuriously on the churches. He intimated to the overseer of the church at Colossæ, Philemon, that he intended to take up his abode with him.

At a later period³ of his imprisonment, when he had already undergone a public examination, he had no such favourable prospect before him; the thought of martyrdom became familiar to his mind, yet the expectation of being released from confinement was predominant, so that he wrote to the church at Philippi that he hoped to come to them soon. But if the view we have taken of the origin and

¹ The point of view as a Roman statesman from which Cicero formed his model of law. "Separatim nemo habessit Deos neve novos sive advenas, nisi publice adscitos privatim colunio. *Ritus familia patrumque servanto.*" *Cicero de Legibus*; and in the Commentaries, c. x., against the *confusio religionum*, which arose from the introduction of foreign new religions. This was the point of view from which Tacitus and the Younger Pliny formed their judgment of Christianity.

² Whether this term embraced the whole of the first two years of his confinement we cannot with certainty determine, for the silence of Luke in the Acts is not a sufficient proof that, during the whole of this period, there was nothing memorable to be narrated respecting the situation of the apostle.

³ As appears from his Epistle to the Philippians.

original constitution of the church at Rome be correct, a close connexion and intimate communion may be presumed to have existed between its members and the individual whom they might regard mediately as their spiritual father, and whose peculiar form of doctrine prevailed among them. Now if the epistles which Paul wrote during his first confinement at Rome bore evidence against such a supposition, they might also be adduced against our views. If these epistles make us acquainted with any difference existing between the Roman church and Paul, this fact would be very decisive, and we should be forced to conclude that a strongly marked Judaizing element predominated in that church. But the Roman Christians had already, even before he arrived at Rome, evinced their sympathy, since several of their number travelled a day's journey, as far as the small town of *Forum Appii*, and some a shorter distance to the place called *Tres Tabernæ*, in order to meet him. In the Epistle to the Philippians he sends salutation from the whole church (*πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι*) which is a proof of the close connexion in which he stood with them. As to his giving special salutations from the Christians in the service of the imperial palace (the *Cæsariani*), we are not to infer that these persons were more in unison with him than the rest of the church, but rather that they were better acquainted, and on more intimate terms with the church at Philippi. At all events, it is an arbitrary supposition that these Gentile Christians were those who, in distinction from the rest of the church, consisting of Jewish Christians, were in closer connexion with Paul.¹ It might indeed be expected, that if these *Cæsariani* were more allied by their Gentile origin to the church at Philippi, he would have mentioned this circumstance as the reason for presenting their special salutations. It is not at all inconsistent with this view, if these epistles contain undeniable marks, that in the Roman church Judaizers were found hostile to Paul, and who occasioned him much vexation; for we ourselves have pointed out a Judaizing tendency in a smaller part of this church sufficient to account for such an appearance. As the Gentile Christians who advocated the Pauline principles, now found so important a support in his

¹ See Schneckenburger, p. 123.

personal presence, and cooperated with him in publishing the gospel among the Gentiles, the opposition of the Judaizing anti-pauline party must have been excited by it and rendered still more violent. The whole tone of the Epistle to the Philippians testifies of the conflicts he sustained in his intercourse with the Judaizers. His excited feelings cannot be mistaken; his displeasure was called forth by anxiety for the purity of the gospel against those who, where the soul appeared in a fit state for receiving the gospel, sought to take advantage of it for gaining adherents for their Jewish ceremonies and doctrine of meritorious works. And Paul himself distinguishes those among the Roman Christians who, with friendly feelings towards himself, were active in cooperating with him for the spread of the gospel, from those who, animated with jealousy at his success, endeavoured to form a party against him, and to "add affliction to his bonds," Philip. i. 15—18; and among the Jewish Christians he could only point out two who laboured with him for the kingdom of God, and contributed to his comfort; Col. iv. 11.

During his confinement, anxiety for the extension of the kingdom of God, and for the prosperity of the churches he had founded, occupied him far more than the care of his personal welfare. As all persons had free access to him, he thus enjoyed opportunities for preaching the gospel. By the soldiers who relieved one another in standing guard over him, it became known among their comrades, (among the *cohortes prætorianæ*, in the *castra prætoria*, in the *prætorium*;) and hence to a wider extent in the city, that he was put in confinement, not on account of any civil offence, but for his zeal on behalf of the new religion; and this tended to promote it, since a cause for which its advocate sacrificed everything was certain of attracting attention. By his example also many of the Roman Christians were roused to publish the truth zealously and boldly. But while some cooperated with Paul in a oneness of heart and mind, others came forward who belonged to the antipauline Judaizing party, in opposition to his method of publishing the gospel. The manner in which he expresses himself respecting these his opponents is worthy of notice on two accounts. We here see a man who could entirely forget his own person when the cause of his Lord was concerned,—who could even rejoice in

what bore an unfriendly aspect towards himself. if it contributed to promote the cause of Christ. We perceive how far his zeal for the truth and against error was from all selfish contractedness ; with what freedom of spirit he was able to pass a judgment on all doctrinal differences. Even in the erroneous views of these Judaizers he acknowledged the truth that lay at their basis ; and when he compared the errors propagated by them, with the fundamental truth which they announced at the same time, it was still a cause of joy to him that this fundamental truth was becoming more generally known, that in every way, whether in pretence (by those who in their hearts preferred Judaism to Christianity,) or with an upright intention, Christ was preached, Phil. i. 18. For even by these persons the knowledge of the facts on which the gospel rested was spread to a greater extent ; and where faith in Jesus as the Messiah, the Founder and King of the kingdom of God, was once produced, on this foundation a superstructure could be raised of more correct and extended instruction. But from this we learn what is of service for explaining later appearances in the history of the Roman church, that in connexion with the lessons of the Pauline theology the germ of a Judaizing tendency was implanted in this church.

The concerns of the churches in Lesser Asia first occupied Paul's attention in his imprisonment.¹ He had received an

¹ The supposition on which we here proceed, that Paul wrote the Epistles to the Colossians, the Ephesians, and Philemon, during this confinement at Rome, has found in later times strenuous opponents in Schulz and Schott, to whom must be added Böttger ; but the arguments advanced by them against it do not appear to me adapted to overthrow the opinion hitherto most generally held, though no demonstrative proof can be given in its favour, since Paul does not exactly state the circumstances under which he wrote. What he says of the opportunities presented for announcing the gospel, agrees very well with what we know of his confinement at Rome, from the hints given in the Acts and in the Epistle to the Philippians. (The latter indeed cannot be urged against Böttger, for he supposes that epistle to be written while Paul was confined at Cæsarea.) It does not appear to me surprising, that a runaway slave from Colossæ should betake himself at once to Rome ; for the constant intercourse with the capital of the empire would easily furnish him with an opportunity, and he might hope for greater security from the distance and the immense population of the metropolis. Nor is it at all strange, that a teacher of the church at Colossæ should be induced, by the dangers that threatened pure Christi-

exact account of their situations from an eminent individual belonging to the church of Colossæ, Epaphras, the founder of that and of the neighbouring Christian communities. He visited Paul at Rome, and gave practical proofs of his sympathy,¹ and through him the apostle learnt how many things which had happened in their church during his absence required to be promptly counteracted.

During the preceding year, a new influence emanating from Judaism had been developed in those regions;—an influence with which Christianity had hitherto not come in contact, but which now threatened to mingle with it, and to endanger its purity and simplicity. It might be expected that Christianity on its first spread among the Jews, would chiefly come in contact with the Pharisaic mode of thinking which was then predominant. Hence the first false teachers, with whom

anity there, to travel as far as Rome in order to consult the apostle and to solicit his assistance; though we cannot determine with certainty whether other personal concerns also brought Epaphras to Rome. Neither can the fact that Paul, when at Rome, desired a lodging to be in readiness for him at Colossæ, determine anything; for though he had at an earlier period formed the intention to travel first into Spain, yet, as we have already remarked, he might be induced, by the information respecting the changes in the churches of Lesser Asia, to alter his plan. Nor is it otherwise than natural, that, during his confinement at Rome, he should collect around him younger men, who at other times had been used to serve as companions and fellow-labourers in his ministry, and that he should now make use of them in order to maintain with the distant churches, of whose situation he could receive information through various channels at Rome, a living connexion adapted to their necessities.

¹ It is remarkable that Paul, in the Epistle to Philemon, calls this Epaphras his "*fellow-prisoner in Christ Jesus*." As he thus distinguishes him from his other fellow-labourers, we may conclude that it could be affirmed only of Epaphras. Since the judicial inquiry instituted against Paul would have attracted the attention of the Roman magistrates to the new religious party that were opposed to the religion of the state, it may be assumed that this led to the apprehension of Epaphras, who had laboured so zealously on behalf of this cause in Lesser Asia. But it is against this opinion, that he is not mentioned with this epithet in the Epistle to the Colossians, unless we suppose that the apprehension of Epaphras did not occur till after that epistle was written. Still it is fair to suppose, that he was distinguished by this epithet to Philemon only as a faithful companion of the apostle in his confinement; as on the other hand he is distinguished by *another* epithet in the epistle to the whole church at Colossæ; and *this* title of honour (ὁ συναίχμαλωτός μου) is applied in the same epistle to Aristarchus, who had accompanied the apostle in his confinement.

Paul had hitherto been so often in conflict, had attempted a mixture of Pharisaic Judaism with Christianity. But now, after Christianity had spread further among the Jews, and had attracted the attention of those who lived in greater retirement, and troubled themselves little about the novelties of the day, its influence affected sects that had long existed among the Jews of a theosophic-ascetic character, such as that of the Essenes.¹ Persons of such a tendency must have felt themselves attracted, still more than Jews of the common Pharisaical bias, by what Christianity presented that was suited to the internal religious sentiment; only they were too much entangled in their mystical-ascetic bias, so opposite to the free practical spirit of the gospel, and in their spiritual pride, to be able to appropriate the gospel simply and purely with a renunciation of the preeminence of a higher religious philosophy, which they fancied themselves to possess, and of a higher practical perfection in their modes of abstinence.

¹ Storr's opinion that the Jewish Christian sect at Colossæ was derived immediately from the Essenes, who yet can be regarded only as one manifestation of this general mental tendency, is not supported by sufficient evidence. Yet it is not a decisive objection against it, that the Essenes had not spread themselves beyond Palestine, and showed no inclination for proselytism; for by the influence of Christianity, it is very possible that the original character of such a sect might be somewhat modified. And I would by no means adduce against it, what is said in the Epistle to the Colossians, not merely of the practically ascetic, but also of the theosophic tendency of this sect (their φιλοσοφία), since we cannot trust what Philo says of the Essenes as the ideal of practical philosophers. See my Church History, vol. i. p. 58. But although in this epistle some marks may be found which suit the Essenes, as, for instance, what is said of abstinence, of chastising the body, of the observance of the ceremonial law, of the reverence paid to angels, &c.; yet all this is too general, not to suit many other similar manifestations, arising from the same mental tendency, and on the other hand, we find nothing which marks the whole peculiar character of the Essenes. As a proof how much a propensity to bring themselves with angelology was spread among the Jews, we may notice the words in the κήρυγμα Πέτρου, in which it is said, μηδὲ κατὰ ἰουδαίους σέβεσθε, καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι οἰόμενοι τὸν θεὸν γινώσκειν οὐκ ἐπίστανται, λατρεύοντες ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἀρχαγγέλοις. See Clement. *Stromata*, vi. 635. Grabe, *Spicileg.* i. 64. If also an intention was contained in these words to indicate a subordinate place to Judaism as a religious system communicated by angels (the idea which at a later period was formed by the gnostics), the doctrine in vogue among the Jews concerning angels, and their connexion with them, might serve as a point of connexion for this censure.

They must have been rather tempted to remodel Christianity according to their former ideas and tendencies, and to cast it into a theosophic form of their own. We here see a tendency, first germinating in the circle of Judaism, from which, in the following century, manifold branches proceeded of a gnosticism that corrupted the simple gospel. Paul had probably cause, from his experience during his long sojourn in Lesser Asia, to apprehend the springing up of a tendency so injurious to the gospel, and hence we may account for his warnings addressed to the presbyters of the Ephesian church. His apprehensions were now verified. Jewish false teachers of this tendency had made their way into the church at Colossæ. What distinguished them from the common pharisaically-minded Jewish Christians was this,—that they did not begin with recommending to the Gentiles the observance of Jewish ceremonies, as indispensable for justification and sanctification, and for obtaining eternal happiness. Had they proceeded in this manner, they would in all probability not have found an entrance so easily into churches consisting purely of Gentile Christians. But they boasted of the knowledge of a higher wisdom transmitted by tradition among the initiated; they pretended to a higher knowledge of the spiritual world, to stand in a closer connexion with it, and that they could communicate it to those who were disposed to be initiated into their mysteries. With this theoretical tendency they joined a strict ascetism in practice, which was probably in close connexion with their theosophic principles, and had its foundation in their notions of matter, as the source and principle of evil; and thus also many particulars in their rules for abstaining from certain things, which it would be injurious to touch or taste, may be referred not simply to the Jewish laws respecting food, but to their peculiar theoretic doctrines.

The history of religion acquaints us with a twofold tendency of mysticism; one that adheres to the prevailing cultus, and professes to disclose its higher meaning: another

Perhaps they used the term *φιλοσοφία*, since this appellation, in consequence of the mixture of Oriental and Grecian ideas at this time, might be used as well as the word *γνῶσις*, afterwards employed among the Jewish theosophic sects to designate their pretended mysteries

that wears a hostile aspect towards it, and entirely despises what is external and historical in religion. This contrariety had already made its appearance in the Jewish philosophical religion at Alexandria. Among the Jews in that place, a class of religious Idealists had been formed, who, viewing the historical and the literal in religion only as the covering or vehicle of general ideas, drew the inference that the attainment of perfection depended on holding fast those ideas, while all besides was abandoned to the childish multitude who were incapable of higher conceptions, and satisfied with the outward husk of sensible objects.¹ Philo, in whom we have an example of the first tendency, combats, although agreeing with them in the principles of allegorical interpretation, those despisers of the letter; while he taught that it was possible only by spiritual intuition to penetrate into the true internal meaning of religion, and to know those mysteries of which outward Judaism presented the symbols. But he also taught, that in proportion to the conscientious reverence with which the external was contemplated, would be the progress through divine illumination in the examination of the internal. This last tendency we must suppose to exist in the sect of which we are now speaking.

In however slight a degree a party of common Judaizers would have been dangerous to the church at Colossæ, yet Judaism under this modification would be far more dangerous for many. For the people of that age who were filled with anxiety for a communication with heaven, and for the investigation of the invisible, stretching beyond the limits of earthly existence, the promise of a higher knowledge that to a certain extent would release them from the thralldom of the senses, was very seducing. Such anxious inquiries had led many an individual to Christianity, which, while it brought them to a consciousness of the real wants of their religious and moral nature, for which it guaranteed the relief, communicated on this side another tendency to their minds; but before it had thoroughly penetrated their life and thoughts, it might easily happen that such illusions, falling in with a previous and only partially conquered tendency, would deceive

¹ Thus characterised by Philo: οἱ τοὺς ῥητοὺς νόμους σύμβολα νοσητῶν πραγμάτων ὑπολαμβάνοντες, τὰ μὲν ἄγαν ἠκριβωσαν, τῶν δὲ ραθύνων ὠλιγώρῃσαν. See his work, *De Migratione Abrahami*, p. 16.

them by the dazzling appearance of something higher than what was offered them in the simple and ever practical doctrine of the apostles. Moreover, in a country like Phrygia, where a propensity for the mystical and magical was always rife, as was evident from the forms of religion peculiar to the country, the worship of Cybele, and afterwards Montanism,¹ such a tendency would be peculiarly dangerous to Christianity.

Paul describes the higher philosophy of religion of which these people boasted, as the following of human traditions,² as a cleaving to the elements³ of the world, and not proceeding from Christ. He objects to the preachers of this doctrine, that they did not adhere to Christ as the head. From this it has been incorrectly inferred by many, that these persons were in no sense Christians. But the main point in Paul's disapproval of them is this, that their doctrine, although connected with Christianity, was in contradiction to its spirit and nature,—that although they acknowledged Jesus as the Christ, and therefore as their Lord and Head, yet the spirit and tendency of their doctrine were at variance with this acknowledgment, since they did not, in accordance with it, set out from their relation to him in their striving after a knowledge of divine things, and make him their central point. In fact, it is only on the supposition that they professed to attach themselves to the Christian faith, that this disapproval retains its full significance.

It would indeed be possible so to explain the relation of these persons to Christianity,⁴ that they did not come forward in direct hostility against it, but yet ascribed it only a subordinate importance in their religious development—that they

¹ Compare Böhmer's *Isagoge in Epistolam ad Coloss.*, p. 9.

² Not proceeding from what the Spirit of God had revealed.

³ The στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, in Col. ii. 8, and other passages, are not to be understood, it appears to me, as is commonly explained, of the *rudimenta religionis*, both in Judaism and Heathenism; but a comparison of all the Pauline passages, and the Pauline association of ideas, seems to favour our understanding the phrase of the elements of the world in a peculiar sense, as denoting the earthly, elsewhere termed τὰ σαρκικά. Hence ii. 20, στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου and κόσμος may be considered as synonymous.

⁴ This view has been recently developed with much skill and acuteness by Dr. Schneckenburger, in his work on the Baptism of Proselytes. See also h s *Beitrage zur Einleitung in's Neue Testament*, p. 146.

acknowledged Christ only as the prophet of the heathen world, which hitherto had known nothing of the true God, and attributed to the religion revealed by him only a subordinate value for the religious culture of the heathen.¹ They perhaps taught that by their connexion with the hidden supreme God which was effected through Judaism, they were raised above the revelations of the Mediator, the Logos, and thus above Christianity, and thereby obtained the power to employ higher spirits themselves in their service.² According to this

¹ Among the Jewish theologians, there were those who had borrowed from the Platonic philosophy the doctrine of the constellations, as *θεοὶ ἀσθητοί*; and accordingly explained the passage in Deut. iv. 19, as meaning that God had left the adoration of the heavenly bodies as a subordinate religious standing-point to other nations, but had revealed himself only to the Jews. This view might afterwards be further modified, that God had given the Logos or Jesus to the heathen as their teacher and governor, but that the knowledge and worship of the Supreme God was only to be found among the Jews. Since Justin Martyr, in his Dialogue with Trypho, in what he represents these Jewish theologians as saying, has put into Trypho's mouth what they were at that time in the habit of saying, we may consider him as expressing their views, when he brings in Trypho as saying; *ἔστω ὑμῶν ἐξ ἔθνων κύριος καὶ θεὸς γνωριζόμενος, ὡς αἱ γραφαὶ σημαίνουσιν, οἵτινες καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ Χριστιανοὶ καλεῖσθαι πάντες ἐσχέκατε ἡμεῖς δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ αὐτὸν τοῦτον ποιήσαντος λατρευταὶ ὄντες. οὐ δεόμεθα τῆς ὁμολογίας αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ τῆς προσκυνήσεως.* The doctrine of the Clementines also may be here compared. According to this work, Christianity contained in a form of revelation designed for heathens, the same as original Judaism purified from foreign admixtures, so that he who adhered to Jesus alone, as well as he who adhered to Moses alone, could attain to a participation of the kingdom of God, provided the latter did not transgress by blaspheming Christ, and the former by blaspheming Moses. If a Jew, with a greater partiality for Judaism, contemplated Christianity, yet the same fundamental principle could easily be so modified, that genuine Judaism would appear more valuable than that form of revelation which was specially intended for the Gentiles.

² This idea was always to be found among the gnostics of the second century, and meets us in the Indian religious systems, and in Buddhism, that men, by communion with the Supreme original being, obtained power to make use of inferior spirits for their own ends, and that in this manner wonderful things could be accomplished by their aid. Here the contrast which Philo makes between the *υἱοὶ τοῦ λόγου* and the *υἱοὶ τοῦ ὄντος* may be applied, only modified, otherwise than in Philo for the Alexandrian theologians of Philo's school attached no importance to the connexion with angels, since they comprised everything in the contact of the spirit with God himself, and the contemplation of ideas. In the sect here spoken of, the oriental-theosophic rather than the Grecian-philosophic element of Philo's theology is prominent.

view, we may suppose that these persons, from the standing-point of a pretended spiritual conception of Judaism, had formed the same judgment respecting the subordinate standing-point of Christianity, as many of the later gnostics from the standing-point of a spiritualised Christianity were accustomed to pass on Judaism as the religion of the Demiurgos.

But although such a conception of the peculiarities of this sect is possible, yet it is by no means sufficiently supported by the marks which are deducible from Paul's argumentation. Had they sought actually to seduce from Christianity those among whom they found entrance, Paul would have marked this much more strongly. His reasonings indeed, as they are carried on in this epistle, would apply to those persons who, though engaged in no immediate and open opposition to Christianity, yet assigned to it a subordinate place ;¹ but the peculiar manner in which he argues by no means justifies us in concluding that they are the direct object of his censure. Since he reproves these persons for their reverence of angels, it follows that they placed themselves in a subordinate relation to angels, and hence certainly to the Logos, a being exalted above all angels (the ἀρχάγγελος). Had they maintained that by an immediate connexion with the hidden God, they could exalt themselves above the Logos and his revelation, Paul would without doubt have expressed, in direct opposition to this doctrine, the fundamental principle, that men can enter into connexion with the Father only through the Logos. He makes use, it is true, of this principle, but in reference to a different object of debate.

In that Judaizing sect which here came into conflict with the simple apostolic doctrine, we see the germ of the Judaizing gnosticism. Though the account given by Epiphanius of the conflict between Cerinthus and the apostle Paul is not worthy of credit, yet at least between the tendency which Paul here combats and the tendency of Cerinthus the greatest agreement is found to exist, and, judging by internal marks, we may consider the sect here spoken of to be allied to the Cerinthian. It is remarkable that, to a late period, traces of such a Judaizing angelological tendency were to be found in those parts, for at the council of Laodicea canons were framed

¹ Schneckenburger has developed this view in his late essay on this subject.

against a Judaizing observance of the Sabbath, and a species of angelolatry,¹ and even in the ninth century we find a kindred sect, the Athinganians.²

In the example of Paul we recognise the peculiar character of the apostolic mode of refuting error, and how it differs from that of later times. While this busies itself with the confutation of particular errors, Paul, on the contrary, seized the root of the doctrine in its peculiar religious fundamental tendency from which all the particular errors proceeded, and opposed to it the spirit of the gospel. This method was rather positive than negative. Thus he repressed the boasting of a pretended superior wisdom and of a delusive acquaintance with spirits, without setting himself to oppose each separate particular, by exhibiting a truth that marks the central point of Christianity ; that by communion with Christ alone, we receive all the fulness of the divine life ; by him alone we are introduced into the kingdom of God, and we belong to that same kingdom to which all higher spirits belong, by union with him as the common head of the whole ; in him we have all things which are needed for the development of the internal life, and hence we need no other Mediator. For the purpose of combating a painful superstition, which represented this and the other object as polluting and offensive, and recommended various charms or amulets for warding off the influence of evil spirits,³ he appealed to the facts of Christian consciousness ; that Christians were redeemed from the power

¹ Can. xx. ὅτι οὐ δεῖ Χριστιανοῖς ἰουδαΐζειν καὶ ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ σχολάζειν. Can. xvi. ordains ἐν σαββάτῳ εὐαγγέλια μετὰ ἑτέρων γραφῶν (the Old Testament) ἀναγινώσκεισθαι. Can xxxv. ὅτι οὐ δεῖ Χριστιανοὺς ἐγκαταλείπειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἀγγέλους ὀνομάζειν καὶ συνάξεις (meetings for paying reverence to angels). The following canon is also worthy of notice, as indicating the predominant and peculiar mental tendency, ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἱερατικούς ἢ κληρικούς μάγους ἢ ἑπαιδοὺς εἶναι ἢ μαθηματικούς ἢ ἀστρολόγους ἢ ποιεῖν τὰ λεγόμενα φυλακτήρια. Theodoret says, in his commentary on this epistle (ii. 18), that this superstition for a long time maintained itself in Phrygia and Pisidia, and that in his day, oratories were to be found in this and the neighbouring districts dedicated to the Archangel Michael.

² See my Church History. Part vii. p. 545 ; part viii. p. 660.

³ With the doctrine of various orders of angels, this sect combined the doctrine of various orders of evil spirits. These evil spirits were considered especially connected with matter (πνεύματα ὑλικά). By sensuality, and especially by the enjoyment of certain kinds of food, men were especially exposed to their influence ; and by chasten-

of evil, and, in communion with Christ, were certain of their triumph over all the powers of darkness—that as their inner life was exalted above the reach of earthly things, to which they were dead with Christ as it already belonged to heaven, with whom they were incorporated through Christ, so it ought to be altogether carried out of the reach of a religion cleaving to the senses; nor ought Christians to allow this their life thus exalted to heaven and rooted in communion with God, to be dragged down to the elements of the world, to sensible earthly things.—“See to it,” said the apostle, “that no one robs you of your Christian freedom, that no one trepan you as his prey by the worthless deceitful appearance of a pretended higher wisdom which follows human traditions, cleaves to the elements of the world, and proceeds not from Christ. Everything which does not proceed from him is delusion; for the whole church of God, which belongs to him as his body, exists in dependence on him; and through him, who is the common head of all the powers of the spiritual world, are ye also incorporated with that church, ye who before were as Gentiles excluded from the development of God’s kingdom. He has obtained for you the forgiveness of sins, and thus has also freed you from the law which testified against you as an indictment, having blotted it out. By his sufferings, he has triumphed over the whole kingdom of evil; let none of you therefore hazard becoming slaves again, and condemn yourselves on account of those outward things, all of which are only shadows of what was to come; but in Christ we behold the reality itself. May no one succeed in beguiling you in reference to your highest interests (merely because it so pleases him—for his own arbitrary pleasure), by the appearance of a humility put on for show, by the worship of angels, since he is disposed to pry into what is hidden from man¹—for such a

ing the body, and abstaining from the indulgence of the senses, men were withdrawn from these influences.

¹ In the passage, Col. ii. 18, that reading which omits the $\mu\eta$ has much in its favour, the authority of the most important manuscripts, and the comparison with the other reading $\sigma\upsilon\kappa$ which may be considered as a similar gloss. It is also more easy to explain how the connexion of the whole verse might occasion the interpolation of the negative, than how it should occasion its rejection, by which it is only made more difficult. If this reading be adopted, we must understand the passage thus: “He pries into which (as he imagines) he has seen,

one, with all his appearance of humility and a spiritual life. is puffed up with an ungodly mind, which places its confidence in a nullity ; he can neither exalt himself above the world nor to Christ, for he does not hold fast the head from which alone the body, animated by it and held together by its influence in all its members, can develop itself for the end designed by God. How is it, if ye are dead with Christ to the things of the world, that ye can adopt as if ye belonged to the world, such maxims as, Touch not this, taste not that ; since all this, according to the doctrine of these persons, will only by the use tend to destruction ! Which doctrines certainly have an appearance of wisdom in the arbitrarily invented worship of God, the show of humility, and the chastening of the body ; but yet things which have no real value, and only serve to gratify an ungodly mind. If, therefore, ye are risen with Christ, seek after that which is above : let your thoughts be directed thither where Christ is, who is exalted to the right hand of God : let your wishes be fixed on heaven." This tendency towards heaven, this life rooted in God, was always set in opposition by Paul to the superstition that would drag down divine knowledge to the objects of sense.

This epistle was conveyed to the church at Colossæ by Tychicus, one of the missionary assistants of Paul, who was returning to Lesser Asia, his native country. But since Paul could not furnish him with epistles for all the Asiatic churches, and yet would gladly have testified his lively interest in all, and wished, as the apostle of the Gentiles, to address a word to all collectively, he prepared a circular letter designed for all the churches in that region. In this

the appearances of angels—puffed up by the delusive images, which are only a reflection of the sensuality that prevails over him, of his sensual earthly tendency to which he drags down the objects of religion, the Invisible." And in this case the contrast would be very suitable ; he adheres not in faith to the *invisible* Head. But yet this reading appears to me to have the connexion and the meaning of single words too much against it for me to admit it. The ἐμβατεύειν appears to me too plainly to designate an impertinent eagerness to pry into what is hidden from human sight, and to presuppose the negative μή ; and if the apostle had wished to mark supposed appearances of angels, he would certainly not have used ἑώρακεν without some further limitation, some additional phrase, with which the following εἰκὴ might be connected ; as, for example, by a ἑωρακέναί δοκεῖ, this vision would have been marked as deceptive and presumptuous.

epistle, in which the apostle of the Gentiles addressed himself to all Gentile Christians as such, he treats only of one great subject of general interest, the actual efficiency of the gospel among the Gentiles, without entering upon other topics.¹ The similarity of the two epistles (the Epistle to the Colossians and the so-called Epistle to the Ephesians) is of such a kind, that we see in it the work of the same author, and not an imitation by another hand. Let us remember that Paul, when he wrote this epistle, was still full of those thoughts and contemplations which occupied his mind when he wrote the Epistle to the Colossians; thus we can account for those points of resemblance in the second, which was written immediately after the first. And hence it also is evident, that of these two, the Epistle to the Colossians was written first, for the apostle's thoughts there exhibit themselves in their original formation and connexion, as they were called forth by his opposition to that sect whose sentiments and practices he combats in that epistle.²

Though this epistle has come down to us in the manuscripts, now extant, as addressed to the church at Ephesus, yet the general character of the contents, suited to the wants of the Asiatic Christians of Gentile descent, testifies, by the absence of all special references to the peculiar circumstances of the Ephesian church, against such an exclusive or predominant appropriation of it. If this epistle had been designed principally for the Ephesian church, Paul would certainly have been impelled to say to those among whom he had spent so long a time, many things relating solely to their peculiar circumstances. This conclusion, which we draw with certainty from the contents of the epistle, is confirmed by the information that has come down to us from antiquity, that the designation of the place in the introductory salutation is wanting in ancient manuscripts. But since the Ephe-

¹ It was so far a happy thought of Schulz to describe this Epistle as a companion to the Epistle to the Hebrews.

² For the confirmation of this relation of the two epistles to one another, the *καί* in Eph. vi. 21 certainly serves, which can only be explained by supposing that Paul had in his thoughts what he had been writing to the Colossians, iv. 8, according to the correct reading *ἵνα γνῶτε*. Harless has noticed this mark in the introduction to his Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians, and after him Wiggers jun. in the *Studien und Kritiken*; 1841, 2d part, p. 453.

sian church consisted for the most part of Gentile Christians, we have no reason to doubt that this epistle was equally designed for them, though being a circular letter, the apostle touched only on those circumstances and wants which were common to them with the other churches of this district. It might also be thought most proper, that the epistle should be sent from Ephesus, as the metropolis and the seat of the mother-church, to the other churches. This would best agree with the designation which it generally obtained at an early period, as specially addressed to the Ephesian church. Yet from this remark we do not venture to infer too much, since the great preponderance of the Ephesian church, as one of the *sedes apostolicæ*, although the epistle at first might have had no precise designation, must have procured a predominant value to its name, as if of one directed to the Ephesian church.¹

In the second period of his confinement, Paul received a contribution from the church at Philippi (who had already given practical proof of their love for him) through Epaphroditus, their messenger, from whom also he received an account of their state. In consequence of this information, he had occasion to put the Christians at Philippi on their guard against the influence of Judaizing teachers, to exhort them to union amongst themselves, and to recommend to those who had more liberal and enlarged views, forbearance towards their weaker brethren. On this last topic, he gives them, in the words of the exhortation which he added at the close of the epistle, the important rule, that all should seek to employ faithfully the measure of knowledge which they had already attained (iii. 15), that then God would reveal to them what they still wanted, and thus all would by degrees arrive at a state of Christian maturity.² He exhorted them, under the persecutions to which the Christians in Macedonia were still

¹ The well-founded reaction against the negative assertions of an arbitrary scepticism, must not seduce us into a superstitious overvaluation of tradition, which in its turn may lead to mere arbitrary assertions, instead of that result which offers itself from the comprehensive survey of Christian antiquity.

² The gloss of the common reading (*κανόνι, τὸ αὐτὸ προνεῖν*), which injures the meaning, arose from mistaking the sense of the passage, and supposing that it referred to Christian unity, and not to the agreement of practice with knowledge.

exposed, to bear joyfully their sufferings for Christ's sake, and to view them as a gift of grace, which was vouchsafed to them.

CHAPTER X.

PAUL'S LABOURS AFTER HIS RELEASE FROM HIS FIRST CONFINEMENT AT ROME, TO HIS MARTYRDOM.

HITHERTO we have possessed certain information respecting the circumstances and labours of the apostle Paul during his confinement at Rome. But in reference to the sequel, we meet on all sides with great obscurity and uncertainty. The question arises, whether he ended this confinement with martyrdom, or whether he was released from it, and entered afresh on his apostolic labours. The decision of this question depends partly on the depositions of historical witnesses, partly on the result of an examination of Paul's Second Epistle to Timothy, whether this epistle, which was evidently written during a confinement at Rome, must be classed among the epistles written in the time of his first confinement, or whether we must assume the existence of a second. The narratives of the fourth century, according to which Paul was set at liberty and published the gospel in Spain, cannot be taken into account, for all these might very easily arise from what he says in his Epistle to the Romans, of his intentions of visiting Spain. But more attention is due to an account which is given by a man who was in part a contemporary, and probably a disciple of Paul. Clement, the bishop of Rome, says expressly in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, (§ 5,)¹ that Paul suffered martyrdom, after he

¹ What we learn from the only natural interpretation of this passage could not have occurred, if what Schenkel has remarked in his dissertation against a second confinement of Paul (in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1841, part 1), respecting Clement's Epistle, be correct; namely, that it was written only a few years after the Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, between the years 64 and 65; but we cannot entirely agree with this opinion. The inference from § 41, where the author expresses himself as if the temple and temple-worship at Jeru-

had travelled to the boundaries of the West.¹ By this expression, we most naturally understand Spain; and though Clement might have understood by it some other place or country than exactly this, yet we cannot in any case suppose, that a person writing at Rome would intend by it that very city.² From this account of Clement, if we must infer that

salem were still in existence, cannot countervail those passages of this epistle which contain the most undeniable marks of a later period; as § 44, on the election to church-offices; § 47, where it is presupposed that Paul wrote the First Epistle to the Corinthians at the beginning of the publication (or of *his* publication) of the gospel *ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου*. And it appears that the author knew nothing of any epistle written to the Corinthians by Paul *before our first* epistle to them. I also think that Clement would have expressed himself otherwise in § 5, if he had written only a few years after Paul's martyrdom. The allusions to the Epistle to the Hebrews also indicate a much later date.

¹ The μαρτυρεῖν is in this connexion, μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων, to be understood probably, not in the later meaning of martyrdom, but in the original sense of bearing testimony to the faith, although with a reference to the death of Paul, which was brought on by this confession. "He bore testimony of his faith before the heathen magistrates." At all events, the words ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων must be understood as a general designation of the heathen magistrates; and we cannot suppose that Clement intended to give a precise chronological mark, or to refer to the persons to whom at that time the management of public affairs was committed in Rome.

² Schrader, indeed, adopts Ernesti's opinion, that by *τέρμα τῆς δύσεως* may be meant the boundaries of the west towards the east, and thus nothing else be intended than that Paul had just reached as far as the boundaries of the west. But though we are willing to allow that the words might in themselves be so understood, yet it is impossible so to understand them in this connexion. For Clement had just said that Paul proclaimed the gospel in the east and in the west (*κήρυξ γενόμενος ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ δύσει*), that he had taught righteousness to the whole world (*δικαιοσύνην διδάξας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον*), and then follow the words *ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθών*. In this connexion, Clement must surely have intended to say that Paul advanced far into the west. It may here be remarked, that Clement must have known more of the events in general of Paul's life, for he says that Paul was seven times put in fetters. After what has been said since the publication of this work against this interpretation and application of the passage in Clement, I cannot prevail on myself to give it up; and I am pleased to find critics like Credner, who hold the same views. How can it be imagined that Clement, if he thought only of Paul's first confinement at Rome, could say that he had published the gospel not merely in the east but also in the west, and had come even to the boundaries of the west? Even if we allow much for the rhetorical form of the expression, we

Paul carried into effect his intention of travelling into Spain, or that, at least, he went beyond Italy, we are also obliged to admit, that he was released from his confinement at Rome. And we must abide by this opinion, if we have no further information of the circumstances of Paul during his second confinement, if we also place his Second Epistle to Timothy in the time of his first imprisonment.

If we depart from this last supposition, we can put two cases ; either that Paul wrote this epistle at the beginning or at the end of his confinement. As to the first case, we know, that Paul came to Rome without Timothy, but that he was afterwards in his society. It may be therefore supposed, that he was called by this epistle from Lesser Asia to Rome, and that from that time he remained constantly with him. But the information furnished by this epistle, of Paul's situation at that time, is entirely opposed to such a supposition. When he wrote it, he had already obtained a public audience, and had been heard in his defence. On the contrary, in the first period of his confinement, this had certainly not happened, since it is first mentioned in the Epistle to the Philippians. He then had his martyrdom in prospect, while his First Epistle during his confinement held out the most cheering hopes of his release.

If we take the second case, and consider this epistle as the last he wrote in that confinement at Rome, it will connect itself with the Epistle to the Philippians, with respect to the darker prospects of the apostle's situation, of which it contains several indications. But several other things do not agree with this supposition, and rather direct us to another date. And although not every particular which we could mention on this point has equal weight, yet all taken together are in favour of that view, according to which all the particulars can be most naturally and simply understood, in the manner which would first occur to an unprejudiced reader of the epistle. Paul desires Timothy to come to him, without any allusions to his having been already with him during his confinement. When we begin to read the epistle, everything gives the impression, that he had taken leave of Timothy in

cannot consider this as a proper designation of such a fact ; and why should a writer who had at hand so many rhetorical designations for the metropolis of the world. have chosen one so unnatural as this ?

the place where the latter was now residing, and since that time had been put in confinement. He cautions him against the false teachers in his neighbourhood (in Lesser Asia, probably at Ephesus), ii. 17, and speaks of them as if he had himself the opportunity of knowing them from personal observation. This could not have been during his earlier residence in Lesser Asia, for at that time these heretical tendencies had not yet shown themselves, as appears from what we have before remarked ; but everything is easily explained if Paul, being released from confinement, travelled into Lesser Asia, as he intended, and entered into conflict with these false teachers, who had gained a footing there during his absence. He informed Timothy of the result of his first public examination, iv. 16, and in a manner which implies that Timothy knew nothing before of it, and that it had taken place during his absence from Rome. But when Paul made his defence during his first confinement Timothy was with him ; (compare Philip. i. 7.) We are therefore led to think of something that happened during Paul's second confinement. There are, besides, many marks which indicate that he had come to the West by his usual route from Lesser Asia through Achaia, but which we know was not his route when he last came from Caesarea to Jerusalem. He charges Timothy to bring with him the cloak, the books, and especially the parchments, which he had left behind at the house of a person whose name he mentions. Now it is far more probable that he left these things behind after a visit to Troas some months before, than at a distance of four or six years, which we must suppose to have been the case, if the epistle was written during his first confinement, and that they should not be brought to him till after so long an interval.¹ In order to depict his state of desertion, he informs him that Erastus, one of his usual companions, who probably was with him the last time in Lesser Asia,² stayed behind in his native place Corinth ; and that he had left another of his companions, Trophimus, sick at Mile-

¹ It is an arbitrary assumption that these parchments contained documents relative to his defence, and that for that reason he wished to have them.

² See Acts xix. 22. This could hardly be the same as the *οικονόμος* of Corinth, mentioned in Rom. xvi. 23, for his office would scarcely allow of his being so often with Paul on his missionary journeys.

tum.¹ Although we find several persons in Paul's society, who were also with him during his first confinement (though this circumstance will not serve to fix the date, since the same causes as at that time might bring him again into his society); yet among these is a Titus, who was not with him before, for we have not met with them together since the apostle's last sojourn in Macedonia and Achaia, and a Crescens, who is not named before as one of his companions.

Against the opinion that this epistle, according to the marks we have indicated, was written in Paul's second confinement, it may indeed be objected, that we find in it no reference to an earlier confinement at Rome. But this will appear less strange, if we attend to the following considerations. By this epistle to Timothy, the apostle by no means intended to give the first information of his new confinement; he rather assumes, that this, and in part the peculiarities of his condition in it, were already known to him, as appears from i. 15,² and by means of the constant intercourse between

¹ On the supposition that the epistle might have been written during Paul's first confinement, it is the most natural supposition that such persons are here spoken of who had resolved to come to Rome (as Timothy knew), to the apostle's assistance on his trial, according to the usages of Roman law. One of them, Erastus, had not left Corinth as he intended, but remained there. Trophimus (who as a witness might have been of great service) they (the delegates of the churches in Lesser Asia who had agreed to travel together to Rome) had left behind sick at Miletum (ἀπέλιπον, the third person plural). But certainly the other interpretation, in which nothing needs to be supplied, is the simplest, and that which would first occur to an unprejudiced reader of the epistle. Besides, if Paul had reminded Timothy of something which must have been known to him, in order to stir him up still more to set off without delay to Rome, (as Timothy, who was probably staying at Ephesus, must have known that the delegates from the churches had left Trophimus sick in his neighbourhood,) he would have added some such word as οἶδας, to signify that he was merely reminding him of something he knew already. We may also doubt whether the testimony of Trophimus was of so much consequence to Paul. The charge of raising a tumult at Jerusalem would probably not be so dangerous to him; on the contrary, he was most probably justified sufficiently on his arrival at Rome by the statements that were sent at the same time from the Roman authorities, whose inquiries had hitherto led to a favourable result. But that charge of having prompted among Roman citizens to apostatize from the state religion, and propagated a *religio nova et illicita*, must have been really dangerous, and in this case Trophimus could be of no assistance to him.

² This passage may be most naturally understood of a number of

the chief cities of the Roman Empire, and the lively interest taken by the churches in Paul's affairs, information respecting him must soon have reached Ephesus. Moreover, during this period after his release, so many things occurred in his renewed apostolic labours, which fully occupied the mind of one who was more affected by events relating to the kingdom of God than by any personal considerations, and pushed into the background the recollection of his former confinement; and in the prospect of martyrdom, he would fix his thoughts more on the future than on the past, especially in reference to events that were likely to affect the progress of the kingdom of God on earth.

Now if we admit that Paul was released from that confinement, we must assume that he regained his freedom before the persecution against the Christians occasioned by the conflagration at Rome in the year 64; for had he been a prisoner at this time, he would certainly have not been spared. And it agrees with the chronological data which we have before discovered, that after more than a two years' imprisonment, he regained his freedom between the years 62 and 63, a result of the proceedings against him which in itself, and in connexion with existing circumstances, is by no means improbable. The accusation of raising a tumult at Jerusalem had been proved to be unfounded; but the opposition of Christianity to the State-religion had not then attracted public attention, and though this fact could not have passed altogether unnoticed, yet no definite law existed on the subject, and under the Emperor Nero, who ridiculed the established religion, and gave himself little concern about the ancient Roman enactments, such a point might more easily be waved. The friends whom Paul had gained by his behaviour during his confinement, and by the manner of conducting his defence, would probably exert their influence in his favour. Thus he might regain his freedom; and the ancient tradition that he was beheaded,¹ and not crucified like Peter, if true, favours his not having suffered death in the persecution of 64; for had he

Christians from Lesser Asia, who, on coming to Rome, were afraid to visit Paul in his confinement, and whom he met with in Lesser Asia when he wrote this epistle. Paul marks the persons to whom he alluded by specifying two of their number

¹ See Eusebius, ii. 25.

been put to death in that persecution, so much regard would not have been paid to his Roman citizenship as to spare the hated leader of a detested sect from the more painful and ignominious mode of execution.

From the epistles written by Paul during his first confinement, we learn that he laboured much at Rome in publishing the gospel ; his firm advocacy of the cause of God, and his happy release, must have had a beneficial influence in this respect. Hence it came to pass, that Christianity from this time spread with still greater power among the Gentiles in Rome. But owing to the same cause, the new sect, while gaining ground among the heathen to the injury of idolatry, drew on itself the attention of the fanatical people who could not feel otherwise than hostile to the enemies of their gods ; and the hatred thus excited soon occasioned the report to be spread of unnatural crimes committed in the assemblies of these impious persons. Perhaps also the Jews, who were more embittered against the Christians when their designs against Paul proved abortive, contributed their part to excite the popular hatred against them. But a persecution on the part of the state would hardly have been threatened so soon, if the Emperor Nero had not availed himself of the popular feeling, which easily credited everything bad of the Christians, in order to cast an odium on the Christians which he wished to throw off from himself.¹ Yet it by no means appears that this outbreak against the Christians in Rome was followed by a general persecution against them throughout the provinces, and hence Paul might meanwhile continue his apostolic labours without molestation in distant parts.

As for the history of his labours in this new field, we have no information respecting it ; nor can the total want of sources for this part of church history be at all surprising. But this defect of information cannot be made use of to render doubtful the fact of Paul's second confinement. Nothing, therefore, is left for us, but to compare the short account (already mentioned) in the Epistle of Clemens Romanus, with what Paul himself tells us respecting his intentions in case he regained his freedom, in the epistles written during his first confinement, and with what may be gathered from his other

¹ On this persecution in Rome, see my Church History, vol. i. part . p. 136 ; and part 3, p. 239.

letters, which it seems probable that he wrote after his release.

Before his confinement, Paul had expressed the intention of going into Spain, and the testimony of the Roman Clement favours the belief that he fulfilled this intention. But during his confinement at Rome he had altered his views, and was determined, by reasons which we have already noticed, to visit once more the scene of his early labours in Lesser Asia. The Second Epistle to Timothy contains hints of his returning by his usual route through Achaia. But it would be possible that after his release he travelled first into Spain ; that he there exerted himself in the establishment of Christian churches, and then revisited the former sphere of his ministry ; that he was on his return to the West, in order to close there his apostolic commission, but before he could reach his destination was detained and executed at Rome.—However, the want of any memorial of his labours in Spain, the want of any record of an *ecclesia apostolica*, does not favour the supposition that Paul spent any length of time in that country ; and hence the other explanation, that he first renewed his labours in the East, then betook himself to Spain, and soon after his arrival was beheaded, seems to deserve the preference.

We, therefore, are of opinion that Paul first fulfilled his intention of returning to Lesser Asia. Now the First Epistle of Paul to Timothy and the Epistle to Titus, by the peculiarities of their mode of expression, and the peculiar references to ecclesiastical relations, connect themselves so closely with the Second Epistle to Timothy, and exhibit so many marks of the later apostolic age (one of which we have already noticed), that it appears reasonable to assign both these epistles to this period.

In the earlier history of the apostle, we can find no point of time in which he could have written such a letter to Timothy at Ephesus, in reference to the concerns of that church, as his first epistle ;¹ for this epistle presupposes a church already for

¹ The genuineness of the First Epistle to Timothy being presupposed, the view I have here taken of the relations and circumstances under which it was written, appears to be the only tenable one. But I confess that I am not convinced of the genuineness of the First Epistle to Timothy, with the same certainty as of the Pauline origin of all the other Pauline Epistles, and of the two other Pastoral Letters, and the

some time in existence, which in many respects required a new organization of church relations, the displacing several of the leading officers of the church, and the appointment of others. The new class of false teachers who had sprung up in Lesser Asia during Paul's imprisonment, had acquired great influence in the Ephesian church. As Paul (according to an interpretation not absolutely necessary of his farewell address at Miletus) had anticipated, several overseers of the churches had allowed themselves to be seduced by the spirit of false doctrine. The false teachers to whom we refer bore the same marks which we find in those who appeared in the church at Colossæ during Paul's confinement. They belonged to the class of Judaizers, who maintained the perpetual obligation of

Epistles to the Ephesians and the Colossians. What is said in this epistle of the false teachers excites no suspicion in my mind; and I can find nowhere the allusions to the later gnostic doctrines, which Bauer would find in this as well as in the Pastoral Letters. The germ of such Judaizing gnosticism, or of a Judaizing theosophic ascetic tendency, as it shows itself in the two Epistles to Timothy, I would presuppose *a priori* to be existing at this time, since the appearances of the second century point back to such a tendency gradually evolving itself out of Judaism. In this respect, the absence of the marks of a later date in the controversial part of this epistle, is to me a proof of its high antiquity. To the declaration of Hegesippus, in Eusebius, iii. 32, that the falsifications of doctrine first began after the death of the apostle, or rather then ventured to make their public appearance, I can attach no such weight as historical evidence, as to cast a doubt on these undeniable facts. As there is an unhistorical tendency produced by a dogmatic bias, which transposes the originators of all heresies to the apostolic age, and makes the apostles to be the first impugnors of them; so also there is a more unhistorical tendency, and equally proceeding from a dogmatic bias (as is the case with all the depositions of Hegesippus), which would maintain that, up to a certain date, the church was wholly pure, and that all heresies broke out first after the decease of the apostles. A common but one-sided truth lies at the bottom of both opinions. I can find nothing surprising in the fact, that, in the two Epistles to Timothy, such an aspect of the present as an omen and germ of what would be developed in the future, is to be seen. The attentive observer, capable of deeper insight, must here behold the future in the present. But I cannot deny that, when I come from reading other Pauline epistles, and especially the two other Pastoral Letters, to this epistle, I feel myself struck by the impression of something not Pauline. More particularly, the mode of transition appears to me not in the Pauline style,—as in ii. 7; iii. 1; iii. 15; v. 17, 18; and the relation of this epistle to the two other Pastoral Letters is also suspicious. I can indeed find reasons for allaying these doubts, but none which, taken all together, can satisfy the unprejudiced lover of truth.

the Mosaic law.¹ But they distinguished themselves from the common Judaizers by a theosophic ascetic tendency. They taught abstinence from certain kinds of food, and prescribed celibacy as essential to Christian perfection.² But they united with this practical tendency a theoretical peculiarity. They prided themselves on possessing a higher γνῶσις (the φιλοσοφία of the Epistle to the Colossians), and by this they were seduced from the simplicity of the faith. They taught legendary tales respecting the origin and propagation of spirits, like the false teachers at Colossæ.³ They brought forward subjects which gave rise to subtle disputations, instead of leading men to accept in faith the divine means of their salvation; 1 Tim. i. 4. The conflict with this false Gnosis now springing up, must have occupied the churches in these parts. As the prophets in the assemblies of believers frequently warned them of the dangers which from the signs of the times they perceived were threatening the church; so these warning voices spoke also of the conflict that awaited the church with this hostile tendency, which in following ages was one of the severest which the simple gospel had to encounter. These are the express warnings of the Divine Spirit by the inspired addresses in the churches, to which Paul appeals.⁴ To this

¹ As appears from the Pauline antithesis, 1 Tim. i. 9.

² Among the σωματικὴ γυμνασία, 1 Tim. iv. 8, must without doubt be included a devotion that consisted in outward gestures, abstinencies, and ceremonies, the opposite of which is true piety, εὐσέβεια, having its seat in the disposition.

³ The genealogical investigations common among the Jews, by which they sought to trace their descent from persons of note in former times up to the Patriarchs, cannot certainly be intended in 1 Tim. i. 4, for inquiries of this sort could never be introduced among Gentiles, nor could their minds be so much occupied with them, that an attention to them should be set down among the marks of character. Nor can we suppose a reference to inquiries respecting the genealogy of Jesus; what has just been said would in part apply to this supposition, and in this case Paul would have marked his meaning more precisely, and according to his usual antithetical style, contrasted the Χριστὸς κατὰ πνεῦμα with the Χριστὸς κατὰ σάρκα. On the contrary, it will be quite suitable to apply it to the γενεαλογίας τῶν ἀγγέλων, similar to the later gnostic pneumatologies; on the supposition, indeed, that he wrote of them as already well known to Timothy. Any other person who had forged this epistle, partly for the purpose of employing the authority of Paul against the rising gnosis, would have more exactly marked the object of controversy.

⁴ 1 Tim. iv. 1. A similar expression respecting prophetic intimations occurs in Acts xx. 23.

peculiar state of the church several of the instructions are applicable, which Paul gives in this epistle, relative to the appointment of their overseers.¹

Paul, therefore, executed his intention of going into Lesser Asia, and found such disturbances in the churches there, arising from the influence of the unevangelical tendency we have noticed, that he held it to be absolutely necessary to remain longer in those parts. He left Ephesus for reasons unknown to us, to visit the churches of Macedonia, but soon returned thither, and in the meanwhile left Timothy behind for the special purpose of counterworking these false teachers, which he considered an object of the first importance; to this he added a subordinate concern, the new organization of the church at Ephesus, and perhaps also the superintendence of some others in the neighbourhood, which had since been formed.²

If we regard the geographical position of the places, it agrees very well with Paul's residence in Lesser Asia, and his travelling thence to Macedonia, that at this time he visited the Island of Crete, and there left behind his disciple Titus, to whom he addressed an epistle. It is indeed easy to ima-

¹ From the difference in circumstances would arise the difference of manner in which he expresses himself here and in the First Epistle to the Corinthians respecting a single life. When he wrote to the Corinthians, he opposed those who objected to a single life from the common Jewish standing-point; here he speaks against those who went so far in depreciating marriage as to condemn it altogether as unchristian. In opposition to these persons, who led females to forget altogether the proper destiny of their sex, and to thrust themselves forward as public teachers, Paul says, 1 Tim. ii. 15, that the woman would always be saved in family life (the *διὰ* is to be understood in the sense of—*by means of, in*—as it is often used by Paul), if she lead a holy life in faith and love.

² That Paul does not mention in this epistle his deliverance from confinement at Rome, proves nothing against this statement, for a number of events had intervened to occupy his mind, especially when he wrote this epistle. It is indeed surprising that he should charge Timothy to "let no man despise his youth," since Timothy could be no longer a youth. But we must recollect how indefinitely such terms are often used, and that Paul, when he wrote this, might have special reasons for such an injunction; among the leaders of the unevangelical party, there might be persons whose great age had secured for them deference and respect. The passages in Titus ii. 15. and also 2 Tim. ii. 22, (which in that connexion has nothing strange,) present no fit parallel; and if in the First Epistle to Timothy, traces can be found of an imitation of the two others, these words may be reckoned among the number.

gine, that, as Paul had often sojourned for a longer time in those parts, he had already founded several churches in Crete. But besides that, for reasons before mentioned, we are led to fix the date of this epistle nearer that of the two Pastoral Letters, it is also striking that, while Luke in the Acts reports so fully and circumstantially the occurrences of the apostle's last voyage to Rome, and mentions his stay at Crete, he says not a word (contrary to his usual practice in such cases) of the friendly reception given to him by the Christians there, or even of his meeting with them at all. Hence we may conclude that no Christian churches yet existed in the island, though that transient visit would naturally give rise to the intention of planting the gospel there; which he probably fulfilled soon after he was set at liberty, when he came into those parts. As in the last period before his journey to Jerusalem we do not find Titus in his company, and on the other hand we find, in the Second Epistle to Timothy, that he was with the apostle, this agrees very well with the supposition that Paul after his release once more met with him in Lesser Asia, and again took him as his associate in preaching the gospel.

After Paul had laid the foundation of the Christian church in Crete, he left Titus behind to complete the organization of the churches, to confirm the new converts in purity of doctrine, and to counterwork the influence of the false teachers. If we compare the marks of the false teachers in the two other Pastoral Epistles with those in the Epistle to Titus, we shall find a similarity. But if *these* do not induce us to admit—(as we are not authorized to suppose the same appearances of the religious spirit in Crete and in Ephesus)—so neither shall we be led by what can be inferred simply from the epistle itself, to imagine any other object of Paul's opposition and warning than the common Judaizing tendency, and an unspiritual pharisaic study of the Old Testament, disputations, cleaving to the letter and losing itself in useless hair-splittings and rabbinical fables.¹ Paul required of Titus to turn the

¹ As to the genealogies in Titus iii. 9, if we compare this passage with the endless genealogies in 1 Tim. i. 4, we shall be led to understand a reference to a theosophic element, an emanation doctrine; but this expression in the Epistle to Titus, without anything more definite, and simply in its own connexion, favours no such supposition; but we

attention of men to objects altogether different and of practical advantage, deeply to impress on their minds the doctrine which formed the basis of salvation, and to lead them to apply this fundamental truth to real life, and to be zealous to verify their faith by good works.¹

shall be induced to think of the common Jewish genealogies, although we cannot determine precisely for what object these would be employed, and the comparison of 1 Tim. i. 4 with Titus iii. 9, might excite a suspicion of a misunderstood copying in the former.

¹ All that is said in opposition to this tendency bears the impress of being truly apostolic and Pauline. If the passage in Titus iii. 10 were to be understood in the sense of the later unchristian hatred of heretics, the passage in iii. 2 would be in direct contradiction to it, for in this an exactly opposite disposition is expressed; Christians are here warned of spiritual pride, which might mislead them to exalt themselves as believers and children of God against the heathen, to treat them as enemies, to insult them on account of their superstition and the vices prevalent amongst them. On the contrary, it was their duty to cherish gentleness and kindness towards them, from the consciousness that they, like the heathen, were once the slaves of delusion and of sin, and owed their deliverance from this state, not to their own merits, but to divine grace alone. But the sentiment here expressed, if rightly understood, by no means contradicts the injunction which Paul gives to Titus in iii. 10. In this latter passage, by those who bring in *αἰρέσεις* (Gal. v. 20), a class of persons are referred to different from those in the former, such at least who went to greater lengths, separated from Christian fellowship on account of their peculiar opinions, and founded open schisms. Now, Paul advised Titus to enter into no disputations with persons who wished to make these schisms, respecting the peculiarities to which they attached so much importance; but if they were not disposed to listen to repeated admonitions, to avoid all further intercourse with them, since such disputations could be of no advantage, and tended only to injure the hearers, and throw their minds into a state of perplexity. Such persons, whose errors were interwoven with their whole character, were not to be convinced by argument. And as he reprobated their whole mental tendency in reference to religion as unpractical, it followed, of course, that he admonished his disciples not to engage with his adversaries on this standing-point, but if they would not listen to repeated exhortations to return to evangelical simplicity, they should be left to themselves. In perfect accordance with this injunction, is that which Paul gives Timothy in 2 Tim. ii. 23, to avoid "foolish and unlearned questions," since they only engendered strife, but "with meekness to instruct those that oppose themselves," to try whether they might not be led to repent of their errors, and be brought to an acknowledgment of the truth. Here also, as in the Epistle to Titus, he forbids arguing with these false teachers on their erroneous opinions. It was quite a different thing to point out the right way to those opponents of whose recovery some hopes might be entertained, and to this class the first passage refers.

When Paul wrote this letter to Titus he had the prospect of spending the winter at Nicopolis, where he wished Titus to join him. As there were so many cities in different parts, which, having been built on the occasion of some victory, were called Nicopolis, and we have no exact information respecting the travels of the apostle in this last period of his ministry, and the exact dates are wanting, we cannot determine what city is here intended, whether we are to look for it in Cilicia, Macedonia, Thrace, or Epirus. We might suppose that the city built in the last-named country by Augustus to commemorate the sea-fight at Actium was intended ; but at all events, it appears from the plan of his journey indicated in the Second Epistle to Timothy, that Paul was come from Lesser Asia into the West, and that he had probably taken farewell of his beloved Timothy at Ephesus.

As soon as he had returned to the West, he fulfilled his purpose of publishing the gospel in Spain. But there he was soon seized and sent as a prisoner to Rome.¹ After he had been in confinement a long time, and had been subjected to one judicial examination, he wrote his last Epistle to Timothy, whom (as we have just said) he probably had left behind at Ephesus. His situation at this time was evidently very different from that in which he found himself during his first confinement after his examination. It was *then* universally allowed that he was a prisoner not on account of any moral or political offence, but only for publishing the gospel, and his example gave many courage boldly to confess their faith. But *now* he appeared in his fetters, as an "evil-doer," ii. 9, for all Christians in Rome were considered as *malefici*. Only a few had the courage openly to show themselves as his friends and companions in the faith. *Then* he was in a state of uncertainty between the expectation of martyrdom and of release, though the latter was more probable. *Now*, on the

¹ It may indeed appear remarkable that Paul, during the last part of Nero's reign, at a time when arbitrary cruelty so predominated, when Christians were so much the object of public hatred, still enjoyed so favourable a situation as a prisoner, so that he could see his friends and write epistles. But the exact situation of prisoners depended so much on accidental circumstances, that we cannot draw certain conclusions respecting it merely from the general state of things. Some Christians might, for aught we can tell, enjoy these privileges even amidst the most violent persecutions.

contrary, he looked forward to martyrdom as the more probable event. He informed Timothy, indeed, that the Lord had granted him power to testify confidently of the faith, and that he would be delivered from the jaws of the lion, from the death that was then threatening him;¹ still he was far from indulging the hope of being freed absolutely from the danger of death. But this confidence he did enjoy, that the Lord would deliver him from all moral evil,² and preserve him to his heavenly kingdom. As Paul did not ascribe the power of persisting steadfastly in the confession of the faith even unto death, to himself, but to the power of God, who strengthened him for this purpose;—he therefore thus expressed himself, that the Lord would uphold him steadfast under all conflicts even until death, preserve him from all unfaithfulness, and thus lead him to blessedness in his kingdom. The apostle's feelings in the prospect of martyrdom are inimitably expressed in his last epistle; his elevated composure, his self-forgetfulness, his tender fatherly care for his disciple Timothy, his concern for the cause of the gospel which he was about to leave exposed to so many attempts to adulterate it, and yet his confidence in the divinity of that cause, and in the almightiness of God watching over it, and conducting its development, a confidence that rose victorious over every doubt.

When he wrote the Epistle to the Philippians, and the end of his earthly course was not yet in sight, he said, referring to the defects and infirmities of which he was conscious as a man, that he was far from believing that he had already attained his aim—perfection; but that he was continually striving after that aim, if he might attain that for which he was called by Christ. Philip. iii. 12. But since he now saw himself actually at the end of his course—since he now looked

¹ The words 2 Tim. iv. 17, may be taken as a figurative expression, to denote generally deliverance from apparently impending death. But it would be also possible to understand them literally, for at that time it would be always possible that Paul, notwithstanding his Roman citizenship, might have reason to apprehend so shameful a death, though he was actually exempted from it.

² After Paul had said, 2 Tim. iii. 17, that the Lord had delivered him from impending death, he expressed the hope that he would still further deliver him. But this it was needful for him more distinctly to define and limit, for he would have said more than, under the circumstances, he was warranted to expect, if he had not added a limit-

back on that course with the prospect of approaching martyrdom, and by the power of the Lord had remained faithful under all his conflicts hitherto—and since he was animated by the confident persuasion that, by the same power, he would be brought forth victorious from the conflicts that still awaited him,¹—at this critical moment, resting alone on the divine promise, all uncertainty vanished from his soul, and he could with assurance say of himself, “I have fought the good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness.” 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8.²

He was far less occupied with thoughts about himself, than with anxiety for the church which he was on the point of leaving in a vehement conflict, both internal and external, but the dangers of the internal conflict were those which gave him the greatest uneasiness. In Lesser Asia, he had been brought into frequent collision with a false Jewish Christian Gnosis, which was spreading in opposition to the simple gospel. He saw in spirit that this false tendency was continually gaining ground, and that, by its arts of deception, it was seducing numbers. Still, he was confident, that its deceptions would at last be exposed, and that the Lord would maintain that gospel which he had entrusted to his ministry, and without him, preserve it pure until the day of his second coming.³ Since he might assume, that these false teachers

ing clause,—namely, that God would deliver him from all moral evil, such as want of fidelity to the gospel, and thus bring him victorious out of all conflicts into his heavenly kingdom; whether he had in his thoughts that participation of the kingdom of heaven, which he hoped to attain by martyrdom, in a fuller communion with Christ and God, or his deliverance to a participation in the perfected kingdom of Christ after his second coming; as he felt certain, if he were preserved from all evil, of partaking in this kingdom of Christ, whether he lived to that time or died before it came. I will not now attempt to decide between these two modes of interpretation. But one of them must necessarily be taken in connexion with what goes before. I cannot allow that these words are a contradiction to 2 Tim. iv. 6—8, nor assent to what Credner, in his *Einleitung*, i. p. 478, founds upon it.

¹ This confidence he also expressed in Philip. i. 20.

² Hence there is no contradiction between the judgment Paul expresses of himself in this epistle and in that to the Philippians.

³ If we picture to ourselves how Paul was then occupied with the thoughts of death, how uncertain his condition, and under what perplexing relations Timothy found himself in the field of labour where

were known to Timothy, and had no doubt often conferred with him on the means of counteracting them, he satisfied himself with a general delineation of their character. He mentioned amongst others, those who taught that the resurrection was already past (like the later Gnostics), and who probably explained everything which Christ had said respecting the resurrection, of the spiritual awakening by the divine power of the gospel. From this single mark we may conclude, that in general they indulged in a very arbitrary treatment of the historical facts of religion, as far as these did not harmonize with their preconceived opinions.¹

We cannot determine with certainty the year in which Paul's martyrdom occurred. We can only place it in one of the last of Nero's reign. And with this supposition another circumstance agrees. At this time most probably the Epistle to the Hebrews was written by an apostolic man of the Pauline school.² At its conclusion, xiii. 23, we find mention made of the lately obtained release of Timothy, whom we cannot suppose to be any other than the disciple of and

Paul had left him, we cannot deem it very surprising that he should communicate to him these fuller instructions, although he still hoped to see him again in Rome.

¹ It may be doubted whether Alexander the coppersmith, mentioned in 2 Tim. iv. 14, belonged to the number of these false teachers. In this case, he would be the same as the person mentioned in 1 Tim. i. 20. It would indeed be possible that this false teacher from Lesser Asia, exasperated at being excluded by Paul from church communion, when he came to Rome, sought to take revenge on the apostle. And the *ἡμέτεροι λόγοι* might then be understood, not of the Christian doctrine generally, but of the pure exposition of the evangelical doctrine as it was given by Paul. But a Gentile or Jew from Lesser Asia might be intended, who violently persecuted Christianity. In this case, he would be distinct from the person mentioned in the First Epistle to Timothy; and it would be on that account by no means clear, that the author of the First Epistle to Timothy was some one else than Paul, who, from a mistake, had made Alexander a false teacher, and had classed him with Hymenæus; for why should not so common a name as Alexander belong to two different persons in Lesser Asia? There is no ground whatever to suppose that this Alexander was the same who is mentioned in Acts xix. 33, for it is far from being evident that he was so violent an enemy of Christianity; the Jews put him forward, not to make complaints against the Christians or Paul, but rather to prevent the rage of the heathens against the enemies of their gods from being turned against themselves.

² See Bleek's Introduction to this epistle, p. 434.

companion of Paul. It was Paul's desire that he should come to him, and the zealous sympathy which he evinced had the effect of causing him to be apprehended as one of the most active members of the hated sect. If this happened at the time of the Neronian persecution, Timothy would probably have shared the fate of all the Christians at Rome who could then be discovered. But if it happened some years later, it is not improbable that, by the influence of particular circumstances, Timothy obtained his freedom after the martyrdom of Paul.

BOOK IV.

A REVIEW OF THE LABOURS OF JAMES AND PETER DURING THIS PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHARACTER OF JAMES—REMARKS ON HIS EPISTLE.

As along with that unity of the spirit which proceeded from Christ, we have observed an important difference existing in the forms of its representation among the apostles, so the apostle Paul, and that James who was known as a brother of the Lord, present the most striking contrast to each other, whether we regard their natural peculiarities, their Christian conformation, or the sphere of their labours. In Paul, Christianity is exhibited in its most decided self-subsistence, freed from the preparatory garb of Judaism; while James represents the new spirit under the ancient form, and we may observe in him the gradual transition from the old to the new. Hence Paul and James mark the two extreme limits in the development of Christianity from Judaism; as Paul was the chief instrument for presenting Christianity to mankind as the new creation, so was James for exhibiting the organic connexion of Christianity with the preparatory and prefiguring system of Judaism. After the martyrdom of the elder James, who was a son of Zebedee and brother of John, only one very influential person of this name appears in the Christian history, who stood at the head of the church at Jerusalem, and under the titles of *the Brother of the Lord*, and *the Just*, was held in the highest esteem by Christians of Jewish descent. But from ancient times it has been doubted, whether this James was, strictly speaking, a brother of the Lord, that

is, either a son of Joseph by a former marriage, or more probably a later son of Mary,¹ and therefore a different person from the apostle the son of Alphaeus, or whether he was in a general sense a relation of Jesus, a sister's son of Mary, a son of Cleopas or Alphaeus, and accordingly identical with the apostle of this name.²

¹ See *Leben Jesu*, p. 40.

² This question is one of the most difficult in the apostolic history. Dr. Schneckenburger in his acute and profound investigation (in his *Annotatio ad Epistolam Jacobi*. Stuttgart, 1832, p. 144.) has brought the hypothesis of only one James to a higher degree of probability than it had before attained, and has said many things deserving consideration, which tend to remove the difficulties attached to it; but after all his remarks, many reasons for doubting remain. Later investigations, especially those of Credner, in his *Einleitung*, p. 573, have thrown additional weight into the opposite scale. We wish to present in an impartial manner the arguments for and against this hypothesis. Since, after the death of James the son of Zebedee, only one James is mentioned as one of the most influential men in the first apostolic church, and ranking with those apostles who were most esteemed, there is the highest probability that this James was no other than the only apostle still living of this name. If the term ἀδελφός is understood only in a laxer sense, the title of "Brother of the Lord" proves nothing against the identity of the person; for, from comparing Matt. xxvii. 56; xxviii. 1, Mark xv. 40, with John xix. 25, it is evident that James the apostle, son of Alphaeus or Cleopas (both names derived from the Hebrew דלסי), was really a sister's son of Mary the mother of Jesus. As so near a relation of Jesus, he might accordingly be distinguished from the other apostles by the title of a brother of the Lord. But then it is asked, Why was he not rather distinguished by the strictly appropriate name of ἀνεψιός? And if at that time there were persons in existence who might with strict propriety be called "*Brothers of the Lord*," is it not so much the less probable, that this name in an improper sense would be applied to him? Nevertheless, we may suppose, that in common discourse—since it was not a point of consequence to mark definitely the degree of kin between Jesus and this James, but only to represent him in general terms as enjoying the honour of near relationship to the Lord,—it had become customary to designate him simply a brother of the Lord, especially among the Judaizing Christians, by whom such distinctions of earthly affinity would be most highly prized; and this might be still more easily explained, if we admit with Schneckenburger, that after the death of Joseph (which took place at an early period), Mary removed to the house of her sister, the wife of Alphaeus; hence, it would be usual to designate her sons who lived from their childhood with Jesus, who had no other brothers, simply as the brethren of Jesus. Thus, then, this James would be one of the brethren of Jesus who are named in Matt. xiii. 55, Mark vi. 3. Among these we find a Jesus, who, in Matt. xxvii. 56, is distinguished as the brother of James, and a Judas; and if we explain the surname Ἰακώβου given to the apostle

If we put together all that is handed down to us in the New Testament, and in other historical records, the most pro-

Judas, on comparing it with the Epistle of Jude, v. 1, by supplying the word ἀδελφός (which cannot be assumed as absolutely certain), we shall also again find in him a brother of the apostle James. And the one named Simon among these brethren, we may perhaps find again in the list of the apostles, as all three are named together in Acts i. 13. According to that supposition, it would be no longer surprising that the brethren of Christ are often mentioned in connexion with his mother; and yet from that circumstance no evidence can be deduced that would prove them to be in a strict sense his brethren. We must then assume with Schneckenburger, that when Matthew (xiii. 55), after the mention of the twelve apostles, distinguishes the brethren of Jesus from them, it proceeded from the want of chronological exactness in his mode of narration.

But if several of the so-called brethren of Jesus were among the apostles, still the manner in which the former are distinguished from the latter in Acts i. 14, is remarkable. Besides, according to the account in Mark iii. 31, a state of mind towards Jesus is supposed to exist in these brethren, which could not be attributed to the apostles, and yet it appears from comparing this account with the parallel passages in Matt. xii. and Luke viii., that this incident must be placed after the choice of the twelve apostles. This view is confirmed by the disposition manifested by these brethren of Christ, even in the last half-year before his sufferings. All this taken together, must decide us in favour of the supposition, that the brethren of Jesus, commonly mentioned in connexion with Mary the mother of Jesus, are to be altogether distinguished from the apostles, and therefore they must be considered as the brethren of Jesus in a stricter sense, either as the sons of Joseph by a former marriage, or the later born sons of Joseph and Mary, which from Matt. i. 25, is most probable. That Christ when dying said to John, that from that time he should treat Mary as his mother, can at all events oppose only the supposition, that these brethren were the offspring of Joseph and Mary, and not the supposition that they were the step-sons of Mary. But even against the first supposition, this objection is not decisive; for if these brethren of Jesus still continued estranged from him in their disposition, we can at once perceive why at his death he commended his mother to his beloved disciple John. It may indeed appear surprising, that these brethren of Christ, according to Matthew xiii. 55, bore the same names as their cousins, but this can be affirmed with certainty only of two, and as the two sisters had one name, it might happen, owing to particular circumstances, that one son of each was named alike.

But from what has been said, it by no means follows, that the James who is distinguished in the New Testament as a brother of the Lord, was one of these brethren of Christ in a stricter sense. It might still be consistent with that fact, that this James was to be distinguished from the James who was the actual brother of the Lord, and, as a cousin of Christ who was honoured with this name, was to be held as identical with the apostle, although in this case it is less probable that when an

hable result of the whole is, that this James was one of the brethren of Christ, of whom we have spoken in our "Life of Jesus," p. 40. Thus it appears how very much the course of

actual brother of Jesus bore the name of James, the cousin should be honoured with the same title, instead of being distinguished by the epithet *ἀνεψιός* from that other James, to whom the surname of Brother of the Lord would in strictest propriety be given.

If we are disposed to examine the passages in the Pauline epistles which contain a particular reference to this point, there are two especially deserving of notice. As to the passage in 1 Cor. ix. 5, *καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τοῦ κυρίου*, it cannot be proved from these words that the brethren of the Lord were distinct from the apostles, for they may be supposed to mean, that Paul, by *the other apostles*, understood those who could not claim such a relationship to the Lord, and that he particularly distinguishes those who were brethren of the Lord from the other apostles, because, in virtue of that relationship, they stood high in the opinion of the party with whom he had here to do. That he names Peter immediately after, rather favours the notion that the brethren of the Lord, as well as Peter, belonged to the number of the apostles. Yet this is not a decisive proof, for it would surely be possible that, although the brethren of the Lord did not belong to the apostles, Paul might mention them in this connexion, because they, or some of them, were held in equal estimation by the Jewish Christians of Palestine; and as, along with them, Peter was most highly respected, he is particularly mentioned at the same time. It is indeed possible, that Paul here uses the term apostle, not in the strictest sense, but in a wider meaning, as in Rom. xvi. 7; and so much the more, since he afterwards mentions Barnabas, to whom the name of an apostle could be applied only in that more general acceptation of the term. The second important passage is Gal. i. 19, where Paul, after speaking of his conference with the apostle Peter at Jerusalem, adds, that he had seen no other of the apostles, "save James the Lord's brother." Yet, from this passage, it cannot be so certainly inferred as Dr. Schneckenburger thinks, that the James here named was one of the apostles. The state of the case may be conceived to have been thus: Paul had originally, in his thoughts, only a negative position, he had seen no other apostle but Peter at Jerusalem. But as it afterwards occurred to him, that he had seen at Jerusalem James the brother of the Lord, who, though no apostle, was held in apostolic estimation by the Judaizers, on this account he added, by way of limitation, a reference to James. We must therefore add to the *εἰ μὴ*, a complementary idea allied to that of *ἀπόστολος*; on a construction of this kind, see Winer, p. 517. It may be asked whether Paul would have expressed himself in this manner, if he had reckoned James in the stricter sense among the apostles? Would he have expressed the negation so universally, and, after he had so expressed it, have here first introduced the limitation, if from the first he had thought of saying that he saw none of the apostles excepting two? When Schneckenburger, from the words in Acts ix. 27, infers that Paul must at that

his religious development was distinguished from that of the apostle Paul. The latter, during the life of Christ on earth, time have conferred with at least two apostles at Jerusalem, he attaches greater weight than can be allowed with certainty to single expressions in this short narrative.

Yet, if we compare on this point the oldest ecclesiastical traditions, the comparison of the account in the gospel of the Hebrews (see Hieronym. de V. L. c. ii.) with 1 Cor. xv. 7 appears to favour the identity of the one James, for in that gospel it is said that Christ, after his resurrection, appeared to James the Just, the brother of the Lord. But in the passage in the Epistle to the Corinthians, the same James seems to be mentioned as one of the twelve apostles. Still we find here nothing absolutely certain, for it cannot be shown that the reference in that gospel is to the *same appearance* of Christ as in the epistle. And if it be assumed that James the brother of the Lord was then held in such great esteem, that when this name was mentioned only one individual would be generally thought of, it is not perfectly clear, from his being brought forward in this connexion, that he was reckoned by Paul among the apostles. Now, in reference to the tradition of Hegesippus, in Euseb. ii. 23, when he says that James the brother of the Lord undertook *with the apostles*, μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων, the guidance of the church at Jerusalem, it is most natural to suppose that he means to distinguish James from the apostles, otherwise he would have said μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν, although we would not consider the other interpretation as impossible, especially in writers of this class, in whom we do not look for great precision in their mode of expression. Also, the whole narrative of Hegesippus leads us to believe, that he considered James as distinct from the apostles; for, although this representation bears upon it, at all events, marks of internal improbability, yet it would not appear altogether irrational, on the supposition that this James was an apostle appointed by Christ himself. But we must compare with this passage the words of Hegesippus in Euseb. iv. 22. μετὰ τὸ μαρτυρῆσαι Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον, ὡς καὶ ὁ κύριος ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτῇ λόγῳ, πάλιν ὁ ἐκ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ Συμεὼν ὁ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ καθίσταται ἐπίσκοπος, ὃν προέθεντο πάντες ὄντα ἀνεψιὸν τοῦ κυρίου δεύτερον. If we understand by these words, that this Simeon was called the second nephew in relation to the afore-mentioned James the Just, as the first nephew of the Lord, it would follow that that James, as a nephew of the Lord, is called his brother. Yet, if another interpretation is possible, according to which Hegesippus agrees with himself, in reference to the words before quoted, such an interpretation must be readily preferred. And this interpretation is that which agrees best with the words in their existing position. For, since James is the principal subject in the first half of the sentence, the αὐτοῦ must refer to him. Cleopas, accordingly, is called the uncle of James, and his son Simeon cannot therefore be the brother of James, but is his cousin; as Cleopas (= Alpheus) is the uncle of Jesus, (and, according to Hegesippus in Euseb. iii. 11, both on the side of Joseph as well as of Mary,) Simeon the cousin of Jesus and the cousin of James, which again favours the opinion that they were brothers. But Hegesippus might call this Simeon a second nephew, since he looked upon the apostle

was at a distance from all personal outward communication with him, and learnt to know him first by spiritual communication. James, on the contrary, stood in the closest family relation to the Redeemer, and from the first was present with him during the whole of his earthly development ; but it was exactly this circumstance which contributed to his being more slow to recognise in the son of man, the Son of God ; and while he clung only to the earthly appearance, he was prevented from penetrating through the shell to the substance. Paul, by a violent crisis, made the transition from the most vehement and unsparing opposition to the gospel, to the most zealous advocacy of it. James gradually advanced from a Judaism of great earnestness and depth, which blended with a faith that constantly became more decisive in Jesus as the Messiah, to Christianity as the glorification and fulfilling of the law.

There is probably some truth in what is narrated by the Christian historian Hegesippus, that this James led from childhood the life of a Nazarene. If we consider what an impression the appearances at and after the birth of Christ, and the conviction that the first-born son of Mary was destined to be the Messiah—must have left on the minds of his parents, it may be easily explained how they felt themselves compelled to dedicate their first-born son James,¹ to the service of Jehovah in strict abstinence for the whole of his life. To this also it might be owing, that the freer mode of living which Christ practised with his disciples was less congenial to him ; and from his strict, legal, Jewish standing-point he could not comprehend the new spirit which revealed itself in Christ's words ; many of these must have appeared to him as " hard

James, the son of Alpheus, who was no longer living, as the first nephew. We might also insert a stop after *κυρίου*, and connect *δεύτερον* with *προέθεντο* ; by this construction, mention would be made of only one cousin of the Lord, as the successor of his brother, as the second overseer of the church. But the position of the words is very much against this construction. Certainly, the testimony of Hegesippus must have great weight, on account of his high antiquity, his descent, and his connexion with the Jews of Palestine. But it is undeniable, if we compare the two passages from the Hypotyposeis of Clement, quoted by Eusebius, ii. 1, that he distinguishes James, who bore the surname of the Just, as an apostle in the stricter sense of the word.

¹ His being described by the appellation of the son, indicates that he was the eldest.

sayings." Proceeding from the common Jewish standing-point, he expected that Jesus, if he were the Messiah, would verify himself to be such in the presence of the people by signs that would compel the universal recognition of his claims, by the establishment of a visible kingdom in earthly glory. By the impression of Christ's ministry he became indeed excited to believe, but the power of early habit and prejudice always counteracted that impression, and he found himself in a state of indecision from which he could not at once free himself. Only half a year before the last sufferings of Christ we find him in this vacillating condition, for John does not in this respect distinguish him from the other brethren of Jesus, with whom this was certainly the case; John vii. 5. But after the ascension of Christ, he appears as a decided and zealous member of the company of disciples; Acts i. 13. We see how important the Saviour deemed it to produce such a faith in him by his honouring him with a special appearance after the resurrection (1 Cor. xv. 7), whether this was occasioned or not, by his having expressed doubts like Thomas.¹ This James obtained constantly increasing respect in the church at Jerusalem.

Every feature of his character which we can gather from the Acts, from Josephus,² and from the traditions of Hegesippus in Eusebius,³ well agrees with the image of him presented in the epistle that bears his name. By his strict pious life, which agreed with the Jewish notions of legal piety, he won the universal veneration, not only of the believers among the Jews,

¹ The narrative in the Gospel of the Hebrews (see *Leben Jesu*, p. 720,) is not an authority of sufficient credit to allow of our following it here. It tells us that James, after partaking of the Last Supper with Christ, made a vow that he would not again taste food till he had seen him risen from the dead; that Christ appeared to him as the Risen One, and said, "Now eat thy bread, for the Son of Man is risen from the dead." We must certainly consider how important it was for the wavering-minded James, who, in his epistle, has so vividly described the unhappiness of such a state (i. 5), to attain to the certainty on this subject, which such an occurrence would give him, and which such a vow led him to expect. But not only is the work of the Jewish Christian, who bestowed so much pains in embellishing the history of James, not a credible source of information in itself, but there is also a palpable contradiction in the chronology of the history of the resurrection between this narrative and Paul's account.

² Joseph. Archæol. xx. 9.

³ Hist. Eccles. ii. 23.

but also of the better disposed among his countrymen generally : on this account, he was distinguished by the surname of the Just, דִּיקָאִיֹּס, δίκαιος ; and, if we may credit the account of Hegesippus, he was viewed as one of those men of distinguished and commanding excellence who set themselves against the corruptions of their age, and hence was termed the bulwark of the people.¹ According to the representations of this writer, he must have led a life after the manner of the strictest ascetics among the Jews. The consecration of his childhood had already introduced him to such a mode of life, and we might suppose, that he had already won by it peculiar respect among the Jews, if it were not surprising that no trace can be found of it in the gospels, no marks of special distinction awarded to him by his brethren. At all events, he might afterwards avail himself of this ascetic strictness as a means of attracting the attention of the multitude to his person, and thereby to the doctrine he published. This mode of life considered in itself, provided its value was not rated too high, was by no means unchristian. What Hegesippus narrates of him perfectly suits his character, that he frequently prostrated himself on his knees in the temple, calling upon God to forgive the sins of his people, (probably having a special reference to the forgiveness of their sins against the Messiah,)—that the divine judgments on the unbelievers might be averted,—and that they might be led to repentance and faith, and thus to a participation of the kingdom of the glorified Messiah.

But some important doubts may be raised against the credibility of this account of Hegesippus, taken in its full extent. That Ebionite party among whom an ascetic, theosophic tendency prevailed, and who circulated apocryphal writings under the name of James, had probably formed an ideal conception of his character in harmony with their own peculiarities, and Hegesippus might mistake the image delineated in their traditions for an historical reality. The Epistle of James by no means bears decided marks of such a tendency, for everything which has been supposed to be of this kind may very properly be referred to the simple Christian renun-

¹ Perhaps דִּיקָאִיֹּס or דִּיקָאִיֹּס, which comes nearer the phraseology of Hegesippus ; unless, which is indeed less probable, we read, with Fuller, דִּיקָאִיֹּס, which Hegesippus translates περιχρή τοῦ λαοῦ.

ciation of the world, such as has its seat in the disposition. If the Jewish love of gain is here spoken against, if the earthly-mindedness of the rich, the homage paid to this class and the contempt of the poor, is condemned, and it is declared that the gospel has found the most ready access to the latter, and exalted them to the highest dignity, yet it by no means follows, that the author of this epistle entirely condemned, like the Ebionites, all possession whatever of earthly goods.

This epistle is especially important, not only for illustrating the character of James, but also for giving us an insight into the state of the Christian churches which were formed from Judaism, and unmixed with Christians of Gentile descent. According to an opinion very generally prevalent from ancient times, we should be led to believe that the peculiar doctrinal system of the apostle Paul had already been formed and disseminated when this epistle was written, and that those churches particularly to whom it was addressed, had been affected by the influence of this Pauline system. The opinion we refer to is, that James in this epistle either combated the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith in and for itself, or a misunderstanding, and an erroneous application of it. And it would not be difficult to support this opinion by many isolated passages in the epistle taken alone, without a reference to their connexion with the whole:¹ for it seems as if the express reference to the Pauline formula of the justification to be obtained by faith alone, and to which works can contribute nothing, could not be mistaken; especially as the same examples of faith as those mentioned by Paul, namely those of Abraham and Sarah, are adduced. But this opinion, though plausible at first sight, if we examine more closely the relation of particular passages to the whole tenor of the epistle, will soon appear untenable. The error in reference to faith which

¹ We wish to remark, in passing, that among those who have thought that they have detected a contradiction between James and Paul in the doctrine of justification, is the celebrated patriarch Cyrillus Lucaris, of Constantinople, who was led to the opinion by reading the epistle. It also struck him that the name of Christ is scarcely mentioned above once or twice, and then coldly (*anzi del nome di Jesu Christo a pena fa menzione una o due volte e freddamente*); that the mysteries of the incarnation of the Son of God and of redemption are not treated of, but only morality (*solo a la moralita attende*); see Letter vii. in *Lettres Anecdotes de Cyrille Lucar*. Amsterdam, 1718, p. 85.

James combats in this epistle, is certainly not one altogether isolated: but it appears as an offset proceeding with many others from the root of one false principle: and this principle is quite distinct from that which would admit of an application, whether correct or incorrect, of the Pauline doctrine. It was the tendency of the Jewish spirit, refusing to acknowledge the life of religion as seated in the disposition, everywhere taking up the mere dead form, the appearance instead of the reality, in religion; this tendency, which substituted a lifeless arrogant acquaintance with the letter for the genuine wisdom inseparable from the divine life—which prided itself in an inoperative knowledge of the law, without paying any attention to the practice of the law—which placed devotion in outward ceremonies, and neglected that devotion which shows itself in works of love—which contented itself with the verbal expression of love, instead of proving it by works; it was the same tendency of the Jewish mind estranged from the spirit and life of religion, which, as it laid an undue value on the *opus operatum* of outward religious acts, so also on the *opus operatum* of a faith in the one Jehovah and in the Messiah, which left the disposition unchanged; and which presumed that by such a faith, the Jew was sufficiently distinguished from the sinful race of the Gentiles, and was justified before God even though the conduct of the life was in contradiction to the requirements of faith. Thus we find here one branch of that practical fundamental error which chiefly prevailed among these Jewish Christians, whom James combats in the whole of the epistle, even where faith is not the immediate subject of discourse. It was the erroneous tendency, which belonged to those that commonly prevailed among the great mass of the Jews, and which had found its way also among those Christians in whose minds the gospel had not effected a complete transformation, but whose Jewish spirit had only connected itself with faith in Jesus as the Messiah.¹ (See above, p. 21, and my Church History, vol. i. p. 47.)

¹ That Jewish mode of thinking which Justin Martyr describes in *Dial. c. Tryph. Jud.* fol. 370, ed. Colon.—ὡς ὑμεῖς ἀπάτατε ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἄλλοι τινες ὑμῖν ὅμοιοι κατὰ τοῦτο (in this respect Jewish-minded Christians), οἱ λέγουσιν, ὅτι καὶ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ὄντες, θεὸν δὲ γινώσκουσιν, οὐ μὴ λογίσσεται αὐτοῖς κύριος ἁμαρτίαν. That mode of thinking which is found in the Clementine homilies, according to which, faith in one God (τὸ τῆς μοναρχίας καλόν) has such great magical power, that the ψυχαὶ

But as to the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith, whether correctly or incorrectly understood and applied, we cannot suppose its influence to be possible in churches of this class, and hence argumentation against it from the standing-point of James is utterly inconceivable.¹ As the superscription and contents of his epistle inform us, it was manifestly addressed only to churches that were composed entirely of Jewish Christians. But such persons were least of all disposed to attach themselves particularly to Paul, and least of all disposed and fitted to agree to the Pauline doctrine, which presented the most direct opposition to their customary mode of thinking. It was precisely from persons of this stamp that the intemperate fanatical outcry was raised against this form of Christian doctrine, as if by depending on grace, men were made secure in sin, or that they were authorized in doing evil that good might come, Rom. iii. 8. In an entirely different quarter, from an Hellenic (gnostic) Antinomianism, which was also Antijudaism, arose at a later period an erroneous, practically destructive appropriation and application of the Pauline doctrine of justification, such as Paul himself thought it needful to guard against by anticipation; Rom. vi. 1; Gal. v. 13. And this later erroneous application of

συναρχική, even while living in vice, had this advantage before idolaters, that it could not perish, but through purifying punishments would at last attain to salvation. See Hom. iii. c. 6. The idea of faith, which, from an entirely different source than from a misunderstanding of Paul, found entrance afterwards among Christians themselves, and to which a Marcion directly opposed the Pauline idea of faith. Against such perversions Paul warned the churches, both by word of mouth and in writing, when he so impressively charged it upon them that their renunciation of heathenism was nugatory, and could not contribute to their participation of the kingdom of God, if they did not renounce their former sinful habits. See Gal. v. 21. The *κενοὶ λόγοι*, against which he warns the Ephesians, v. 6.

¹ Dr. Kern, in his essay on the Origin of the Epistle of James, in the Tübingen *Zeitschrift für Theologie*, 1835, p. 25, on account of what is here asserted, charges me with a *petitio principii*; but I cannot perceive with any justice. This charge might be brought home to me if I had assumed, without evidence, that this epistle was addressed to an unmixed church; or if I had passed altogether unnoticed the possible case which Kern considers as the actual (though he has abandoned it lately in the Introduction to his Commentary on this Epistle), that it was forged by a Jewish Christian in James's name, in order to controvert the Pauline doctrinal views which prevailed among the Gentile churches.

the idea of faith, which tended likewise to the injury of practical Christianity, proceeded from an entirely different exposition of this idea than that presented by the one-sided direction of the Jewish spirit. It manifested itself rather as an Oriental Hellenic than as a Jewish spirit; it was not the abstract idea of faith, but a one-sided contemplative or idealising tendency, which deviated from the conception of faith as an animating principle of the will and a practical determination of the life.

From what has been said, therefore, it is impossible to suppose, in an epistle addressed to such churches as these, any reference whatever to the Pauline formula of faith. And even admitting such a reference to exist, yet the notion that it consisted only in combating a *misunderstanding* of the Pauline doctrine, would be wholly untenable. For how can we suppose that James, if he did not intend to contradict Paul, but to maintain apostolic fellowship with him, and the knowledge of it in the churches,—would not, while combating an erroneous interpretation of the Pauline doctrine, at the same time expressly state the correct interpretation, and guard himself against the appearance of opposition to Paul, especially when an opposition might otherwise be so easily imagined by the Jewish Christians. But if we assumed that the intention of James was really to combat Paul's doctrine, this view would be at variance with what we know from history of the good understanding between the two apostles, and which cannot be set aside by the fact that some of Paul's opponents were those who appealed to the authority of James. See above, p. 115.

Another supposition still remains, that some one forged the Epistle under James's name,¹ in order to give currency

¹ The assertion made by Kern, p. 72 of the essay before quoted, that, according to the principles of that early Christian age, such a literary imposture would be irreproachable, I cannot acknowledge as well-founded, if expressed without limitation. There was indeed a certain standing-point, on which such a *fraus pia*, as we must always call it (when a palpable falsehood was made use of to put certain sentiments in circulation,) would be allowed; but that this was a generally approved practice, appears to me an arbitrary assumption. We ought carefully to guard against supposing that to be an universally received principle, which was only the peculiarity of individual mental tendencies. There was a one-sided theoretic, speculative, standing-point, from which lax principles respecting veracity proceeded, as we have

in the church to a belief in an opposition between the two apostles, and this design would well suit the one-sided tendency of a Jewish Christian. But such a person would not only have expressed himself in a more decided manner than that James, of whose reputation he wished to avail himself; but he would have pointed out by name the individual (Paul) against whom he directed his attack, and would have expressed in stronger terms the censure of his doctrine. The subordinate place which in this case the confutation of the Pauline doctrine occupies in relation to the whole of the epistle, certainly does not agree with this hypothesis. Or, if it be said that the author of this epistle, who presented himself under the mask of James, did not belong to the violent Judaizing opponents of Paul, but to a milder, more accommodating party, who only aimed at smoothing down the peculiarities of the Pauline scheme of doctrine, and so modifying it as to bring it nearer the Jewish Christian standing-point, and for that reason adopted a gentler method, and avoided the mention of Paul's name; in this case, there would still have been a necessity of naming him, and explicitly stating that the writer of the epistle impugned not his doctrine in itself, but only a harsh and overstrained construction of it. And after all, the singular fact would remain unaccounted for, that the main object and design of the writer occupies only a subordinate place in relation to the whole of the epistle.

What has given occasion to all these various suppositions, is the apparent allusion to expressions and illustrations made

remarked in Plato. It was connected with that aristocraticism of antiquity, first overturned by the power of the gospel, which treated the mass of the people as unsusceptible of pure truth in religion, and hence justified the use of falsehood to serve as leading-strings for the πολλοί. As the reaction of such an earlier standing-point, we find this view in parties of kindred tendencies, such as the Alexandrian Jews, the Gnostics, the Platonising Alexandrian fathers. But from the first, a sounder practical Christian spirit combated this error, as we see in the instances of Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and Tertullian. The anti-gnostic tendency was also zealous for strict veracity. Now a similar practical tendency distinguishes this epistle, in which I cannot find an Ebionitish anti-pauline standing-point. This spirit of strict veracity is shown in what is said respecting swearing. This epistle, indeed, wears altogether a different character from the Clementines, which show a decided party tendency and party bias.

use of by Paul. But is this allusion really so very evident? Let us recollect that the Pauline phraseology formed itself from Judaism, from the Jewish-Greek diction—that it by no means created new modes of expression,¹ but often only appropriated the ancient Jewish terms, employed them in new combinations, applied them to new contrasts, and animated them with a new spirit. Thus neither the term *δικαιωθῆναι* in reference to God, nor the term *πίστις* was entirely new; but both these terms and the ideas indicated by them (and indeed, in reference to the first, the same idea the existence of which among the Jews Paul must have assumed in arguing with his Jewish opponents) had been long familiar to the Jews. The example likewise of Abraham as a hero in faith must have been obvious to every Jew, and the example of Rahab (which is adduced only in the Epistle to the Hebrews—an epistle neither composed by Paul nor containing the peculiarly Pauline doctrinal statement of justifying faith), since it proved the benefit of the monotheistic faith to a Gentile of impure life, must have especially commended itself to the Jews who were disposed to extol the importance of faith in Jehovah.²

Since it appears that a reference to the Pauline doctrinal scheme is not indicated in this epistle, that mark is withdrawn by which it has been thought that the late period of its composition could be proved; in order, therefore, to determine this point, we must seek for other marks in the epistle itself. It is remarkable that, according to its superscription, it is addressed only to the Jews of the twelve tribes who lived in the dispersion, and yet it is manifestly addressed to Christians. Yet this may be very well explained if we consider the standing-point of James, such as it is shown to be by the whole of the epistle. He considers

¹ On the manner in which Paul employed phrases which were already in use among Jewish theologians, compare Dr. Roeth's work, *De Epistola ad Hebræos*, p. 121, &c., though I cannot agree with the author in what he attempts to prove; for in the use which Paul makes of an existing form of dogmatic expression, he forms the most decided contrast to the Jewish meaning. But it appears from this, how James, proceeding from the Jewish standing-point, without any reference to the Pauline doctrine, would be led to the choice of such expressions.

² Thus it appears to me that what Dr. De Wette says in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1830, p. 349, in order to point out an intentional opposition of James to Paul, is nullified.

the acknowledgment of the Messiahship of Jesus as essentially belonging to genuine Judaism, believers in Jesus as the only genuine Jews, Christianity as perfected Judaism, by which the *νόμος* had attained its completion. And it is not impossible that, although he addressed himself especially to Christians, he also had in his thoughts the Jewish readers into whose hands the epistle might fall, as Christians lived among the Jews without any marked separation. From the mention of their descent from the twelve tribes, we may infer that these churches consisted purely of Jewish Christians, or that James, who considered himself peculiarly the apostle of the Jews, addressed only the Jewish part of the church. Yet as no notice is taken of the relation of Jewish to Gentile Christians, it is by far the most probable opinion that these churches consisted entirely of the former. Partly from the peculiar standing-point of James, and partly from the peculiar situation of these churches which had retained all the Jewish forms, we may account for the use of the ancient Jewish name *συναγωγή*, instead of the peculiar Christian term *ἐκκλησία* as the designation of the meeting of the community of believers.¹ Such churches might exist during the later apostolic age in the inland parts of Asia, perhaps in Syria. But if the epistle was addressed to churches in these parts, it appears strange that James, to whom the Aramaic must have been much more familiar than the Greek, (although it was not impossible that he had so far learnt the Greek as to be able to write an epistle in it,) should have made use of the latter language. We must therefore conclude, that this point was determined by a regard to the wants of his readers, and that part of them at least belonged to the Hellenists. This being assumed, we must fix the date of the epistle at a time preceding the separate formation of Gentile Christian churches, before the relation of Gentiles and Jews to one another in the Christian church had been brought under discussion,² the

¹ Our knowledge of the spread of Christianity at this period, is indeed far too defective to give a decisive opinion with Kern on this point.

² The view which Dr. Schneckenburger has acutely developed, and defended in his valuable *Beiträge zur Einleitung ins Neue Testament*, Stuttgart, 1832, and in his *Annotatio ad Epistolam Jacobi*. He has expressed his agreement respecting the object of the argumentative portion of this epistle, with the views I have developed in this work,

period of the first spread of Christianity in Syria, Cilicia, and the adjacent regions.¹

These churches consisted for the most part of the poor,² (though some individuals among them were rich,)³ and they were in various ways oppressed by the wealthy and influential Jews.⁴ Certainly these churches were so constituted, that, in many cases, their Christianity consisted only in the acknow-

and in my earlier occasional writings. See his essays on this subject in Steudel's *Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie*, 1829, and in the *Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie*, 1830, part ii.

¹ An allusion to the use of the name *χριστιανοί* has been erroneously supposed in James ii. 7, and hence an attempt to fix the date of the epistle. By *καλὸν ὄνομα* we may most properly understand the name of Jesus, and this is the simplest explanation, since the words will be most naturally applied to the invocation of the name of Jesus as the Messiah, to whom believers were consecrated at baptism, the baptism *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ*. See Schneckenburger's Commentary on the passage.

² According to the views brought forward by Kern, the author of this epistle, in an Ebionitish manner, marked the genuine Christians, that is in his opinion the Jewish Christians, as the poor, and the Gentile Christians as the rich, whom he would not acknowledge to be genuine Christians. But the condition of the Christian churches among the Gentiles generally in this first age, certainly will not allow us to suppose, that it would occur to any one to impose this name upon them, and in every point of view this supposition appears to be entirely unsound.

³ James i. 10.

⁴ The passage in James ii. 7, is referred most naturally to the blaspheming of Jesus by the enemies of Christianity, although the preceding context relates not to religious persecutions, but to oppressions and extortions of a different kind. Compare v. 4. It is by no means evident, that by the rich in this epistle we are always to understand members of the Christian community. The author may refer partly to the rich among the Jews, who were averse from Christianity, partly to the rich among the Christians, who formed a very small minority. From the contrast in i. 9, 10, it by no means follows that by the rich in the latter verse only Christians are intended. By those of low degree who were to rejoice in being exalted, he could indeed mean only Christians; but among the rich, he might include those wealthy Jews, who by their entire devotedness to earthly objects were prevented from becoming Christians. It was the duty of these persons to learn the nothingness of earthly possessions, which they had hitherto made their highest good, to humble themselves, and in this self-humiliation to find their true glory; for with the nothingness of earthly things they would learn the truly highest good,—the true dignity or elevation which was imparted by the Messiah. In this manner they were required to become Christians.

ledgment of Jesus as the Messiah, and of his peculiar moral precepts, which they considered as the perfecting of the law. Since they were far from recognising and appropriating the real essence of Christianity, they resembled the great mass of the Jewish nation, in the predominance of a carnal mind, and the prevalence of worldly lusts, contention, and slander. Accordingly, we must either assume that Christianity among them was still novel, and had not yet penetrated the life, as from the beginning (see above, p. 21), there were many among the Jews, who, carried away by the impression which the extraordinary operations of the apostles had made upon them, and attracted by the hope that Jesus would soon return, and establish his kingdom on earth, the happiness of which they depicted agreeably to their own inclinations, in such a state of mind and with such expectations, made a profession of Christianity, without having experienced any essential change of character—or we must suppose, that these churches had sunk into a state of degeneracy from a higher standing-point of the Christian life. In the constitution of these churches there was this peculiarity, that as the direction of the office of teaching had not been committed to the presbyters, but only the outward management of church affairs, many members of the community came forward as teachers, while no one acted officially in that capacity; (see above, pp 35—141.) Hence James deemed it needful to admonish them, that too many ought not to obtrude themselves as teachers; that none ought inconsiderately to speak in their public meetings, but that each should recollect the responsibility he incurred by such a procedure; James i. 19; iii. 1, 2.

As to the doctrine of James and the mode of its exhibition in this epistle, we find nothing whatever which stands in contradiction to the more fully developed doctrine of the New Testament, as we shall show when we come to treat of doctrine; and the Christian ideas actually presented in this epistle are evidently in unison with the whole extent of Christian truth. But the contents of the Christian system are not exhibited separately in all their details; what is purely Christian is more insulated; the references to Christ are not so predominant and all-penetrating as in the other epistles. References to the Old Testament, though placed in connexion with the Christian standing-point, are most frequent. For the explanation of this phenomenon, to allege the pecu-

liar standing-point of the persons addressed is not sufficient, for a Paul, a John, or a Peter would certainly have written to them in a very different strain; we must rather seek the explanation in the peculiar character of the writer himself. We might hence infer (with Schneckenburger) that James wrote this epistle at a time when Christianity had not thoroughly penetrated his spiritual life, during the earliest period of his Christian development; but it may be questioned whether we are justified in drawing such a conclusion, for no proof can be given that he enlarged his doctrinal views at a later period. It is possible that he remained confined in this form of imperfect doctrinal development, although his heart was penetrated by love to God and Jesus. He still maintained the character which belonged to him on his original standing-point as a teacher of the Jews, as the guide of his countrymen in passing over from the Old to the New Testament. True it is, that much would have been wanting to the church for the completeness of Christian knowledge, if the statement of Christian doctrine by James had not found its complement in the representations of the other apostles; but in this connexion it forms an important contribution to the entire conception and development of Christian truth, and furnishes all that can be expected from such a standing-point.

It was exactly this form of doctrine that secured for James a long and undisturbed ministration among the Jews, and many were led by his influence to faith in Christ; but this excited so much the more the hatred of the basest among the party-leaders of the Jewish people, who sought for an opportunity to sacrifice him to their rage. One of the most impetuous among them, the high priest Ananus, who was disposed to all the violent acts of party hatred, availed himself for this purpose of the interval between the departure of the Roman procurator Felix, and the arrival of his successor Albinus, about the year 62. He caused James with some other Christians to be condemned to death by the Sanhedrim as a violator of the law; and in conformity with that sentence he was stoned.¹ But the better disposed among

¹ We here follow the account of Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 9, which certainly is more credible than the legendary narrative of Hegesippus in Eusebius *ii.* 23. How can it be supposed that the heads of the Pharisaic party would have been foolish enough to demand of James, and to suppose it possible that he would bear a public testimony against Christianity? Nor can I be induced by what Credner has said in his

the Jews were greatly dissatisfied with this proceeding, and Ananus, on account of it, was accused to the new governor, for which there was sufficient reason, as he had manifestly exceeded the limits of the power guaranteed to the Jewish Sanhedrim by the Roman law. See above, p. 55.

Einleitung, &c. p. 581, in which Rothe and Kern (see his *Commentary* on the Epistle of James, published in 1838, p. 341) agree with him, to give up the opinion I have here expressed. It would place the question on a different footing, if the interpretation of the passage in Josephus could be really proved. In that case, we must admit, that although the history of the martyrdom of James was garnished after an Ebionitish legend, yet the historical truth is to be discerned lying at its basis. But this interpretation does not appear to me proved. The words of Josephus, xx. c. 9, § 1, in which we include in brackets what is considered suspicious by Credner and others, are as follows; (he is here speaking of the high priest Ananus):—*Καθίζει συνέδριον κριτῶν καὶ παραγαγὼν εἰς αὐτὸ [τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ, Ἰάκωβος ὄνομα αὐτῷ, καί] τινὰς [ἐτέρους] ὡς παρανομησάντων κατηγορίαν ποιησάμενος παρέδωκε λευσθησομένους· ὅσοι δὲ ἐδοκοῦν ἐπιεικίστατοι τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν εἶναι, καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους ἀκριβεῖς, βαρέως ἤνεγκαν ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ.* Credner considers the clauses I have marked as the interpretation of a Christian, because Josephus as a Jew would not have so emphatically prefixed the epithet *ἀδελφὸν*, &c., but rather have placed first the proper name, and because he must rather have called Jesus *τὸν δίκαιον*, and not left his readers in almost total darkness as to the meaning of that very general epithet. But since James was best known by that appellation, which gave him the greatest importance whether in a good or bad sense, according to the standing-points of those who employed it, since Jesus who was considered to be the Christ might be presumed to be known under that title, both among Gentile and Jewish readers, we have reason for thinking, that the person of the brother of Jesus first presented itself to Josephus, and he mentioned this before adding the designation of the proper name. When those persons are mentioned who had been accused as violaters of the law, and whose condemnation had been blamed by the most devout of the Jewish nation, this would certainly lead us to think of the Christians who strictly observed the Mosaic law, and above all, we should refer this to James. When Christians were persecuted as Christians, or as opponents of the prevalent corruptions, the persecution would especially affect James, who had the greatest influence among the Jews, and was the firmest pillar of the Christian community. It is therefore in itself probable, that the persecution excited by the high priest would fall particularly on James. And if a Christian had interpolated this passage, he would hardly have satisfied himself with only foisting in these words, as a comparison with the interpolation of other passages, which relate to Jesus himself, will convince us still more. In reference to the incredibility of such traditions as those of Hegesippus respecting the martyrdom of James, a comparison with the tales reported by Papias about the death of Judas Iscariot will serve for a proof. Perhaps the image of the martyrdom of Stephen suggested to the Ebionites their method of forming the account of the martyrdom of James.

CHAPTER II.

THE APOSTLE PETER.

FROM James we now proceed to the apostle Peter, who, as appears from the course of historical development already traced, forms a connecting link between the two most widely-differing spheres of action and tendencies of Paul and James. We must here take a brief survey of his situation and character in early life.

Simon was the son of Jonas, a fisherman in the town of Bethsaida, on the western shore of the Sea of Gennesareth in Galilee. The interest universally excited in this region respecting the appearance of the Messiah, which seized with peculiar force the ardent minds of the young, led him, among others, to that divinely enlightened man John the Baptist, who was called to prepare the way for that event. His brother Andrew, who had first recognised the Messiah in Jesus, imparted to him the glorious discovery. When the Lord saw him, he perceived, with his divinely-human look, what was in him, and gave him the surname of Cephas, Peter, the Rock. These surnames, like others which Christ gave his disciples, may be taken in a twofold point of view. The principal point of view which, without doubt, the Redeemer had in the imposition of this name, related to what Simon would become in and for the service of the gospel. But as the influences of transforming grace, always attaching themselves to the constitutional character of an individual, purify and ennoble it, so in this instance, what Peter became by the power of the divine life, was in a measure determined by his natural peculiarities. A capacity for action, rapid in its movements, seizing with a firm grasp on its object, and carrying on his designs with ardour, was his leading characteristic, by which he effected so much in the service of the gospel. But the fire of his powerful nature needed first to be transformed by the flame of divine love, and to be refined from the impurity of selfishness, to render him undaunted in the publication of the gospel. By the natural constitution of his mind, he was indeed disposed to surrender himself at the moment entirely

to the impression which seized him, without being turned aside by those considerations which would hold back more timorous spirits, and to express with energy what would move many minds ; but he was easily misled by a rash self-confidence to say more, and to venture more, than he could accomplish ; and though he quickly and ardently seized on an object, he allowed himself too easily to relinquish it, by yielding to the force of another impression.

It was desirable that the first impression made on Peter's mind should continue to act upon him in quiet,—on which account Christ at first left him to himself ; and when, by repeated operations, everything in his disposition was sufficiently prepared, he received him into the number of his disciples, who afterwards accompanied him everywhere. Peter must often have heard him teach in the synagogue, and seen him heal the sick. But all this would be only a preparation for the last decisive impression, which was exactly adapted to Peter's former mode of life, and his peculiar character. After Christ had finished one of his discourses in Peter's vessel, he desired him to let down his net for a draught. Although he had toiled in vain during the whole of the preceding night, yet he was quite ready to obey the command of the Redeemer, a proof of the confidence he already placed in him ; and since, after the various preceding impressions which he received of the Divine in Christ, he was so astonished by the successful result,—the sense of the dignity and holiness of the personage who stood before him, as well as of his own unworthiness, so overpowered him, that he deemed himself not fit to be so near the Holy One,—Christ took advantage of the state of mind thus produced to draw him altogether to himself, and made this instance of success in his worldly occupation, by which Peter had been so wonder-struck, a symbol of the spiritual success which would attend his future labours in his service.

We find many indications of Peter's constitutional disposition in the intercourse of Christ with himself and the other disciples. When many of those persons who had been induced to join themselves to Christ for a length of time by the impression of his miracles, at last, from the want of a deeper susceptibility for divine truth, forsook him, Christ said to the twelve disciples who still faithfully followed him, "Will ye also go away ?" Peter testified of what they all felt, and

how deeply he felt the divine impression which the words of Christ had made on his inmost soul, more than he could yet distinctly apprehend,—that a divine life proceeded from his words, and that those who received his sayings were made partakers of a divine and blessed life enduring for ever. “To whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life. We believe, we know that thou art the Messiah of God.” The conviction that Jesus was the Messiah, which Peter here expresses, was without doubt of a different kind than that which only was produced by beholding the miracles he wrought. It was a conviction deeply seated in his religious and moral nature, which originated in his inward experience of the divine intercourse with the Redeemer. Thus Christ declared, when Peter said to him, “Thou art the Messiah, the Son of the living God,” Matt. xvi. 16, that this conviction was produced on his heart by the Spirit of God,—that he spoke not according to human opinion, but from the confidence of divine excitement,—that not flesh and blood, but his Father in heaven had revealed this to him. And since the conviction, thus grounded in the depths of his disposition, that Jesus was the Messiah, was the foundation on which the kingdom of God rested, in allusion to this fact Christ called him the Rock, the Rock on which he would build his Church, which was to exist for ever. There is, indeed, a personal reference to Peter, but only on account of the faith he had confessed, which forms the foundation of the kingdom of God. On another occasion, when Christ announced to his disciples his approaching sufferings, Peter felt impelled instantaneously as it arose in his heart, to express the sentiment which all felt, but hesitated to express, “That be far from thee, Lord!” But here the feeling of love to Him who was most fitted to kindle the fire of love in the heart, expressed itself in a natural human form so strongly, that Peter, with this state of disposition towards the cause of God, which requires the sacrifice of self, and of whatever is dearest to the heart, could not be an instrument in its service; and hence the Lord addressed him with words of severe rebuke, and assured him that, with such a disposition, valuing the person of man higher than the cause of God, he could not remain in his fellowship; that by this disposition he became a tempter; Matt. xvi. We recognise the same tendency to be carried away by the sudden impulse of

feeling, and to surrender himself to the vivid impression of the moment, when the Lord assured him that, on the night of his Passion, all would forsake him ; the too confident Peter at once exclaimed, " Though all men should forsake thee, yet will not I ; I will lay down my life for thy sake." This over-hasty self-confidence soon turned, as the Lord foretold, to his disgrace, and gave occasion for bitter repentance. Yet this false step, no doubt, served to advance him in that self-knowledge which is the indispensable condition of true faith in the Redeemer, and true knowledge of him, and thus to the whole development of the Christian life. And the Lord forgave him his sin ; he reminded him of it in a manner the most tender, and yet piercing the very depths of his soul, by the question thrice repeated, " Lovest thou me ? " ¹ and required from him, as the proof of his love, the faithful discharge of his apostolic calling, the care of his sheep. ²

But it is this peculiar character of Peter, when transformed by the divine life, with which we see him afterwards operating as an organ of the Holy Spirit in the service of the kingdom of God. We have already pointed out, in a former chapter, what an important position he occupied in this respect at the commencement of the Christian dispensation, until the appearance of the apostle Paul, and subsequently as an intermediate point between his sphere of action among the Gentiles and that of the older apostles among the Jews. Though his

¹ We proceed here on the conviction, that the 21st chapter of John's gospel, although not composed by him, contains a credible tradition.

² It is indeed possible that these words referred personally to Peter, in the sense that he was to take the lead in the guidance of the church, as he it certainly was who spoke in the name of all, and who guided the deliberations on their common affairs ;—and if the words are so interpreted, a peculiar apostolic primacy is by no means committed to Peter, but the position entrusted to him was only in relation to existing circumstances, which he was peculiarly fitted to occupy by the χάρισμα κυβερνήσεως, which harmonised with his natural talents. But these words may very probably be considered as a general description of the vocation of preaching the gospel—which, from a comparison with the parable in the 10th chapter of John, is very probable—and in this case, they contain nothing personal in relation to Peter as distinguished from the other apostles. Peter always appears as peculiarly fitted by his natural character to be the representative of the fellowship of the disciples, and hence he expressed what all deeply felt, and Christ particularly addressed to him those sayings which in their full extent related generally to all genuine disciples.

nature, not yet thoroughly penetrated by the Divine, might still at times disturb and mar his exertions by its peculiar failings, yet the power of the divine principle of life within him, his love and fidelity to the Lord, were too great to be repressed by those corrupt tendencies, when the essential interests of the kingdom of God were at stake. The effect sudden impressions is shown in his conduct at Antioch (*ante*. p. 210), but the subsequent history proves that, although Peter might be hurried by the power of a sudden impression to act in a way which involved a practical denial of principles which he had formerly avowed, yet he could not be seduced to be permanently unfaithful to these principles in his capacity of Christian teacher, and so to lay the foundation of a lasting opposition to Paul. On the contrary, he willingly allowed himself to be set right by Paul, and, for the future, continued firmly united to him in the bond of apostolic fellowship.¹

From Peter's ardent zeal, and from what we know of his successful efforts for spreading the kingdom of God till the conversion of Cornelius, we may infer that, during that period

¹ We can by no means agree in the opinion expressed by a distinguished young theologian, Professor Elevert of Zurich, in his Essay on Inspiration in the *Studien der evangelischen Geistlichkeit Württembergs*, vol. iii. p. 72, that the old distinction for securing the idea of inspiration between *vitium conversationis* and *error doctrinæ* is wholly untenable, and therefore, the possibility of a mixture of error in the teaching of the apostles must be allowed. When Peter, in consequence of a sudden over-hastiness or weakness, suffered himself to be misled in reference to his Jewish fellow-believers, and to act in a manner which corresponded rather to the prejudices of others, than to his own better views, such a sudden practical error by no means justifies us in the conclusion, that his own knowledge of Christian truth had been eclipsed, and that his sounder views had entirely vanished. The most we could infer would be, that at this instant, when overpowered by impressions from without, he had no clear perception of the principles on which he was acting. Had he indeed not repented of this sudden false step arising from the fear of man,—had he hardened himself in this moral delinquency, a permanent obscuration of Christian consciousness must have been the consequence, and, as the history of many similar instances of backsliding exemplifies, a practical denial of the truth would have been followed by a theoretical one; but this could never come to pass in an individual in whom the spirit of Christ had attained such a preponderance over the selfish principle. And thus we are not at liberty to suppose, that Peter allowed the act into which he had been hurried by the power of a sudden temptation, to establish itself in his teaching, and so far to prevent or obscure his perception of Christian truth.

of his life respecting which we have no information, he extended still further the circle of his operations for the propagation of the gospel. As he is not mentioned in the Acts later than the account of the deliberations at Jerusalem¹ recorded in the 15th chapter, it seems probable that the scene of his subsequent labours lay at a distance from that city. According to an ancient tradition,² Peter published the gospel to the Jews scattered through Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia. But this account has most probably been derived only from a misunderstanding of the superscription of his first epistle.³ This epistle of Peter leads us rather to suppose, that the scene of his labours was in the Parthian empire, for as he sends salutations from his wife in Babylon,⁴ this naturally supports the conclusion, that he himself was in that neighbourhood. And in itself, it is by no means improbable that Peter, whose ministrations related particularly to the descendants of the Jews, betook himself to a region where so many Jews were scattered; and what we know of the early spread of Christianity in those parts, serves to confirm the opinion. Yet the fact that Peter exercised his ministry at a late period in the countries composing the Parthian empire, by no means renders it impossible that he laboured earlier in Lesser Asia. Still it contradicts this supposition that, in the Pauline epistles, in which a fair opportunity was given to touch upon such a relation, we find no trace of Peter's residing in the circle of Paul's labours; this, however, we do not adduce as perfectly decisive evidence. But we must attach greater weight to the fact, that, in this epistle of Peter, there is no reference to his own earlier presence among the churches to whom it is addressed, though the object of this epistle must have especially required him to remind them of what they had heard from his own lips.

¹ What Paul says in 1 Cor. ix. 5, of the travels of the apostles, and of Peter's taking his wife with him, agrees with 1 Peter v. 13.

² See Origen, t. iii. in *Genes.* Eusebius, iii.

³ Origen's expression is very doubtful; *κεκηρυχέναι ζοικεν*.

⁴ By a most unnatural interpretation, this has been supposed to mean an inconsiderable town in Egypt, a *φρούριον ἐρημὸν* at that time, Strabo, xvii. 1, although this small town existed as late as the fifth century; see *Hist. Lausiac.* c. 25. The opinion of the ancients is perfectly arbitrary, that, under this name, Rome was meant; and there is nothing against our supposing that an inhabited portion of the immense Babylon was still left.

It appears then, that, after Peter had found a suitable field of exertion in the Parthian empire, he wrote to the churches founded by Paul and his assistants in Asia, an epistle, which is the only memorial preserved to us of his later labours. All the marks of its date unite in placing it in the last part of the apostolic age, in the period subsequent to Paul's first confinement. We find Silvanus, one of Paul's early fellow-labourers, in direct communication with Peter, which agrees very well with our never meeting with the former as Paul's companion after his last journey to Jerusalem. The Christian churches to whom the epistle is directed, appear to us exposed to such persecutions as first arose about this period. The Christians were now persecuted *as Christians*, and according to those popular opinions of which Nero took advantage, were looked upon and treated as "evil-doers." (*κακοποιοί, malefici*). By the seriousness and strictness of their daily conduct, and their withdrawal from the public shows and other licentious amusements, they rendered themselves obnoxious to the hatred of the heathen populace; 1 Peter iv. 4, 5; and if we reflect on the circumstances in which these churches were placed during Paul's first confinement, the design of the epistle will at once be apparent. As these churches had to combat with persecutions from without, so they were internally disturbed by those heretical tendencies of which we have spoken in a former chapter. Since the propagators of these errors accused Paul of falsifying the original Christian doctrine, and had appealed to the authority of the elder apostles in behalf of the continued obligation of the Mosaic law, Peter availed himself of the opportunity for addressing these churches, in order to establish them in the conviction, that the doctrine announced to them by Paul and his disciples and companions, of whom Silvanus was one, was genuine Christianity. These churches consisted for the most part of those who had been previously heathens, for such, in several passages, he supposes his readers to be; ii. 10; iv. 3. The superscription of the epistle is not inconsistent with this fact; for as Peter, by his training and peculiar sphere of labour, was apt to develop Christian truths in Old Testament images and comparisons, he transferred the name of *διασπορά* to the true church of God scattered among the heathen.

In reference to the internal and external circumstances of

the churches, the object of this hortatory composition is two-fold; partly to ground them more firmly in the consciousness, that the source of happiness and the foundation of the everlasting kingdom of God was contained in that faith in the Redeemer which had been announced to them and received by them into their hearts,—that the doctrine announced to them was indeed the everlasting, unchangeable word of God, and hence they were to aim at appropriating, with child-like simplicity, the pure simple doctrine of the gospel delivered to them from the beginning, and thus continually advance to Christian maturity; and partly it was the apostle's design to exhort them to maintain their steadfastness in the faith under all persecutions, and a corresponding course of conduct by which they would shine forth in the midst of the corrupt heathen world, and refute the false accusations against Christianity and its professors.

Both these objects are pointed out by the apostle at the close of the epistle, when he says, "The faithful brother Silvanus is the bearer to you of this a short epistle considering what I would gladly say to you, and which I have written for your encouragement, and to testify that it is the true grace¹ of God, in the firm possession of which you stand by faith."² The unassuming manner in which the writer of

¹ Grace, the grace of redemption, a description of the whole contents of the gospel.

² The words may be certainly taken to mean, that Silvanus was the writer of the epistle, dictated by Peter, either in Aramaic or Greek; but in this case, a salutation from Silvanus would probably have been added, especially since he must have been well known to these churches. The possibility of the interpretation which I have adopted, is evident from the phraseology which is adopted in the subscriptions of the Pauline epistles; and the use of the aorist, ἔγραψα allowing for the epistolary style of the ancients, can prove nothing against it. It also shows at once the design of the commendatory epithet, "a faithful brother." The words ὡς λογίζομαι, may indeed relate to what goes before, for this verb is used by Paul in Rom. viii. 18; Rom. iii. 28; 2 Cor. xi. 5, to denote a subjective conviction, without the accessory idea of any uncertainty in holding it. Peter might also wish to mark the subjective of his own judgment, for it was precisely the peculiar authority of Peter, to which many opposers of the Pauline school appealed. But if λογίζομαι is referred to what follows, it is equally a mark of subjective judgment or feeling. That which he wrote was to Peter, in relation to what he had in his heart to say to the churches, only a little. Yet had he intended to express that sentiment, he would rather have said δι' ὀλίγον ὡς λογίζομαι.

this epistle calls himself simply an eye-witness of the sufferings of Christ, and represents himself to the presbyters of the churches to whom it is addressed, as one of their number, one of the number of Christian overseers, bears with it the impress of the apostolic spirit.

But such marks of genuine apostolic origin and character are by no means visible in the second epistle extant under Peter's name; many traces of a contrary kind are to be found in it, many marks of its apocryphal origin; and as it is slightly supported by external evidence, we have made no use of it as a source of information for the biography of the apostle.¹

¹ The principal marks of the spuriousness of this epistle, are the difference of the whole character and style compared with the first, and the use here made of the epistle of Jude, which is partly copied and partly imitated. The author assumes, that he is writing to the same churches as those to whom the First Epistle of Peter is addressed, and yet what he says of his relation to his readers, is at variance with that assumption, for, according to the Second Epistle, they must have been persons who had been personally instructed by the apostle Peter, and with whom he stood in a close personal connexion, yet this was a relation in which the churches to whom the First Epistle was addressed could not stand. The solicitude with which he endeavours to make himself known as the apostle Peter, betrays an apocryphal writer. The allusion to the words of Christ, John xxi. 18, in i. 14, is brought forward in an unsuitable manner. In order to distinguish himself as a credible witness of the life of Christ, he appeals to the phenomena at the transfiguration. But it certainly is not natural to suppose that one of the apostles should select and bring forward from the whole life of Christ, of which they had been eye-witnesses, this insulated fact, which was less essentially connected with that which was the central point and object of his appearance; the apostles were rather accustomed to claim credit as witnesses of the sufferings and resurrection of Christ. Also the designation of the mountain on which the transfiguration occurred as "the holy mount," betrays a later origin, since we cannot suppose that the mountain usually so denominated, Mount Zion, was intended. Among the circumstances that excite suspicion, is the manner in which the same false teachers, who, in the Epistle of Jude, are described as actually existing, are here represented with prophetic warning, as about to appear. The doubts respecting the second coming of Christ, occasioned by the expectation of the occurrence of that event, in the first age of the church, and the disappointment of that expectation, leads us to recognise a later period. What is said of the origin of the world from water, and its destruction by fire, does not correspond to the simplicity and practical spirit of the apostolic doctrine, but rather indicates the spirit of a later age, mingling much that was foreign with the religious interest. The mode of citing the Pauline epistles, confirms also the suspicion against the genuineness of this epistle. A passage from Rom. ii. 4, is cited in iii. 15, as if this epistle were

Since the second half of the second century, a report was generally circulated that Peter died a martyr under the Emperor Nero at Rome.¹ According to a later tradition, when Peter was condemned to crucifixion, he scrupled, from a feeling of humility, to be put to death exactly in the same manner as the Saviour, and therefore requested that he might be crucified with his head downwards, and his feet upwards. Such a story bears on its front the impress of a later morbid piety rather than simple apostolic humility. The apostles exulted and rejoiced in all things to imitate their Lord, and the tradition thus formed does not appear to have been known to Tertullian, for though his peculiar turn of mind would have disposed him to receive such an account, he says expressly that Peter suffered in the same manner as Christ.²

With respect to the tradition according to which Peter at last visited Rome, and there suffered martyrdom,—it does not well agree with what we have mentioned above respecting his residence in the Parthian Empire, for since this is supposed to have been after the Neronian persecution, and since the martyrdom of Peter, according to ancient accounts, must have happened at the same time as Paul's, Peter must within a short period have changed the scene of his labours from one very distant region of the globe to another. And it appears strange that he should have relinquished his labours in a region where so much was to be done for the spread of the gospel, and betake himself to one at so great a distance, where Paul and his associates had already laid a good foundation, and were continuing to build on the foundation already laid. But so many circumstances unknown to us might conspire to bring about such an event, that with our defective knowledge of the church history

addressed to the same church. A collection of all the Pauline epistles is referred to, and it is assumed, that Paul in all of them referred to one subject which yet by no means appears in all. Paul's epistles are quoted as *γραφαί*, as one apostle would certainly not have expressed himself respecting the epistles of another apostle, for this term in the apostolic epistles is always used only to designate the writings of the Old Testament. This epistle was probably forged by those who wished to combat the gnostic errors, and the opinion broached by the Gnostics of a contrariety between the apostles Peter and Paul, by the borrowed authority of the former.

¹ The first trace of this is to be found in Origen, Euseb. iii 1. The complete narrative in Jerome, *de Viris Illustrib.* i.

² De Præscript. 36. Ubi Petrus passioni dominicæ adequatur.

of these times, what we have stated cannot be considered a decisive evidence against the truth of the tradition, if it can be sufficiently supported on other grounds. We can also easily imagine a particular interest which would induce Peter to change his scene of labour to Rome, the same interest which was the occasion of his writing his first epistle, that of healing the division which in many parts existed between his own adherents and those of Paul. This division would find a rallying point in the opposition between the Gentile Christians and Judaizing elements in the church at Rome, and the movements in the metropolitan church would exert an influence over the whole church ; and this might be a consideration of sufficient weight with Peter to induce him to undertake a journey to Rome. We are called upon therefore to investigate whether this tradition is adequately supported by credible witnesses.

The Roman Bishop Clemens appears as the first witness of the martyrdom of Peter. If he expressly stated that Peter was martyred at Rome, we should have incontrovertible evidence and require no further examination. But such an exact determination of the place is wanting. Yet it cannot be concluded that Clemens did not know the name of the place where Peter suffered martyrdom, for there was no need of such particularity for his readers when he was writing of an event which he might assume to be generally known. It cannot be maintained, that when he was writing at the place where Peter shed his blood as a witness of the faith, and simply enumerating examples of steadfastness in persecuted champions of the faith, he should feel himself bound expressly to mention the scene of his last sufferings. Even in commemorating Paul's martyrdom, we find no such phrase as "here before our eyes," "in the city from which I am now writing to you." It may appear strange that Clemens speaks in such general terms of Peter as a person of whom he possessed no precise information,¹ and on the other hand speaks in such definite terms of Paul. This might justify the conclusion that he had really no exact information respecting Peter's end, and hence we might be allowed to infer that the scene of Peter's labours was to the very time of his martyrdom at a distance from Rome.² Yet on the other hand it may be said, that

¹ Οὐχ ἕνα, οὐδὲ δύο, ἀλλὰ πλείονας νηήνεγκε πόνους καὶ οὕτω μαρτυρήσας.

² I cannot consider as historically accredited what is narrated of the

Clemens, as one of Paul's disciples, was induced to speak of him in more definite terms, and though Peter met with the close of his labours at Rome, that Clemens could not say much of his earlier conflicts.¹ The first person who distinctly states the martyrdom of Peter at Rome is Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, who wrote in the latter half of the second century. In his epistle to the church at Rome,² he calls that and the Corinthian the common planting of Peter and Paul. Both had planted the church at Corinth, and had equally taught there. In the same manner they had both taught in Italy and suffered martyrdom at the same time. Here we find a definite statement of the martyrdom of Peter at Rome, though blended indeed with many inaccuracies. Dionysius does not absolutely say that Peter and Paul taught at Corinth at the same time, which, in reference to the time before the first confinement of Paul at Rome, certainly cannot be admitted, and, in reference to the time after that event, can hardly be credited. But at all events, he is not correct in terming the Corinthian church the common planting of the two apostles. For, supposing that the tradition of Peter's journey to Rome is credible, it might happen that, after the first confinement of Paul, he visited Corinth, but he could do nothing towards founding a church which already had been established there. Perhaps this whole account proceeded from misunderstanding the references to the apostle Peter in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, partly from tracing the origin of this *ecclesia apostolica* from the two most distinguished apostles. The same remark will apply to the church at Rome. And according to what we have stated above, Paul came from Spain as a prisoner to Rome, and could not have appeared there as a teacher in conjunction with Peter.³ But this

connexion between Clemens and Peter, in legends such as the Clementines, which bear the impress of being framed to answer a certain purpose.

¹ Frederick Spanheim, and lately Bauer, have endeavoured to prove too much from the manner in which Clemens here expresses himself.

² Eusebius, ii. 25.

³ The passage in Dionysius has been explained by Dr. Schott in his "Examination of some chronological Points in the History of Paul," Jena, 1832, p. 131, so as to remove this difficulty. In the sentence *ομοίως δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν οὐδὲ διδάξαντες, ἐμαρτύρησαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν*,---*οὐδὲ* may be so understood, that only the equal extension of

inaccuracy in the representation of events long past, in which Dionysius allowed himself to be guided more by uncertain inferences than by historical traditions, cannot be employed to weaken the weight of his deposition respecting a fact not strictly connected with the other points, and on which he could easily obtain certain information from his contemporaries. We have no sufficient ground to deny that Dionysius, in what he says of Peter's martyrdom at Rome, followed an ancient credible tradition, although he falsified his report to a certain extent by the circumstances with which he arbitrarily connected it. From his times, this account appears the unanimous tradition of ecclesiastical antiquity. The graves of the two apostles were pointed out at Rome, as the Roman presbyter Caius, at the end of the second century, appeals to them ; but yet these graves do not furnish incontestable evidence. When the report was once set afloat, the designation of the locality where the apostles were buried would easily be added. Even by Caius the misstatement is made, that both the apostles were the founders of that church.

This tradition would be more deserving of credit, notwithstanding a defect of positive historical evidence, if its origin could not in any way be easily accounted for. We cannot account for it from the attempt to place on a sure basis, the authority of the *Cathedra Petri* in Rome, for this tradition is more ancient than the attempt to secure to the *Cathedra Petri* at Rome a decisive authority in matters of doctrine ; such an attempt, which it is difficult to deduce only from the transference of the homage paid to the *urbs* to the *ecclesia urbis*, would rather presuppose the existence of the tradition. Since the pretensions of the Roman church were not universally acknowledged, but in many quarters met with opposition, they will not serve to explain how it came to pass, that such a tradition designedly propagated by Rome, was everywhere so favourably received. But in truth, many other circumstances combined to give rise to this report and to promote its circulation. As Peter concluded his labours in a region

their labours in Italy may be intended by it ; but does not the repetition of *ἀμολίως*, the distinguishing of this word from *ἀμόδσε*, and the comparison with the *κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν*, of the martyrdom of both, favour another interpretation ?

so separated from connexion with the Roman empire, there would be the greater temptation to fill up the gaps of authentic history by hearsays and legends. The practice of representing Peter as the victor over Simon Magus, in the contest for the simple faith of Revelation, gave rise to manifold legendary tales about his travels, such as the story of his earlier residence in Rome under the emperor Claudius, and the disputation he there held with Simon. And besides, it seemed suitable that the church of the metropolis of the world should be founded by the two most distinguished apostles, who had also founded the Corinthian church, and be signalized by their death; it was also thought desirable to be able to present the cooperation of these two apostles in the church, to which, as the church of the metropolis, all eyes were turned, in contrast with the attempts of the Judaizers, as well as of the abettors of Gnosticism, to establish the existence of a decided opposition between the two apostles. When after the Apocalypse came into circulation, it was usual to designate the imperial city by the name of Babylon, as the stronghold of the heathenism which opposed the kingdom of God, this name as it occurred in the First Epistle of Peter, was naturally applied to Rome, and thus, too, an argument was found for the belief of that apostle's visit to Rome. The confounding of Marcus, who is mentioned in that epistle as a son of Peter,¹ with the other Marcus, known as the companion of Paul and Barnabas, and the author of one of the gospels, was the occasion of placing him in the same relation to the apostle Peter as that in which Luke stood to Paul.

Although the origin of the story of the journey of the apostle Peter to Rome, and of his martyrdom there, may in this way be in some measure explained, yet the high antiquity of the tradition, which can be traced back to the very boundaries of the apostolic age, presents an objection of great weight to this hypothesis. Papias, the bishop of Hierapolis,²

¹ As we can find no reason for taking the word *υἱός* in a spiritual sense, and as we more naturally understand the word *συνεκλεκτῇ* of Peter's wife, than of a personified church, especially as we know that he was married and was accompanied by his wife on his travels, we may refer this to an actual son of Peter. Tradition says expressly that Peter had children. Πέτρος καὶ Φίλιππος ἐπαιδοποίησαντο. Clemens, Stromat. iii. 448.

² Euseb. Hist. Eccl. iii. 39

who appeals to an oral tradition of an individual belonging to the apostolic age, the presbyter John, reports, that the Gospel of Mark¹ was composed by the same person who accompanied Peter as an interpreter, for the purpose of preserving in writing what he had heard Peter narrate in his public addresses,² and what had been impressed on his own memory. Now, it is evident that this account (whether it relates to that Gospel of Mark which is still extant, or to a lost original document of the evangelical history, which served for its basis) cannot be true in its full extent; for how can we suppose, that Mark the nephew of Barnabas, who at all events must have come when young to Jerusalem, and lived there in company with the apostles, could have first planned his evangelical narrative according to what he heard at a much later period, incidentally from the preaching of Peter? This account therefore is suspicious; but may it not be so far true, that Mark accompanied the apostle Peter to Rome, and acted there as his interpreter, for those persons who were familiar only with the Latin language? Yet after all, it is difficult to explain how such could have existed so early, unless there had been a tradition that Peter had left the scene of his labours in the Parthian empire at a later period, and visited Rome,—especially since what Papias says rests on the report of a man in the apostolic age. As Silvanus, the early companion of Paul, joined Peter in the Parthian empire, so Mark might likewise remove thither from Lesser Asia, Coloss. iv. 10, and travel with him to Rome, although he was not the Mark whom Peter mentions in his first epistle. There is an ancient tradition preserved for us by Clemens of Alexandria, that when Peter saw his wife led to martyrdom, he called out to her, mentioning her name,³ “Ο

¹ Although the marks attributed by Papias to the Gospel of Mark, do not agree with the form in which it has come down to us, it does not follow that Papias referred to another document; for in such a description of the qualities of a book lying before him, much depends on the subjective judgment, and we certainly cannot give Papias credit for the talent of acute and accurate observation.

² See above, p. 95.

³ Φασί γ' οὖν τὸν μακάριον Πέτρον θεασάμενον τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα ἀγομένην τὴν ἐπὶ θάνατον, ἡσθῆναι μὲν τῆς κλήσεως χάριν [καὶ τῆς εἰς οἶκοι ἀνακομιδῆς]· ἐπιφωνῆσαι δὲ εὖ μάλα προστρεπτικῶς τε καὶ παρακλητικῶς ἐξ ὀνόματος προσέποντα· μεμνήσθω αὐτῇ τοῦ κυρίου. Clem. Alex. Strom. vii. [vol. iii. p. 253, ed. Klotz. Lipsiæ, 1832.] The words I have enclosed in brackets

remember the Lord!" We have no reason for casting a doubt on the truth of such a simple tradition. But that characteristic traits of this kind were in circulation, agrees best with the supposition that his last years were not spent in the Parthian empire, between which and the Roman there was little intercourse. In the existing circumstances of the Parthian empire in reference to the mixture of native and foreign religions, it would be difficult to account for the martyrdom of a Christian woman. Hence, we are led to refer it most naturally to the effects of the Neronian persecution at Rome.

are difficult, whether we understand by them that his wife, before she was led to death, came home once more, and then was thus addressed by Peter, or, more naturally, that she would be restored to him again, being redeemed from death. Yet, in the connexion there are great difficulties in either interpretation, and we must rather understand the words of a return to her heavenly home, if the reading be correct, and we ought not (which yet I do not venture to maintain) to read *ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωτίας*.

BOOK V.

THE APOSTLE JOHN AND HIS MINISTRY AS THE CLOSING POINT OF THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

THE ministry of the apostle John reaches to the limits of the apostolic age. He was the son of Zebedee, a fisherman (probably wealthy),¹ in the small town of Bethsaida or Capernaum, on the western side of the Sea of Gennesareth in Galilee. Many eminent men in all ages who have been great blessings to the church, have been indebted to their pious mothers for the first excitement of their dispositions to piety and the first scattering of the seeds of religion in their hearts, and this appears to have been the case with John.² The

¹ As we may conclude from Mark i. 20.

² Compare Mark xv. 40, xvi. 1, and Matt. xxvii. 56. If an opinion, advocated with great acuteness and learning by Wieseler in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1840, iii. p. 648, could be established, it would show that Salome and John were closely connected with Christ by the bonds of relationship. According to this view, not *three* women (as has hitherto been supposed), but *four*, are named in John xix. 25; the Mary the wife of Cleopas must be identified with the sister of the mother of Jesus, but is quite a different person. Hence it follows, that we have to search for the name of the remaining sister of the mother of Jesus. Now, since in Matt. xxvii. 56, Mark xv. 40, besides Mary of Magdala, and Mary the mother of James and Joseph = the wife of Cleopas, Salome also, or the mother of the sons of Zebedee, is named as present at the crucifixion, it would appear that the sister of Mary the mother of Jesus, whose name is not given by John, can be no other than Salome, his own mother. Thus the difficulty of the same name belonging to both sisters is entirely obviated. It would also follow that, in fact, James the son of Alphaeus, or Cleopas, was not the sister's son of Mary the mother of Jesus, (consequently, not *his* cousin;) and this would furnish fresh proof for our supposition, that James the brother of the Lord was not identical with the apostle. But the manner in which (John xix. 25) Mary the wife of Cleopas is mentioned without any connective particle, appears to me to imply that these words are only in apposition to distinguish the (otherwise) unnamed sister of the mother of Jesus. If the sister of the mother of Jesus, according to one of her names, was then a universally known person in the circle in which John wrote his gospel, I could then more easily conceive that, by that collocation of the words

manner in which his mother Salome united herself to the company which was formed round the Saviour leads us to attribute to her the predominance of a pious disposition, and from the petition which she made to the Redeemer, we may conclude, that her mind was filled with the expectation of the approaching manifestation of the Messiah's kingdom, an expectation which had been so vividly excited in the devout part of the Jewish nation, by the predictions of the prophets and the exigencies of the age: we may therefore imagine how strenuously she endeavoured to inflame her son's heart with the same earnest desire. The direction thus given to the mind of the youth impelled him to join John the Baptist, by whose guidance he was first led to the Saviour; John i. 37. In his company he spent several hours,¹ but Christ wished not to bind him to himself at once. He allowed him to return for the present to his usual occupation. He drew him, like Peter, gradually into closer communion with himself, and his operations on his mind were intended to call forth an anxiety for a

such an ambiguity might be occasioned; but I do not believe that such a supposition is justifiable: and was it not to be expected from John that though he had not mentioned the sister of the mother of Jesus by name, he yet would have pointed her out more definitely as the mother of the disciple whom Jesus loved? Also, it does not seem probable to me, since the relationship of John to Jesus would be so important for explaining the early and peculiar connexion in which he entered with Christ, that no trace of it should make its appearance in the narrative of our gospels, where there was so often an opportunity of mentioning it. The origin of later accounts of such a relationship between the apostle John and Christ, may be easily explained without the supposition of an historical foundation.

¹ In order to know the length of time spent by John in this first interview with the Redeemer, we must determine the mode of computing the hours adopted in John's Gospel. According to the commonly received mode of reckoning, it could not have been more than three hours; and then it is remarkable that John should say, "they abode with him that day," of which only so few hours were left. On the contrary, if, like some of the older writers, (see *Wolffii Curæ* on John xix. 14.) and more recently *Retteg* (in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1830, part i. p. 106), we suppose that John adopted the Roman mode of counting the hours from midnight, the length of time would be from ten in the morning to sunset. Yet the words of John, as a more negligent mode of expression, may be understood according to the common interpretation; and the passage in John iv. 6, favours our thinking that he reckoned time in the usual manner. And, in itself, it is more probable that the first impression which the Redeemer made on John's mind resulted only from a short interview.

more intimate connexion. And when he had for some time been wishful after an abiding nearness to Him who had wrought with such power on his inmost soul, when the call at last was issued, Matt. iv. 22, he was ready at once to forsake all and follow Him. What distinguished John was the union of the most opposite qualities, as we have often observed in great instruments for the advancement of the kingdom of God.—the union of a disposition inclined to silent and deep meditation, with an ardent zeal, though not impelling to great and diversified activity in the outward world; not a passionate zeal, such as we may suppose filled the breast of Paul before his conversion. But there was also a love, not soft and yielding, but one seizing with all its might, and firmly retaining the object to which it was directed, vigorously repelling whatever would disgrace this object, or attempt to wrest it from its possession, and this was his leading characteristic. Yet this love had a selfish and intemperate tincture, of which we have several instances, as when he wished to call down divine judgments on the Samaritans, who had not shown due honour to the Saviour; and when he expressed his displeasure that some persons who had not united themselves to the disciples of the Lord, had performed similar miracles to their own by calling on his name; and when his mother, in concert with her two sons, presented a petition to Christ for stations of eminence in his kingdom. Probably the title “Son of Thunder,” which the Redeemer bestowed upon him, related not less to his natural temperament than to what he became by its purification and transformation in the service of the gospel. But this ardent love with which he devoted himself wholly to the service of the Redeemer, became now the purifying principle of his whole being, while he sought to form himself on the model of that holy personality. And hence he could receive the image of it on the side which corresponded with his peculiarly contemplative mental tendency, and reproduce it in a living form.

John was certainly distinguished from James the brother of the Lord, in this respect, that from the first his communion with Christ was independently developed on the peculiar basis of Christian consciousness; the fountain of divine life which had appeared among mankind, became at once the central point of his spiritual existence: yet he did wholly agree with

Paul, for his Christian consciousness was not formed in direct opposition to an earlier and tenaciously held Judaism. His whole character and mental formation disposed him to a different development. The mystical contemplative element which finds its archetype in John, is more prone to adopt outward forms (attributing to them a spiritualized, elevated meaning) than to disown them, and John, whom Judaism had led to the Saviour as its ultimate object, found no difficulty in employing the forms of the Jewish cultus as the prefiguring symbols of his Christian views. It was not expected, therefore, from him that he should, like a Paul, abolish those forms with which the Christian spirit was yet enveloped.¹ Though John (Gal. ii 9) appears as one of the three pillars of the church among the Jewish Christians, yet it never happened that they appealed to him as to Peter and James; but it may be explained from the peculiar standing-point and character of this apostle, and serves to set in a clear light his relation to the contending parties. Hence also we gather, that though

¹ Irenæus, after taking a sound survey of the process of development of the Christian church, says: "Hi autem qui circa Jacobum Apostoli (among whom he also ranks John) gentibus quidem libere agere permittebant, *concedentes nos Spiritui Dei*. Ipsi vero perseverabant in *pristinis observationibus*." And a little afterwards, "Religiose agebant circa dispositionem legis," iii. 12. But what Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, says of John, in his letter to Victor, Bishop of Rome, in Euseb. v. 24, *ὅς ἐγενήθη ἱερεὺς τὸ πέταλον πεφυρηκώς*, is untrue if taken literally, as it insinuates something far beyond the presumption that John was a faithful observer of the Jewish law so long as he remained at Jerusalem. It would follow that he had held the office of High Priest among the Jews, for this *πέταλον* = *אֵפֶתֶלֶן* פָּז, the golden front-plate, which was one of the distinctive insignia of this office. Such a presumption would, however, be in contradiction to history and all historical analogy. Nor can Polycrates himself, however credulous we may think him to have been, have meant it. It is moreover clear from the context, that he affirms of John only such things as would be consistent with his Christian standing-point. Or, are we to assume that John, as the President of all the Christian communities in Lesser Asia, adopted, as a symbolical token of his position in the guidance of the Church, the insignia of the Jewish High Priest? This would be in direct contradiction to the apostolic, and especially the Johannean views, for these included the acknowledgment of the sole high-priesthood of Christ, and the universal priesthood, founded upon it, of all believers. Polycrates, therefore, could have said this of John only with a symbolical reference, whether he intended to denote by it what he had suffered for the confession of the Christian faith, or the place which he occupied at the head of the guidance of the church.

John had formed a scheme of doctrine so decidedly marked, and though in relation to the other great publishers of the gospel, he might have formed a party who would have attached themselves particularly to him, and principally or exclusively have valued his idea of Christianity, yet in the Pauline age, we see no Johannean party come forward by the side of the Jacobean, the Petrine, and the Pauline. The peculiar doctrinal type of John was also of a kind little suited to find acceptance with the peculiar tendencies of the Jewish Christians in Palestine, and its influence would be more powerfully felt, where a Christian element had already combined itself with the form of the Grecian mind.

Thus John disappears from public history, till he was led by the divine call to other regions, where the minds of the people were already prepared for his peculiar influence, and where the deep traces of his operations, undeniable to every one capable of historical investigations, were still visible far in the second century. After the martyrdom of Paul, the bereaved scene of his labours, so important for the development and spread of the kingdom of God, and exposed to so many polluting and destructive influences, required above all things the guiding, protecting, and healing hand of apostolic wisdom. The Epistle of Peter to the churches in that region, and the journey of Silvanus thither, show how much this necessity was felt. It is probable, that John was called upon by the better part of the churches, to transfer the seat of his activity to this quarter. All the ancient traditions, which may be traced back to his immediate disciples, agree in stating that Lesser Asia was the scene of his labours to the end of the first century, and Ephesus its central point.

The constitution of the churches of Lesser Asia, as it appeared soon after the age of John in the time of Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, was altogether different from that which originated in the Pauline age, in which these churches were founded, and we are obliged to presuppose some intervening influences by which this alteration was produced. Originally these churches formed, as we have seen above, a pure opposition against the Jewish-Christian form of cultus. They had no day excepting Sunday devoted to religious celebration, no kind of yearly feast ; but afterwards we find among them a paschal feast transferred from the Jews, and receiving a Christian

meaning, though imitating the Jewish reckoning, as to the time of its celebration, to which probably a feast of Pentecost was annexed, and in their disputes with the Roman church they appealed particularly to a tradition originating with this apostle. Now we can readily imagine that the fourteenth day of the month Nisan,¹ on which he was an eye-witness of the sufferings of Christ, would excite a deep interest in his Christian feelings. It is self-evident how those Jewish feasts, which had gained a new importance for him by their association with those great facts of the Christian faith of which he had been an eye-witness, and which he had been wont to celebrate with Christian devotion, might be introduced by him into these churches founded on Pauline principles.

From the state of the church at that time in these parts, it may be concluded that John must have had to endure many conflicts, both from within and without, in his new field of labour. After licence had once been granted under Nero to public attacks on the Christians, persecutions were carried on in various parts. In lesser Asia, many circumstances combined, then as in later times, to excite a more vehement persecution: fanatical zeal for the ancient idolatry—the danger which threatened the pecuniary interests of those who were gainers by the popular worship, from the rapid progress of Christianity—the hatred of the Jews widely scattered through Lesser Asia, who blasphemed Christianity, and stirred up the heathen populace against it. Hence in the Apocalypse the rebukes uttered against the synagogues of Satan, against those who “say they are Jews, but are not and do lie;” Rev. iii. 9. The civil wars and the universal misery that followed, contributed still more to excite the popular fury against the enemies of the gods, to whom they readily ascribed the origin of all their misfortunes. Thus, indeed, the Apocalypse testifies (which was probably written in the first period after John’s arrival in Lesser Asia) throughout of the flowing blood of the martyrs, and of the tribulation which threatened Christians in prison, as well as of the fresh recollections of Nero’s cruelties. In the churches themselves, those conflicts continued which we noticed at the close of the Pauline age,

¹ The gospel to which Polycrates appeals in Eusebius, v. 24, may certainly be that of John; see my *Leben Jesu*, p. 712.

and the seeds of discord and heresy then germinating had now sprung up and advanced towards maturity. Falsifiers of the original truth, who gave themselves out for apostles, had come forth; Rev. ii. 2. Various kinds of enthusiasm had mingled with the genuine Christian inspiration, against which Paul had already raised a warning voice. Pretended prophets and prophetesses, who, under the appearance of divine illumination, threatened to plunge the churches into errors both theoretical and practical; 1 John iv. 1; Rev. ii. 20.

In Lesser Asia, the most opposite deviations from the genuine evangelical spirit sprang up together. On the one side, the Judaizing tendency, as we have noticed it in the Pauline age; on another side, in opposition to it, the tendency of an arrogant licentiousness of opinion, such as we have noticed in the freethinkers of the Corinthian church, only carried to greater lengths, and mingled probably with many theoretical errors; persons who taught that whoever penetrated into the depths of knowledge,¹ need no longer submit to the apostolic ordinances, as he would be free from all the slavery of the law, which freedom they understood in a carnal sense, and misinterpreted to an immoral purpose. Such a one need no longer fear the contact with heathenism or with the kingdom of Satan; in the consciousness of his own mental strength he could despise all temptations, partake of the meat offered to idols, and indulge in sensual pleasures without being injured thereby. In the Apocalypse these people are called Nicolaitanes, whether because they were really the adherents of a certain Nicolaus,² and that this name as a trans-

¹ Rev. ii. 24, they are described as such, *οἵτινες ἔγνωσαν τὰ βάθη τοῦ σατανᾶ, ὡς λέγουσιν*. But a doubt here arises, whether these persons made it their peculiar boast that they knew the depths of the Deity; but the author of the Apocalypse, as if in mockery of their pretensions, substitutes for the depths of the Deity the depths of Satan (as Ewald thinks),—(for which interpretation the analogy may be adduced where the synagogue of God is converted into the synagogue of Satan);—or whether they really boasted that they knew the depths of Satan, and hence could tell how to combat Satan aright,—that they could conquer him by pride and contempt,—that they could indulge in sensual pleasures, and maintain the composure of their spirit unaltered,—that the inner man might attain such strength that it was no longer moved by what weaker souls, who were still under the servitude of the law, anxiously shunned,—and thus could put Satan to scorn even in his own domains.

² We are by no means justified in confounding this Nicolaus with the

lation of the Hebrew ערְבָא, occasioned an allusion to the meaning of the name, and a comparison with Balaam, or that the name was altogether invented by the author with a symbolical design, a seducer of the people like Balaam.

With these practical errors were connected various theoretic tendencies of a false gnosis, which since the close of the Pauline age had extended more widely in opposition to one another. We have noticed in the church at Colossæ the adherents of a Judaizing gnosis, who probably considered Judaism to be a revelation from God communicated by angels, attached a perpetual value to it as well as to Christianity, and pretended that they possessed peculiar information respecting the various classes of angels. To this Jewish angel-worship, Paul opposes the doctrine of Jesus as the Son of God, the one head of the church of God, on whom angels also are dependent, the common head of that universal church to which men and angels belong. He extols him as the being who has triumphed over all the powers which would make men dependent on themselves, over all the powers that set themselves in opposition to the kingdom of God, so that men need no longer fear them. He then infers the doctrine grounded on this, of the high degree and freedom of the redeemed through Christ, the children of God, who are become companions of angels in the kingdom of God. But this elevated doctrine of the dignity and freedom of Christians was perverted by those who confronted the limited Jewish standing-point by a bold antinomian gnosis, and affirmed that Judaism was to be despised as the work of limited spirits; that the sons of God were more than these spirits and exalted above their maxims. They thought themselves sufficiently exalted to insult these higher powers, and to ridicule all law as a work of these limited and limiting powers. With this was connected that reckless immoral tendency which we have before noticed, and which presented itself in opposition to the legal asceticism, which we find connected with the Judaizing gnosis in the church at Colossæ. This is the tendency which is combated on the side of its blended theoretical and practical errors, in the warning Epistle of Jude addressed probably to the Christians in these

well-known deacon of this name. But in this case, it is more probable that the Nicolaitanes of the second century originated from this sect.

parts.¹ We see here how, from the Pauline ideas carried out with one-sided extravagance and thus distorted into error, the gnostic doctrine was educed of the opposition between Christianity as the revelation of the Son, and Judaism as the revelation of the Demiurgos and his angels. These two opposite tendencies of gnosis developed themselves in this age in various combinations.

The Judaizing gnosis found its representative in Cerinthus, who forms the transition both from the common stiff carnal Judaism to Gnosticism, and from the common limited Jewish mode of thinking, which retained only the human in Christ, to the gnostic which acknowledged only the divine in him, only the ideal Christ.² He agreed also with the common

¹ This is, for the most part, the view developed by Schneckenburger in his work before mentioned. As to the author of this epistle, he evidently distinguishes himself from the apostles, when he speaks of the prophetic warnings of the apostles (v. 17), such as we certainly find in Paul's writings; we cannot explain the passage otherwise without doing violence to it. The description of the state of the church is also such as suits only the end of the apostolic age. It is therefore evident, that, if the epistle be genuine, it cannot have been written by an apostle Jude, who was a brother of James. It would likewise have been more natural in this case, to have designated himself an apostle, instead of calling himself a brother of James. Hence we should rather suppose him to have been Jude, one of the brethren of the Lord. But why should he not call himself a brother of the Lord, instead of "brother of James," since thus his personal authority would have added weight to his warnings? It may be said that he omitted this title through humility. But is this answer satisfactory? By the addition of various epithets, as ἀδελφός κατὰ σάρκα and δοῦλος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κατὰ πνεῦμα, he might have prevented all misunderstanding, and removed all appearance of arrogance. A similar objection may indeed be made in reference to James, who, in his epistle, does not designate himself a brother of the Lord. But here the case is altogether different. He does not distinguish himself by any epithet expressive of consanguinity,—not out of humility, but because he deemed it to be the highest honour to be a servant of God and Christ. We may suppose another Jude as well as another James, since the name Jude was so frequent among the Jews, and since, according to Hegesippus, there were many distinguished men of this name in the church. But as the epithet "brother of James" is used here as a distinction, it is most natural to refer it to that James who was held in such high esteem. It might be said that he described himself only as the brother of James, because he was so preeminent, and was accustomed to be described by the name, a brother of the Lord. But the manner in which elsewhere in the New Testament the brethren of Christ are named together, does not favour this view of the matter.

² See my Church History, vol. i. part 2, p. 675.

Jewish view of the Messiah in this respect, that he considered Jesus as a mere man, that he denied the original indwelling of the divine Being in him, and treated the entrance of the Divine into his life as something sudden, by which, at his solemn inauguration, he was made capable of discharging his calling as the Messiah. But Cerinthus differed from the common Jewish notions, that, in place of a peculiar inworking of the divine power, by which the man Jesus was fitted for his Messianic office, he supposed a new animation by the highest spirit emanating from God, and forming the connexion between God and the Creation, the divine Logos. This Spirit, representing itself to sensible appearance under the form of a Dove, as a usual symbol of the Divine Spirit, had settled upon him at his baptism; he had revealed through him the hidden Supreme God, the knowledge of whom among the Jews had been the privilege of only a small number of enlightened persons,¹ through him he had performed miracles, but before the last sufferings of Jesus had withdrawn from him, and left him to himself. As Cerinthus in this manner held no original and indissoluble unity between the Logos (the Messiah and Redeemer in a special sense) and the Humanity of Jesus, but only a transient relation, a connexion suddenly formed and as suddenly dissolved, he thus granted only a very subordinate place to the purely human in Christ. According to this view, the man Jesus was only an accidental vehicle, of which the redeeming Spirit the Logos made use, in order to be able to reveal himself in humanity; could the Logos without this medium have made him cognizable and perceptible to men, he would not have made use of such an organ as the man Jesus. From the same tendency, but more coarsely conceived, proceeded another view, according to which it was believed, that a revelation of the Logos might be made in humanity without any such mediation through a human being, which it was wished to supersede. In place of the real human appearance of Christ, only a semblance, a phantom was substituted in which the Logos was enshrined. Everything that came under the notice of the senses was explained as only a phantom, an optical illusion, of which the higher etherial Being, who from his nature could not be perceptible to the senses, made use,

¹ The genuine *θεραπευταί*.

that he might manifest himself to sensible mortals. A theory which already had been used for the explanation of Theophanies and Angelophanies of the Old Testament,¹ was applied by those who held these views to the appearance and life of Christ. At his transfiguration, said they, Christ manifested himself without that sensible appearance to his disciples, who were rendered for the time capable of beholding him in his true etherial form.²

Against such persons John was now called to defend the announcement of Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐν σαρκί. We have no reason for calling in question the traditions respecting his conflicts with Cerinthus. Irenæus, amongst others, mentions as an account given by the aged Polycarp, that on one occasion when John was about to bathe, and heard that Cerinthus was in the bathing-house; he retired with abhorrence, and exclaimed, "Surely the house will fall in ruins since the enemy of the truth is there!" We can perfectly reconcile it with his character, and find in it nothing unapostolic, if, in a momentary ebullition of feelings naturally lively and ardent, proceeding from holy zeal,³ he expressed in such strong terms (in which, nevertheless, everything is not to be taken quite literally) his displeasure against a man who threatened to rob the churches, over whose salvation he watched with fatherly care, of what was dearest and holiest to him, the foundation on which his whole Christianity rested, and to destroy the

¹ As, for example, Philo on Exod. xxiv., where the subject is the appearance of the divine δόξα, which may be understood partly of the appearance of the angels by whom God revealed himself, partly of the symbolical appearances under which God represented himself to the perceptions of men; τῇ δοκήσει αὐτοῦ μόνου καὶ ὑπολήψει δόξης θείας ὡς ἐνεργάσθαι ταῖς τῶν παρόντων διανοαῖς φαντασίαν ἀφίξεως θεοῦ, ὡς ἡκοντος εἰς βεβαιωτάτην πίστιν τῶν μελλόντων νομοθετεῖσθαι (in order that men might have the firm conviction that what was revealed to them proceeded from God, he therefore thus operated on their consciousness, that they believed that they saw himself). Τοῦ θεοῦ δεικνύντος ὅπερ ἐβούλετο δοκεῖν εἶναι, πρὸς τὴν τῶν θεωμένων κατάπληξιν, μὴ ὦν τοῦτο, ὅπερ ἐφαίνετο. — *Philonis Opera*, ed. Lips. 1829, vol. vi. p. 245.

² A pure spiritual intuition was something wholly foreign to such persons. Light and spirit were one and the same thing to them!

³ We must not allow ourselves to imagine, that the apostle, by the sanctifying influence of the Divine Spirit, was at once dissevered from all connexion with his former native character, as well as from the peculiar phraseology of his countrymen; we must, with Jerome, recognise in the apostle *homo adhuc vasculo clausus infirmo*.

root of the Christian life ; still the pledge for the credibility of this anecdote is very slight, and it may easily be attributed to an extravagant hatred of heretics.¹

According to a widely spread, ancient tradition, the apostle John was banished to the Island of Patmos, in the Ægean Sea, by one of the emperors who was hostile to the Christians, but by which of them is not ascertained.² Only Irenæus leads us to suppose that Domitian was the emperor, for he says³ that John, at the end of Domitian's reign, received Revelations, which he committed to writing ; and since, according to the Apocalypse, this must have happened in the Isle of Patmos whither he was banished, it follows that he was sentenced by that emperor. But owing to the uncertainty of the traditions of that age, we cannot acknowledge this account as sufficiently accredited ; it is indeed possible, that it pro-

¹ Irenæus did not receive this account in his youth from the lips of Polycarp, but could only appeal for the truth of it to what others had heard from Polycarp, iii. 3, εἰσὶν οἱ ἀκηκοότες αὐτοῦ. The question then is, whether the persons who reported it to Irenæus are credible. We know, indeed, that much of what Irenæus reports as tradition, leaves on it the impress of falsehood. Thus he himself, ii. 24, appeals to the testimony of all the presbyters in Lesser Asia, who had been in the society of the apostle John, that Jesus was about fifty years old. The difficulty involved in this does not appear to me so easily removed as Credner maintains in his *Einleitung*, p. 225. The tradition of the presbyters, according to the report of Irenæus, certainly appears not to have been that Jesus first entered on his office as teacher at the commencement of that riper mature age, which was required by the Jewish customs for assuming such an office, but he received from their own lips the deposition that Christ had taught in an age which was beyond the *ætas juvenilis*, and approached to the *senilis*. If the passage is genuine in all its extent, he expressly distinguished this age from the *ætas perfecta magistri*, which was well known to him, in which Christ first appeared in Jerusalem as a teacher. From his words, therefore, we must deduce such a tradition as he supposed was understood by the presbyters. But we can hardly suppress the suspicion of interpolation ; for however little we are justified in depending on the critical judgment of Irenæus, we cannot reconcile it to a man of his powerful mind, that he who had shortly before said that Christ had spent three years, from the beginning of his thirtieth year to his death, in his office of teaching, could afterwards attribute twenty years more to him.

² See Tertull. *Præscript.* c. 36. Clemens, *Qui dives salv.* c. 42, speaks of the return of John from exile, τοῦ τυράννου τελευτήσαντος, without specifying any name. Origen, t. xvi. in Matt. § 6, also uses the indefinite expression, ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς.

³ V. 30.

ceeded only from a peculiar interpretation of this obscure book, and not from any historical testimony. And if the Apocalypse contains certain marks of having been written before this time, this opinion would at once cease to be tenable. As this is really the case, then certainly the Apocalypse, which we cannot acknowledge as a work of the apostle,¹

¹ We refer on this subject to the celebrated work of Dr. Lücke, *Versuch einer vollständigen Einleitung in die Offenbarung Johannis*. Bonn. 1832. (An Attempt at a complete Introduction to the Revelation of John.) Much may be said in favour of the opinion of Dionysius of Alexandria, that not the apostle John, but another Ephesian presbyter of the same name, was the author of this book. I cannot deem pertinent what Guericke has said against the existence of an Ephesian presbyter named John, contemporaneous with the apostle, and must agree with Dr. Lücke, that in the passage of Papias of Hierapolis, in Eusebius, iii. 39, such a presbyter John is undeniably to be found; for since he classes the presbyter John with Aristion, who was not an apostle, and distinguishes him from the apostles before named, among whom John is also mentioned, no other person can be reasonably supposed to be referred to than a presbyter who was not an apostle. If we assume that such a presbyter named John proceeded from the apostle's school, or, with a peculiar character already formed, had become his adherent and laid himself open to his influence, it will be easily understood, how such a person might compose a work, which, with much that bore the impress of John's mind, would combine much that was dissimilar, and would stand in the same relation to the genuine productions of that apostle as the Epistle to the Hebrews, written by an educated Alexandrian of the Pauline theological school, stood to the epistles of Paul. Thus it may be explained, how the book at so early a period was held to be the apostle's composition, since a presbyter little known was confounded with the apostle; especially at a period when certain widely spread religious views, those of the Millennarians, gave a bias for such a change of authorship. Yet we cannot admit this supposition, if we find in the work several indications that the author professed to be no other than the apostle John. Such an allusion appears to be made in i. 2. Yet it is possible either so to explain the words that they may refer to the testimony contained in the book itself concerning the revelations and visions imparted to the author in the Isle of Patmos, or the words may be applied universally to the whole publication of the gospel; so the presbyter John, if, according to Papias, he was an immediate disciple of Jesus, could also, in reference to this, say that he testified of what he had seen. And if it should appear strange, that any other person than the apostle John should designate himself simply a servant of Christ, and write with such confidence and earnestness to the churches, we may account for it, by his believing that in the visions imparted to him he had received a commission to write in such a tone, although his personal standing-point did not give him this importance in the Christian church. But if another person had written this work under John's name, it does not

must have been written soon after the death of Nero.¹ The whole account of the banishment of the apostle John to the

appear that such a one, in order to deceive, has borrowed a reputation not his own, for in this case he would have designated himself more pointedly and decidedly as the person for whom he wished to be taken. It is, then, more probable that the author, a disciple of John, by some circumstance unknown to us, having devoted himself to write on a subject which he had received mediately or immediately from the apostle (as Schott and Lucke suppose), thought himself justified in introducing John as the speaker. But in reference to the origination and circulation of the work, if we place it in so early a period many difficulties will remain. The most probable supposition is, that the author, since he did not see his prophecies fulfilled in individual instances, although the ideas lying at the basis of his prophetic visions contained truth, put a stop to the circulation of the book,—that after his death, and the death of the apostle John, it was again made public, and passed more easily as the work of the latter. This book appears to assume the existence of such a scheme of doctrine as we find in John's Gospel, and this seems to be at variance with the opinion of the earlier origin of the Apocalypse. Yet the main outlines of John's peculiar doctrinal scheme might have been formed very early, from the mode in which he had received the life of Christ, according to his own mental conformation, before he appeared in Lesser Asia as a teacher in the Greek language; he also might have already adopted the use of such an expression as the term *λόγος*, to designate the indwelling divine life of the Redeemer, according to the Aramaic word from which it was taken, (as this term in the Alexandrian theosophic phraseology, certainly arose originally from a translation.)

¹ We remark in this book, the vivid impression which Nero's persecution of the Christians, his setting on fire part of the city of Rome, and especially his cruelties, had made on the minds of men. The story that Nero was not really dead, but had retired to the Euphrates, and would return again from thence (see my Church History, i. 137,) appears here more fully delineated by a Christian imagination. He is the monster to whom Satan gave all his power, who returns as anti-christ and the destroyer of Rome, who will force all to worship his image. The Roman empire at that time is set forth as the representative of heathenism, and of ungodly power personified, and in this connexion, under the image of the beast with seven heads (the seven Roman emperors which would succeed one another till the appearance of anti-christ), Nero is signified as one of these heads (xiii. 3), which appeared dead, but whose deadly wound was healed, so that to universal astonishment he appeared alive again. Nero reappearing after it had been believed that he was dead, is the beast "which was, and is not, and shall ascend out of the bottomless pit—and yet is," Rev. xvii. 8. Of the seven emperors who were to reign until the appearance of anti-christ, it is said that five have fallen—one (Nero's successor) is now reigning, and the other is not yet come; and when he comes, he must remain only a short time, and the beast which was and is not, is itself the eighth and one of the seven; (Nero as one of the seven emperors is the fifth, but

Isle of Patmos may have been taken chiefly from the Apocalypse, and if this book can be shown not to belong to John, the credibility of this account at once falls to the ground. Yet here two cases are possible. If the Apocalypse proceeded from another John than the apostle, if it was the composition of the Presbyter John who was his contemporary at Ephesus, the banishment to the Isle of Patmos would relate to him, and not to the apostle of this name. And this change, by which the Apocalypse was attributed to the apostle, would have occasioned also the report of his banishment to this island, although it is possible that the same outward causes might have led to the banishment of both these distinguished

inasmuch as he comes again as anti-christ, and founds the last universal monarchy following the succession of the seven emperors, he is the eighth.) Nero comes from the East, supported by his tributaries—the ten kings (his Satraps, the ten horns of the beast) leagued with him to destroy Rome, and to make war on Christianity. The waters of the Euphrates are dried up, to make a way for Nero with his ten Satraps, xvi. 12, who, in his service, would burn and destroy Rome, xvii. 16. All this marks the time in which the Apocalypse must have been written, the change of the emperor after Nero, while the image of this monster was yet in vivid recollection, and men were disposed to depict the future in magnified images of the past; it also agrees with this date, that the temple at Jerusalem is described as still in existence, i. 1, therefore it must be before the year 70. But in this book, I am struck with one contradiction, of which I have never met with a satisfactory solution. I shall rejoice to find that it has been explained by Dr. Lücke in his Commentary, which I am anxiously looking for. In vii. 4, the whole number of believing Jews is given as one hundred and forty-four thousand; and though this number may seem to be merely an assumed round number, yet the number of Christians then existing among the Jews might not differ very greatly from it. See Acts xxi. 20. Besides these, an innumerable company of believers from all nations and tongues appear before the throne of God, from which the former as Jews are expressly distinguished. On the other hand, in xiv. 4, the hundred forty and four thousand appear as the company of the elect from the great body of Christians in the whole world, who present the model of a holy life, as belonging to which a life of celibacy seems to be reckoned, a view which would not accord with John's sentiments. Origen has indeed noticed this contradiction, t. i. *Joh.* § 1, 2; but he avails himself of the allegorical interpretation; he thinks that in the first passage, the Jews in a spiritual sense, the flower of Christians out of all nations are to be understood; this opinion, which others also have adopted, cannot be correct, for it is evident from the other passage, that here only believers of Jewish descent are intended. As in the last quoted passage I can find nothing predicable of Jewish Christians, I cannot satisfy myself with the solution proposed by Credner in his *Einleitung*, p. 711.

teachers of the *religio illicita*. But if we admit that another person wished to represent these revelations as those which the apostle John had received, and if we hence infer, that in order to personate John, he made use of certain passages in his life, then the words in i. 9, in case they are to be understood of a banishment to the Isle of Patmos,¹ yet always presuppose the fact of such an exile of the apostle, and we must in this case place his banishment in the first period after his arrival in Lesser Asia. But it is possible that, independently of the Apocalypse, such a tradition might be spread that the apostle John was banished by the Emperor Domitian (in whose reign such banishments to the islands on account of passing over to Judaism or Christianity were not uncommon) to the Isle of Patmos or some other island; and it is possible that, from this tradition, the supposition was formed that the Apocalypse ascribed to the apostle was written during this period. Certainly we cannot refuse to believe the unanimous tradition of the Asiatic churches in the second century, that the apostle John, as a teacher of those churches, had to suffer on account of the faith, for which reason he is distinguished as a martyr in the epistle quoted above of Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus.²

As in those regions where the general superintendence of the church devolved on John, manifold attempts were made to adulterate the Christian faith, as well as to disturb and suppress the spirit of Christian love, it was the main object of his protracted labours to maintain and propagate the essence of the Christian faith and of Christian love, in opposition to these injurious influences. Of this fact his writings bear witness, which as they were produced under such cir-

¹ Here everything depends on the interpretation of the words in Rev. i. 9. There is no necessary reference to sufferings on account of the gospel. The words may be understood thus: "I was in the Isle of Patmos for the purpose of publishing the word of God, and testifying of Christ;" which would be only saying that John had visited that island for the sake of publishing the gospel. But a comparison with vi. 9, τῶν ἐσφαγμένων διὰ τὴν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ διὰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἣν εἶχον—xii. 11, λόγος τῆς μαρτυρίας—xx. 4, πεπελεκισμένος διὰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν, would rather lead us to understand the words of sufferings for the profession of the faith, and the phrase συγκοινωνὸς ἐν τῇ θλίψει τῶν αὐτῶν this reference.

² The words of the epistle in Euseb. v. 24, quoted above, καὶ μάρτυς καὶ διδασκαλὸς· οὗτος ἐν Ἐφέσῳ κεκοίμηται.

cumstances, give indications of their tendency even where they are not professedly and intentionally polemical. But as his natural character was rather contemplative than argumentative, the controversial element in his writings is not so decidedly indicated, nor developed with so definite and complete an outline as in the dialectic Paul. His controversial style is more that of simple affirmation: from the fulness of his heart he testifies his inmost convictions of the basis of salvation, and he only marks occasionally, and points out with abhorrence, the opposite of these convictions, instead of entering into a full confutation. This especially applies to his gospel. Since he wrote it among such churches and for such, among whom a multitude of traditions respecting the history of Christ, oral and written, must long have been in circulation, as Paul had assumed the existence of the memorials in the exercise of his ministry, it might be expected that in his historical representations he would take these circumstances into account, and hence designed to give only a selection from the evangelical history, such a one appeared to him best fitted to represent Jesus as the Son of God, from whom alone men could receive eternal life,—to transfer to others the impression which the exhibition of his life had made upon himself, as he declares at the close of his gospel, where he says, “And many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples, which are not written in this book. But these are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing (by the virtue of this faith) ye might have life (true, divine, eternal life) through his name” (through him as the Son of God); xx. 30, 31. John accordingly made exactly this selection from the evangelical history, in order to lead men to this faith, to aid, strengthen, and uphold them in maintaining it. As in the application of the idea of faith in John there were various shades of meaning, all these varieties may be included in the words “that ye may believe;” and as they are all embraced in the apostle’s design, those polemic references must be understood which belong to the maintenance and confirmation of that faith. And the delineation of the life of Christ in its unity, as it proceeded from the heart and mind of John, must of itself have been adapted to form a barrier against all those tendencies which disturbed the purity of Christianity. But as

this adaptation did not assume a direct polemical form, owing to the peculiarity of John's mind, and the nature of the work (that of simple narrative), it cannot be proved that he had in his eye any special controversies. Even those which, from his peculiar scene of labour, we might consider as most probably aimed at, cannot be ascertained from the gospel itself by any fair deduction; as, for example, the declaration *ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο*, which occurs in the introduction, and marks the spirit of the whole historical development, as describing the revelation of the divine life in human form, is peculiarly suited to form a refutation of the Cerinthian gnosis. But there is no indication that John made this refutation a leading object of his gospel. In his narrative of Christ's baptism, he might have had a strong inducement to bring forward this controversy, as Cerinthus had affixed a peculiar interpretation on this event, in accordance with his general scheme. But in order to combat Cerinthus, he must have commenced the history of Christ at an earlier period, and have adduced those marks of the Divine, which accompanied the birth of Christ. So also, though the manner in which the purely human in Christ is developed throughout the gospel is most decidedly opposed to Docetism, yet we can find in it no trace of a designed and continuous refutation of that heresy. The *ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο* is not in the least suited for this purpose, for, taken by itself, it may be fairly understood in the docetic sense, that the *λόγος* itself became *σὰρξ*, since Docetism considered *σὰρξ* only as the apparent sensuous guise in which the *λόγος* presented itself to eyes of flesh. From this standing-point it might with propriety be affirmed that the *λόγος* became *σὰρξ*, or presented itself in the form of *σὰρξ*. And in what John says of the flowing of water and blood from Christ's side, it has been very erroneously attempted to find a reputation of Docetism. This argumentation cannot affect the Docetæ, for they would be as ready to allow that the Roman soldier and John saw the blood and water flowing, as to grant that Jesus presented himself to the senses of men in his life and passion, as is narrated in the evangelical history. They only denied the objective reality of the sensuous perceptions, and this denial would apply to one fact as well as to another. But John mentions it in that connexion simply as a sign of the reality of Christ's death, in

order thereby to establish faith in the reality of his resurrection from the dead.

It is only in the introduction to his gospel that John appears to design a special reference to men of any peculiar mental tendency; a reference to those who busied themselves with speculations respecting the Logos as the Mediator between the hidden God and the creation,—and to this class those now belonged, who, after they had professed Christianity, threatened to adulterate it by mingling with it their former speculations. It cannot indeed be denied that John, independently of any outward reference, might have been induced, by his Christian consciousness and by what Christ had declared respecting himself, to name him simply as the Logos. As Christ represents his word or words (his λόγος, his ῥήματα, his φωνή) as the word of God himself, that thereby alone God reveals himself to men, the fountain of life, the word of life; so John might thereby be induced to distinguish him as the Word which is God, (the self-revealing Divine Being simply,) the Word, the Source of life, and also the reference to a word of God, by which God already in the Old Testament¹ had revealed himself, might here be added, to point to its preparation in the Old Testament, for the revelation of the Divine Being in Christ. Meanwhile, the manner in which John places this Word without further definition at the head of his whole representation, makes it probable that, although he was perhaps led to the choice of this expression from within, since he sought for a new designation for a new idea, yet he connected with it an idea already existing, and the train of thought with which he opens his gospel serves to establish this opinion. John wished to lead those who busied themselves with speculations respecting the Logos as the medium of all communicated life from God and of every relation of God, the central point of all the Theophanies—from their religious idealism, to a religious realism, to the acknowledgment of God revealed in Christ—to the consciousness that the Logos, as the divine fountain of life, had appropriated human nature, and through it communicated himself as the fountain of all true life and light to

¹ See the remarks of Dr. Lange of Jena in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1830, part iii. And this interpretation does not necessarily depend on the other forced explanations of John's introduction, occasioned by the peculiar dogmatic system of the estimable and highly esteemed author.

every one who only believed in this his human appearance. Instead of wishing to investigate the hidden which no human mind can penetrate, he called on every one to contemplate Him who had revealed himself in human nature—to believe and experience, as he testified that he had seen and experienced.

In the circular pastoral letter, which is distinguished as the first of his catholic epistles, the apostle presents himself to us under a fatherly relation to the churches of Lesser Asia, whose concerns, during his residence at Ephesus, he regulated with wakeful anxiety. Lücke has justly remarked, that the hortatory or paracetical element is by far the most conspicuous in it, and the polemical holds a very subordinate place, which agrees with John's peculiar style.¹ This epistle contains an admonition to the churches, to preserve the original faith steadfastly and truly under the manifold temptations which threatened them both from Jews and Gentiles, as well as from various classes of false teachers—and an exhortation to a course of life corresponding to their faith,—with a warning against a formal Christianity, destitute of the true Christian spirit, and a false confidence grounded upon it. When we think of the churches in Lesser Asia, in the transition from the Pauline age to that of John, as we have described their state in the preceding pages, we probably shall not be able (since they were exposed to manifold diversified conflicts from within and without, and to dangers of various kinds) to find a unity in the hortatory and controversial references of the beginning, nor can we point out such a unity in the contents of the epistle itself without a forced or too subtle an interpretation. Many passages may appear to be exhortations to steadfastness in the faith, amidst the allurements to unfaithfulness or apostasy presented by the outward enemies of the church, both Jews and Gentiles. As to the latter, there were reasons for such exhortations, as the Christians were still closely connected by so many ties to the Gentile world; new members were added continually to the Christian communities from the Gentiles, whose faith required confirmation; and since the first Neronian persecution,² individual persecutions were constantly repeated, which

¹ This epistle is in the apostolic sense a *λόγος παρακλήσεως*.

² If we do not directly admit that this epistle was written in the last part of the Johannean period, under the Emperor Nerva.

were dangerous to the weak in faith. Under the same head may be classed the exhortation at the close of the epistle, faithfully to preserve the knowledge of the true God revealed through Christ as the source of eternal life, and to keep themselves at a distance from idolatry. As it concerned the Jews, the churches in Lesser Asia for the most part consisted of persons of Gentile descent, but those who were formerly proselytes, and individual Jews, who were mixed with them, formed a point of connexion, by which the Jews could exert an influence on the churches, as we have remarked in the Christian communities of the Pauline and even of the Ignatian period. It might also seem, that when John combated persons who refused to acknowledge Jesus as the Messiah, he intended Jewish adversaries; but a closer examination will suggest several objections to this view. As in accordance with the prophetic expressions in the discourses of Christ himself, it was expected that a special revelation of the anti-christian spirit would precede the triumph of the kingdom of God, which was to be effected by the second coming of Christ, so John recognised as a mark of this approaching crisis, that many organs of this anti-christian spirit had already made their appearance. Now this could not refer to Jewish adversaries, for these from the very first were never wanting. The apostle moreover says of them, "They have gone out from our midst, but they belonged not in disposition to us; for had they belonged in disposition to us, they would have remained with us; but by their outward separation from us, it became manifest that not all who belonged outwardly to us belonged to us also inwardly." This may indeed be understood of those who, while they still made a profession of Christianity, were always in their disposition more inclined to Judaism, so that at last they openly passed over to it, and became the opponents of Christianity. But such frequent conversions or apostasies to Judaism in the Asiatic churches of this period were by no means probable. It is more natural to think of those members of Christian communities, who had fostered in their bosoms heretical tendencies foreign to Christianity, which must have at last resulted in their open separation from them. With justice, John says of a time like this, in which churches were formed out of various mental elements not all in an

equal measure attracted and penetrated by Christianity, that whatever portion was truly animated by the Christian spirit, must be separated by a refining process proceeding from the life of the church itself, from what was only superficially affected by Christianity, and wore the mere semblance of it. Besides the manner in which the apostle exhorts believers to hold fast the doctrine announced to them from the beginning—his saying to them that they required no further instruction to put them on their guard against the spread of those errors—that they need only to be referred to the anointing of the Holy Spirit already received, to their indwelling Christian consciousness (ii. 22), all this rather imports an opposition to false teachers, than to decided adversaries of the gospel, who could not be so dangerous to believers.

Although John describes his opponents as those who did not acknowledge Jesus as the Messiah, yet, according to the remarks that we just made, this cannot be understood of decided unbelieving opponents of the Messianic dignity of Jesus. And we must explain this shorter description of his opponents by the longer, according to which they are represented as those who would not acknowledge Jesus Christ as having *appeared in the flesh*, or Jesus as the Messiah appearing in the flesh. Therefore, from their Docetic standing-point they would not receive the annunciation of a Messiah appearing in the flesh; the reality of the life, actions, and sufferings of Christ in the form of earthly human nature.¹ And since John could not separate the divine and the human in the person and life of the Redeemer from one another, for both had revealed themselves to him as inseparable in the unity of the appearance of the Son of God,—it appeared to him, that whoever did not acknowledge Jesus as the Son of God in the whole unity and completeness of his divine and human life, did not truly believe in Jesus as the Son of God, the Messiah; and since only thus the eternal divine source of life revealed itself in human nature and imparted itself to men, and a way to communion with God was opened for all,—it appeared to

¹ If it be objected, as by Lange in his *Beiträge zur älteste Kirchengeschichte*, Leipzig, 1828, vol. i. p. 121, that if John designed the confutation of Docetism, he would have expressed himself in some precise terms, such as we find in the Epistles of Ignatius; the answer is, that it is John's favourite method not to mark the object of controversy more distinctly and fully.

him that whoever denied the reality of the revelation of the divine Logos in the flesh, denied the Son of God himself and the Father also. This was the real anti-Christian spirit of falsehood, which, though connecting itself in appearance with the Christian profession, in fact threatened to destroy faith in the Son, and in the Father as revealed in the Son. In a passage which is rather practical than controversial, where John, for the purpose of exhortation, lays down the position that faith in Jesus as the Son of God arms with power for all conflicts with the world, he adds, "Jesus is he who has revealed himself as the Messiah by water¹ and by blood,—by means of the baptism received by him² and by means of his re-

¹ As the *ἐρχεσθαι δι' αἵματος* relates to Jesus subjectively, as the person who had revealed himself by his own sufferings, so also the second clause, *ἐρχεσθαι δι' ὕδατος*, is most naturally referred to something affecting Jesus personally, and, therefore, not to the baptism instituted by him. This reason is not perfectly decisive, for, if the sufferings of Christ are not contemplated in their subjective aspect, (that is, simply in relation to Jesus as the sufferer,) but rather in their objective aspect, as redeeming sufferings, as that by which Christ effected the salvation of mankind, then the coming by water might be taken to denote the institution of baptism, which is necessarily required for completing the redeeming work of Christ. But what Lücke in his Commentary, 2d ed. p. 288, has urged against the view I have taken, does not appear pertinent. The Messiah (he thinks) was to be inducted to his office by a solemn inauguration. This was performed through John as the appointed prophet by means of the Messianic baptism. Hence the coming by water is placed first, by which Jesus at first revealed himself as the Messiah, and from which his whole public Messianic ministry dates its commencement. This must have been peculiarly important in John's estimation, who was first led to Christ by the testimony of the Baptist. On the contrary, I believe that if he had meant the baptism instituted by Christ, he would place first the coming by blood, for I cannot agree with what Lücke says in p. 291. "But because though ὕδωρ from the beginning denotes purification, yet the full purification lies in the αἷμα, John emphatically adds, οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι μόνον (with which alone John the Baptist appeared, and therefore was not the Messiah, Matt. iii. 14), ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ὕδατι καὶ τῷ αἵματι." The baptism of Christ was in the apostle's view altogether different from that of John. With it was connected perfect purification. Water-baptism and Spirit-baptism cannot here be separated from one another, and this Christian baptism necessarily presupposes the redeeming sufferings of Christ. See Ephes. v. 25, 26. As far as Cerinthus acknowledged the Messiah only as ἐλθὼν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι, not as ἐλθὼν ἐν τῷ αἵματι, this would agree with a designed opposition to his doctrine.

² On account of the importance which is attributed to it in the Gospel of John, in reference to the unveiling of the Messiah's dignity and the hidden glory of Jesus.

deemin: sufferings and that which the Spirit of God, whose witness is infallible, has effected, and still effects, by him, testifies the same. The threelfold witness of the water, the blood, and the Spirit, thus unite to verify the same."

It is possible that John in this passage collected such marks as appeared to him most striking, which distinguished Jesus as the Son of God, without any special controversial reference. But it is also possible that he connected a polemical with a parænetical design, and therefore was induced to select exactly these marks; and in this case it would be certainly natural to suppose an intended contradiction of the Cerinthian view which separated the Christ who appeared at the Baptism from the crucified Jesus.

This epistle then contains an impressive appeal against the practical adulterations of Christianity. The apostle declares that only he who practised righteousness was born of God,—that a life in communion with Christ and a life of sin were irreconcilable,—that whoever lived in sin was far from knowing him; whoever committed sin transgressed also the law, and sin was peculiarly a transgression of the law. From this contrast it might be inferred that the false Gnosis here combated had produced and confirmed practical errors; and we may believe that we here find traces of the false liberalism and antinomianism of the later Gnosis, such as we have pointed out above, p. 390, in many appearances of this age. In this case his opponents would be only those who opposed the ethical under the form of law, and said, What you call sin appears so only to those who are still enthralled in legal bondage; we must give proof of our being free from the law by not regarding such commands. But if John had been called to oppose such a gross antinomianism, he would have had to maintain against it the dignity and holiness of the law, and his line of argument would have been in a very different direction, indeed quite the reverse. He must have said, Whoever transgresses the law, commits sin, and the transgression of the law is sin. Also from his saying, "Whoever sinneth, knoweth not Christ," it by no means follows that those against whom he is writing, taught a Gnosis of immoral tendency. Nor is it evident that the practical errors which he combated proceeded in general from erroneous speculation; nothing more was needed for their production than that

unchristian tendency which would naturally spring up in Christian communities, after they had been for some time established, in which Christianity had passed from parents to children, and become a matter of custom, and thus easily gave birth to a reliance on the *opus operatum* of faith and of outward profession, instead of viewing *faith as an animating principle of the inward life*. In opposition to such a tendency, which disowned the claims of Christianity on the whole of life, and palliated immorality, the apostle says. "Whoever lives in sin, whatever be his pretensions, is far from knowing Jesus Christ; all sin is a transgression of the divine law, which in its whole extent is sacred to the Christian."

The view of the false teachers to which we have been led, by the First Epistle of John,¹ is confirmed by the second, addressed to a Christian female in those parts, named Cyria,

¹ It is remarkable that the author of the two last epistles of John styles himself a presbyter, a term which is not suited to designate an apostle, and particularly since at that time, and in that region, a person was living who was unusually distinguished by the name of the Presbyter John. Such was the presbyter John to whom Papias appeals, Euseb. iii. 29, and we might be tempted to attribute this epistle to him. He appears to have been commonly distinguished by the name of the presbyter (which is here a title of office) John, from the apostle John, and hence the word *πρεσβύτερος* was wont to be placed before the name John. It is indeed improbable that, during the lifetime of the apostle, another could have attained such high repute among the churches, as this epistle leads us to suppose of its author; but it might have been written after the apostle's death; for that the presbyter survived him may be inferred, as Credner justly remarks, from the circumstance that Papias, in speaking of what John and the other apostles had said, uses the word *εἶπεν*, but when speaking of the two individuals who had not heard Christ himself, Aristion and the presbyter John, he says *λέγουσιν*. On the other hand, we are obliged to acknowledge that the great harmony of colouring, tone, and style, between the first epistle and the two others, favours the opinion of their being written by the same person; nor can this be counterbalanced by the instances of single expressions that do not occur elsewhere in John's writings. It is difficult to imagine how that presbyter, especially if we are to consider the Apocalypse as his work, could adopt a style so foreign to himself, in so slavish a manner, during the latter years of his life. As to the name of presbyter, which John here assumes, we can hardly think it of consequence that Papias distinguishes the apostles by the term *πρεσβύτερος*, for it is evident that he so calls them only in relation to their contemporaries as belonging to a still earlier period, and it cannot hence be inferred that John gave himself that title. But since there is no original document extant, in which John marks his relation to the church, we cannot pronounce an opinion that he was never known by such an epithet.

and her children ; for in this we find similar warnings against false teachers who would not acknowledge the appearance of Jesus Christ in human nature.¹ He speaks of their efforts as forming a new feature of the times, and describes them not as the adversaries of Christianity in general, but as persons who had apostatized from the original doctrine of Christ. He solemnly protests against all falsifiers of that doctrine, enjoins on the faithful not to receive them into their houses, nor to salute them as Christian brethren.²

The third Epistle of John, which is addressed to an influential person, probably an overseer in one of the churches, named Gaius, also contains several important hints respecting the existing state of the church. This Gaius had distinguished himself by the active love with which he had received the messengers of the faith, who had come from foreign parts and visited his church. But in the same Christian community there was a domineering individual, Diotrephes, who had shown a very different disposition towards these missionaries. He not only was not ready to give them a hospitable reception, but wished to prevent others from doing so, and even threatened to exclude them from church communion. He refused to acknowledge the authority of the apostle, and even indulged

¹ It appears to me most natural to explain the present in 2 John vii. ἐρχόμενον instead of ἐληλυθότα, by supposing that John used this form owing to the impression on his mind that these false teachers not only refused to acknowledge the historical manifestation of Jesus Christ, but also denied the possibility, in general, of a Messiah's appearing in the flesh.

² Although we may recognise in the form of this expression a natural characteristic of John, a vehemence of affection as strong in its antipathies as in its attachments, yet its harshness is much softened by a reference to the circumstances under which he was writing. He certainly wished only to express, in the strongest terms, that every appearance should be avoided of acknowledging these persons as Christian brethren. Only on this account he says, that they are not to be saluted, which, in the literal sense, he would not have said even in reference to heathens. We must restrict it to the peculiar sense of Christian salutation, which was not a mere formality, but a token of Christian brotherhood. But to preserve the purity of Christianity and the welfare of the Christian church, it was very important to exclude from the very beginning the reception of these persons (who, by their arbitrary speculations and fabrications, threatened to destroy the grounds of the Christian faith) into the churches, which were not sufficiently armed against their arts, and into which they had various methods of insinuating themselves.

in malicious invectives against him. It is evident, that if a member of a Christian community ventured to conduct himself in such a manner towards an apostle, he must have had personal reasons for not treating him with that reverence which was shown to an apostle by all believers; just as those who were hostile to Paul had special grounds for disputing his apostolic authority.¹ It is also very improbable, that this unfriendly behaviour towards the missionaries could have arisen at this period from an aversion to their calling simply as such. We must rather attempt to discover a special ground of dislike to these individual missionaries. Nor is it unnatural to suppose that there was one common ground for his hostility both to the apostle and the missionaries. Now, let us suppose that the latter were of Jewish descent. It is said to their praise, that they went out to publish the gospel, without taking anything of the heathen for their maintenance. If they were Jewish missionaries this would serve as a praiseworthy distinction, for from what Paul has said respecting this class of persons, we know that many of them abused the right of the publishers of the gospel to be maintained by those for whose salvation they laboured. Now, as there existed in the Gentile churches an ultra-pauline party, of a violent, one-sided, anti-Jewish tendency, and the forerunner of Marcion, Diotrophes possibly stood at the head of such a body, and his hostile conduct towards these missionaries, as well as towards the apostle John, who on his arrival in Lesser Asia had sought to reconcile the differences that were on the point of breaking out, by the harmonizing influence of the Christian spirit—may be traced to the

¹ It may appear strange that Paul, the most influential of the apostles, is not mentioned in the Apocalypse, and that in xxi. 14, only twelve apostles are named as forming the foundation of the New Jerusalem. Though the reference to the twelve tribes might induce the author, whose imagery was borrowed from the Old Testament, to mention only the original number of the apostles, still the apparent undervaluation of the great apostle of the Gentiles which this seems to imply, must excite our surprise. And we are ready to ask, whether the author did not belong to those who did not place Paul exactly on a level with the older apostles, and did not sufficiently acknowledge his fitness for the apostolic work, though we must, at the same time, perceive how very free he was from the Judaism that would easily ally itself with such a tendency, and how deeply he was imbued with the Christian universalism of John's school of theology.

same source. Thus, at a later period, Marcion attached himself to Paul alone, and paid no deference to the authority of John.

Various traditions respecting the labours of John in these regions, which he continued to a very advanced age, perfectly agree with that image of fatherly superintendence presented to us in these epistles. In a narrative attested by Clemens Alexandrinus,¹ we see how he visited the Christians in the parts round about Ephesus, organized the churches, and provided for the appointment of the most competent persons to fill the various church-offices. On one of these occasions, he noticed a young man who promised to be of much service in the cause of the gospel. He commended him to one of the overseers as a valuable trust committed to him by the Lord. The overseer carefully watched him till he received baptism. But he placed too much reliance on baptismal grace. He left him to himself, and the youth, deprived of his faithful protection, and seduced by evil associates, fell deeper into corruption, and at last became captain of a band of robbers. Some years after, when John revisited that church, he was informed to his great sorrow of the woful change that had taken place in the youth of whom he had entertained such hopes. Nothing could keep him back from hastening to the retreat of the robbers. He suffered himself to be seized and taken into their captain's presence; but he could not sustain the sight of the apostle; John's venerable appearance brought back the recollection of what he had experienced in earlier days, and awakened his conscience. He fled away in consternation; but the venerable man, full of paternal love, and exerting himself beyond his strength, ran after him. He called upon him to take courage, and announced to him the forgiveness of sins in the name of the Lord. By his fatherly guidance he succeeded in rescuing his soul, and formed him into a worthy member of the Christian community.² Another

¹ Quis dives salv. c. 42.

² Clemens gives this narrative, which breathes the spirit of John, as a veritable historical tradition, and no legend, *μῦθος* = *λόγος*, not a *μῦθος* in the sense of a fable, a legend; *ἀκουσον μῦθον, οὐ μῦθον, ἀλλὰ ὕψα λόγον παραδεδομένον καὶ μνήμη πεφυλαγμένον*. See Segaar on the passage. Such late traditions are indeed not sufficient pledges to authenticate a narrative as true in all its parts. It is possible that such a narrative might be so constructed, partly to check the injurious con-

tradition preserved by Jerome¹ bears also the impress of the apostle's spirit. When the venerable John could no longer walk to the meetings of the church, but was borne thither by his disciples, he always uttered the same address to the church; he reminded them of that one commandment which he had received from Christ himself as comprising all the rest, and forming the distinction of the New Covenant, "*My children, love one another.*" And when asked why he always repeated the same thing, he replied, "That if this one thing were attained, it would be enough."

Thus the aged apostle laboured to the close of the first century; and the spirit that diffused itself from the churches of Lesser Asia during the first half of the second century, testifies of his protracted ministry in those regions. The Lord made use of his instrumentality to prevent the foundation of the faith here laid by the apostle Paul from being buried under a heap of heterogeneous speculations—and to preserve the unity of the Christian faith and life from being distracted by various extravagances; that the glorious body of the Christian church might not be divided into a multitude of sects and schools, and especially that a schism might not be produced by the increasing opposition of the Judaizing and Hellenistic elements. His peculiar tendency, which served to exhibit rather the fulness and depth of a heart filled with the spirit of Christ, than the sharpness and distinctness of doctrinal ideas, was adapted, while it rejected with ardent love whatever threatened to endanger the foundation of faith in the Son of God, to conciliate subordinate differences, and to promote the formation of a universal Christian communion out of heterogeneous elements. The extent of his influence is marked by the simple practical spirit, the spirit of zealous love to the Lord, and the spirit of Christian fidelity in firmly adhering to the original

fidence in the magical effects of baptism, and to set in a clear light the truth, that every one after obtaining baptism needed so much the greater watchfulness over himself—and partly to counterwork the opinion of the Rigorists on the nature of Repentance, that whoever violated the baptismal covenant by *peccata mortalia*, could not again receive forgiveness of sins. But at all events, this narrative, which is free from all colouring of the miraculous, gives the impression of a matter of fact lying at its basis.

¹ Comment. in Ep. ad Galat. c. vi.

apostolic traditions, even though not perfectly understood, which distinguished the Christian teachers of Lesser Asia in their conflict with the Gnosticism which was then beginning to prevail.

With John the apostolic age of the church naturally closes. The doctrine of the gospel which by him had been still exhibited in its original purity was now exposed, without the support of apostolic authority, to a conflict with a host of opponents, some of whom had already made their appearance ; the church was henceforth left to form itself to maturity without any visible human guidance, but under the invisible protection of the Lord : and finally, after a full and clear development of opposing influences, it was destined to attain the higher and conscious unity which distinguished the spirit of the apostle John.

We wish now to contemplate more closely the development of the Christian doctrine in its original form, and to observe how the unity of the Spirit exhibited itself in the manifoldness of the natural varieties animated by that Spirit, and in the various modes of conception which proceeded from those varieties.

BOOK VI.

THE APOSTOLIC DOCTRINE.

THE doctrine of Christ was not given as a rigid dead letter, in one determinate form of human character, but it was announced as the word of spirit and of life with a living flexibility and variety, by men enlightened by the Divine Spirit, who received and appropriated it in a living manner, in accordance with their various constitutional qualities, and the difference of their course of life and education. This difference served to manifest the living unity, the riches and the depth of the Christian spirit in the manifoldness of the forms of conception, which unintentionally illustrated each other and supplied their mutual deficiencies. Christianity, indeed, was designed and adapted to appropriate and elevate the various tendencies of human character, to blend them by means of a higher unity, and, agreeably to the design of the peculiar fundamental tendencies of human nature, to operate through them for the realization of the ideal of Man, and the exhibition of the kingdom of God in the human race through all ages.

In the development of the original Christian doctrine, we can distinguish three leading tendencies, the Pauline, the Jacobean (between which the Petrine forms an intermediate link), and the Johannean.¹ We wish first to review the Pauline form of doctrine, since in this we find the fullest and most complete development of Christian truth, which will best serve as the basis of comparison in tracing the leading tendencies of the other apostles.

¹ Dr. Nitzsch, in reference to the various forms of apostolic doctrine, admirably remarks,—“To disown them in favour of a one-sided dogmatism, is to abandon that completeness and solidity which these modes of contemplating the Christian faith impart, while they reciprocally complete one another; it is to slight that by which scripture truth maintains its elevation above all conflicting systems.”—See *Die Theologische Zeitschrift*, edited by Schleiermacher, De Wette, and Lücke. 1822, part 3, part 68.

CHAPTER I.

THE PAULINE DOCTRINE.

IN order to develop from its first principles the peculiar system of this apostle, we must take into consideration the peculiar qualities of his ardent and profound mind—his peculiar education, how he was formed in the Pharisaic schools to a dialectic and systematic development of his acquirements—the peculiar manner in which he was led from the most rigorous Judaism to faith in the gospel, by a powerful impression on his soul which formed a grand crisis in his history. We must recollect the peculiarity of his sphere of action as an apostle, in which he had to oppose an adulteration of Christianity arising from a mixture of those views which he himself had held before his conversion. In reference to the sources from which he derived his knowledge of the Christian doctrine, we must also bear in mind what he says respecting his independence and separate standing as a teacher of the gospel. There is no doubt, for he occasionally alludes to it, that he had met with a traditional record of the sayings, actions, and precepts of Christ, and these formed the materials for the development of his Christian knowledge, (*ante*, p. 95); but the Spirit promised by Christ to his disciples, who was to disclose to them the whole meaning and extent of the truth announced by him, enlightened Paul in an independent manner, so as to develop the truths of which the germ was contained in those traditions, and form them into one whole with the earlier divine revelations, and with the truths implanted in the original constitution of man as a religious being. Those who blamed him for blending foreign Jewish elements with Christianity, entirely misconceived the views of that apostle, who most clearly apprehended and most fully developed the points of opposition between Judaism and Christianity. Nor does it in the least justify their censures that he made use of certain Jewish elements, which contained nothing at variance with Christianity, but rather served as the groundwork of the new dispensation. A comparison of the Pauline leading

ideas with the words of Christ as reported by Matthew and Luke, proves that the germs of the former are contained in the latter.

That which constituted the preparative standing-point for Paul's whole Christian life, and determined his transition from Judaism to Christianity, laid also the foundation for the peculiar form in which the latter was received and intellectually apprehended by him. Here we find the natural central-point, from which we proceed in the development of his doctrine. The ideas of νόμος and δικαιοσύνη form the connexion as well as the opposition of his earlier and later standing-point. The term δικαιοσύνη in the Old Testament sense, designates the theocratic way of thinking and life, and also that unrestricted theocratic right of citizenship which entitled to a participation in the temporal goods of the community, and to eternal felicity. According to his former views, Paul believed that he had acquired a title to the epithet of δίκαιος by the strict observance of the law ; as, in truth, the Pharisees, to whom he belonged, placed their confidence and indulged their pride in that observance, while they guarded against the violation of the law by a variety of prohibitions. He was, as he himself asserts (Philip. iii.), blameless as far as related to this legal righteousness. And now from his Christian standing-point the epithet of δίκαιος,¹ was in his esteem the highest that could be given to a human being, and δικαιοσύνη expressed complete fitness for participation in all the privileges and blessings of the theocracy, and consequently of salvation, ζωή. Δικαιοσύνη and ζωή were always in his mind correlative ideas. But his conceptions of the nature of this δικαιοσύνη had undergone a total revolution since he was convinced of the insufficiency and nullity of that which he had before distinguished by this name. That δικαιοσύνη νομική he now regarded as only an apparent righteousness, which might satisfy human requirements, but could not, however plausible, deceive a holy God, and therefore was of no avail in reference to the king-

¹ Paul was very far from employing the word δικαιοσύνη merely to designate a subordinate moral standing-point like the later anti-Jewish Gnostics, for he always proceeded on the theocratical principles of the Old Testament. I cannot therefore admit that, in Rom. v. 7, a higher degree of morality is intended by the word ἀγαθός than by δίκαιος. The opposite is evident, from the manner in which Paul places these words together in Rom. vii. 12.

dom of God. It was henceforth his fundamental principle, that no man by such works as he might be able to accomplish from the standing-point of the law, could attain a righteousness that would avail before God.¹ This maxim, which marks the opposition between his earlier and later views, it was his main object to develop in arguing with his Judaizing opponents. Now he certainly in this controversy first treated of the ἔργα νόμου as an observance of the ritual prescriptions of the law; for his adversaries wished to impose even these on the believing Gentiles as belonging to the true δικαιοσύνη and as essential to fitness for the kingdom of God; and this it was which he would not allow. Yet from the standing-point of Judaism such a distinction between the ceremonial and moral law was not possible, for everything was contemplated as a divine command; both equally involved obedience to the divine revealed will, and both required a disposition of sincere piety.² Though Paul in different passages and references had sometimes the ritual, and at other times the moral portion of the νόμος especially in his thoughts, yet the same general idea lies always at the basis of his reasonings. When he had occasion, as in the Epistle to the Galatians, to impugn the justifying power and continued obligation of the ceremonial law, still his argumentation proceeds on the whole idea of the νόμος. It is the idea of an externally prescribed rule of action, the law as commanding, but which by its commands can never produce an internal alteration in man. Satisfaction can be given to the law—which indeed is true of every law as such—only by perfect obedience. Now since no man is able to effect the obedience thus required by the divine law, it of course pronounces condemnation on all as guilty of its violation; Gal. iii. 10. This is true of the imperative moral law which is revealed in the conscience, not less than of particular injunctions of this law exhibited in the Old Testament theocratic form, as Paul himself applies it in the

¹ The Pauline expression οὐ δικαιοῦται ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου or ἐκ νόμου πᾶσα σὰρξ, is a phrase which most probably Paul very soon formed, from the peculiar development of his Christian convictions, arising from the method of his conversion.

² When Christ, in the Sermon on the Mount, says that he came not to destroy the law or the prophets, but to fulfil, he certainly made no such distinction.

Epistle to the Romans to the law written on the hearts of men, the law of conscience, which, as he asserts, calls forth the consciousness of guilt in those to whom the νόμος was not given in the external theocratic form.

In reference to the whole idea of the νόμος in the revelation of the divine requirements to Man in the form of an imperative law, the apostle says, Gal. iii. 21, that if it could make men inwardly alive, if it could impart a true internal life from which all goodness would spontaneously proceed, then it would be right to speak of a δικαιοσύνη proceeding from the law. Yet in that case, if Man were truly in harmony with the requirements of the law in the constitution of his internal life, it could not be properly said that he obtained a righteousness available before God by the works of the law; for the external supposes the internal; the disposition of true righteousness is manifest of itself to the eye of Omniscience;¹ the internal cannot proceed from the external, but the external must proceed from the internal. Still in this case, works corresponding to the requirements of the law would be the necessary marks of the truly righteous and of the righteousness that avails before God, of what is truly well-pleasing to God. But in the present condition of Man, this is nowhere to be found. The disposition corresponding to the requirements of the law does not exist in man, and an external law cannot produce a change internally, cannot communicate power for fulfilling its own commands, nor overcome the opposition that exists in the disposition. Even if a man be influenced by inferior motives,

¹ This is acknowledged by Aristotle; ὅτι δὲ τὰ δίκαια πράττοντας δίκαιους γίνεσθαι.—τὰ πράγματα δίκαια λέγεται, ὅταν ἢ τοιαῦτα οἷα ἂν ὁ δίκαιος πράξειεν· δίκαιος δὲ ἐστὶν οὐχ ὁ ταῦτα πράττων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ οὕτω πράττων ὥς οἱ δίκαιοι πράττουσιν.—Eth. Nich. ii. 3. As Paul contrasts the standing-point of the righteousness of the law and that of true righteousness, so Aristotle contrasts the τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων τεταγμένα ποιεῖν, and the πῶς ἔχοντα πράττειν ἕκαστα, ὥστ' εἶναι ἀγαθόν, λέγω δ' οἷον διὰ προαίρεσιν (the φρονεῖν τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος, from which all right action must proceed; Rom. viii. 5.) But Christianity elevates the reference of the mind above the reflection of the good in the πραττόμενα to the αὐτὸ ἀγαθόν, the original source and archetype of all good in God, to communion with God, and the exhibition of this communion in the actions of the life. It is the disposition of the truly righteous which refers everything to the glory of God. Morality is a manifestation and exhibition of the divine life. And Christianity points out the process of development through which a man, by means of regeneration, may attain to that ἀρετὴ which produces the right προαίρεσις.

by carnal fear or hope, by vanity which would recommend itself to God or man, to accomplish what is commanded according to appearance, still the disposition required by the spirit of the law would be wanting. The works resulting from such attempts, whether they related to the moral or ritual part of the νόμος, would want the disposition which is the mark of the genuine δικαιοσύνη, presenting itself before a holy God. It results from this connexion of ideas, that though ἔργα νόμου may in themselves be works which really exhibit the fulfilling of the law, they would be considered by Paul as acts of a merely superficial external, and not internal obedience, they would bear the impress of mere legality in opposition to true piety and morality. The ἔργα νόμου are not classed with ἔργα ἀγαθὰ but opposed to them; Eph. ii. 10. Of such a legal righteousness he speaks when he says, Phil. ii. 6, that in this respect he had been a Pharisee without blame, though viewing it afterwards from the Christian standing-point he esteemed it as perfectly nugatory. Thus, in a two-fold sense, Paul could say that by works of the law no man could be justified before God. Taking the expression *works of the law* in an ideal sense, no man *can* perform such works as are required by the law; taking it in an empirical sense, there are no works which are really performed on the standing-point of the law, and correspond to its spirit and requirements.

If the assertion of the insufficiency of the righteousness of the law be made without more exactly defining it, it may be supposed to mean, that the moral commands of the law exhibit only an inferior moral standing-point, and on that account can lead no one to true righteousness. According to this supposition, our judgment respecting the claims of Christianity would take a particular direction, and we should consider the exhibition of a complete system of morals, as forming its essential preeminence over the former dispensation. But from the manner in which Paul makes this assertion, it is evident that this is not his meaning. He never complains of the law as defective in this respect, but on the contrary eulogizes it as in itself holy and good; Rom. vii. 12. The single commandment of love which stands at the head of the νόμος, contains in fact everything (Romans xiii. 9) essential to moral perfection, and whoever fulfilled this would be truly righteous.

And in the two first chapters of the Epistle to the Romans his aim is to prove that the Jews in relation to their νόμος, as well as the Gentiles in relation to the moral law inscribed on their hearts, were not wanting in their knowledge of what was good, but in the power of will to perform what they knew to be good. The reason why the law could not produce true righteousness, consisted in the fact that it presented goodness only in the form of an external command, and also in the relation of the command to the moral condition of those to whom the law was given. This leads us to the central point of the Pauline Anthropology; namely, human nature as estranged from the divine life and standing in opposition to the requirements of the law; whether the eternal moral law, or the law in its outward theocratical form. This opposition we must now examine more minutely.

That principle in human nature which strives against the fulfilment of the law, the apostle generally distinguishes by the name of *the Flesh*, and the man in whom this principle predominates, or the man whose mind is not yet transformed by Christianity, by the name of σαρκικός or τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς φρονῶν. He represents this principle striving against the law as a law in the members, which opposes the law of reason; he speaks of "the motions of sin in the members" which obstructed the fulfilment of the law acknowledged by the mind; Romans vii. 5. The body as the seat of sinful desires he calls the σῶμα τῆς ἀμαρτίας, Rom. vi. 6, the σῶμα τῆς σαρκός, Col. ii. 11. Hence we might conclude, that the apostle deduced sin from the opposition between sense and spirit in human nature, and that he considered evil as a necessary transition-point in the development of human nature, till spirit acquired the perfect ascendancy. But this could not be the apostle's meaning, for he considered this conflict between reason and sense, not as founded in the original nature of man, but as the consequence of a *free* departure from his original destination, as something blameworthy; and here we see of what practical importance in the Pauline doctrine is the supposition of an original perfection in man and a fall from it. Hence we must consider in every instance, the preponderance of sensual inclination over reason, according to Paul's view, only as an essential consequence of the first moral disunion. There are indeed many things to be urged against the supposi-

tion that when he specifies the *σὰρξ* as the source of sin, he meant nothing but sensuality in opposition to the spiritual principle in man. In Gal. v. 20, among the works of the *σὰρξ*, he mentions *divisions* (*διχοστασίαι*), which cannot be attributed to sensual impulses. It is possible, indeed, to argue in favour of such an interpretation by saying, that Paul had in view those divisions which he traced to sensual impulses, to a sensual way of thinking, to a Judaism that adhered to sensual objects, and opposed the more spiritual conceptions of Christianity. But it appears still more surprising that he traces everything in that erroneous tendency which he opposed in the church at Colossæ to the *σὰρξ* to a *νοῦς σαρκικός*; and here it would be difficult to attribute everything to a sensual addictedness, for we meet on the contrary with a morbid striving at freedom from the senses, an ascetic tendency which would defraud the bodily appetites of their just claims. And even if in all these attempts we detected the workings of a refined sensuality, that tendency which, while cleaving to outward objects, could not rise to the pure inward religion of the spirit; still we find that in the Corinthian church also, the apostle traced to the *σὰρξ* everything which either openly or secretly opposed Christianity, not excepting even the speculative Grecian tendency, the *σοφίαν ζητεῖν*, which treated the simple gospel with contempt. From all these considerations, we may infer with certainty that something more than sensuality was included in the Pauline idea of *σὰρξ*. And it confirms this conclusion, that Paul not only uses the phrase *κατὰ ἄνθρωπον περιπατεῖν* as equivalent to *κατὰ σάρκα περιπατεῖν*, but also employs the designation *ἄνθρωπος ψυχικός* as equivalent to *ἄνθρωπος σαρκικός*, 1 Cor. ii. 14. All this relates only to the opposition of the Human to the Divine, whether the *σὰρξ* or the *ψυχὴ*,¹ against the *θεῖον πνεῦμα*. Paul detected in the philosophic conceit of the Greeks, which with all its striving could not pass beyond the bounds of earthly existence, and satisfied itself without finding

¹ Paul indeed might distinguish the *πνεῦμα* from the *ψυχὴ* as a power inherent to human nature, which serves as an organ for the Divine, or for the Holy Spirit, and under that influence acquires a predominant activity. This may be inferred also from the trichotomy, (a threefold division of man) in 1 Thess. v. 23. According to that trichotomy, the *ψυχικός* would be a person in whom, by the predominance of the lower powers of the soul, the higher the subjective *πνεῦμα* was depressed.

the highest good which alone can give true satisfaction to the mind, and in the arrogance of the imaginary legal righteousness of the Jews, the same principle of the *σὰρξ* as in the thirst for sensual pleasure. There was a *σοφία κατὰ σάρκα*, a *δικαιοσύνη κατὰ σάρκα*. These ideas, *σὰρξ*, *κόσμος*, *πνεῦμα τοῦ κόσμου*, correspond to one another. Thus the term *σὰρξ* denotes human nature generally in its state of estrangement from the divine life; and from this designation we cannot determine what Paul considered as the one fundamental tendency from which all the forms of sin might be deduced, or whether he admitted one such source. On this last point we find no precise explanation in his writings. But as he represented the *θεῶ ζῆν*, the *Χριστῶ ζῆν*, to be the principle of good in man, it is implied that the *ἐαυτῶ ζῆν*, the selfish tendency (the *ἐγὼ* in relation to self, not subordinating itself to the religious sentiment, Gal. ii. 30), was the fundamental tendency of evil. Now, partly because the power of the sinful principle in the present condition of human nature makes itself known by the conflict of sensual inclinations with the law acknowledged by the Spirit—partly because Christianity first spread itself among those classes in which it had to combat most of all with the power of rude sensuality—partly because the body serves as the organ of the sinful tendency which has the mastery in the soul, and the power of sinful habit continues in it with a sort of self-subsistence even after the soul has been made partaker of a higher life;—on all these accounts, Paul often employs the term *σὰρξ* to express the whole being of sin.

Paul commonly refers to the consciousness of sin as an universal fact in human nature, and appeals to what every man may know from his own inward experience. By this means, his preaching everywhere found acceptance, because it was based on a fundamental truth, which was not received on tradition, nor on the testimony of foreign authority, but manifested itself in the consciousness of every individual. The consciousness of this schism in human nature, and the feeling arising out of it, of the need of redemption, remains in its unchangeable validity, independent of all historical tradition, and though man must acknowledge this schism as a given fact without being able to explain its origin. This internal fact, to which Paul appealed as a matter of immediate con-

sciousness, we must distinguish from all attempts to explain it,¹ which may appear untenable; while this fact, and the sense of a need of redemption springing out of it, and faith in a Redeemer, retain their value undiminished. Hence it is very natural, and a proof of the apostle's wisdom, that he treats in so few passages of the original perfection of the first man, and of the first sin, compared with the number which relate to this universal fact. But it by no means follows, that what he says on this subject has a merely accidental connexion with his Christian convictions; that everything which he says of the first man, only served as a foil borrowed from the notions in vogue among the Jews, to set the redeeming work of Christ in a more striking light by the contrast. We may rather affirm that this fact is intimately and closely connected with the whole Christian consciousness of the apostle, for it lies everywhere at the basis, where he represents this schism not as something included in the plan of the divine creation itself, and necessary in the development of human nature, but as something blameworthy. To justify the holiness and love of God, it must have been important for him to be able to say, that man was not created in this condition by God, but that it originated in an abuse of the freedom bestowed upon him."²

¹ This fact, the only one necessary to be presupposed in order to faith in a Redeemer, is in itself independent of all investigations respecting the derivation of the human race; and as something known by immediate inward experience, belongs to a province of life which lies out of the range of all speculation, or of inquiries into natural science and history. And the doctrine of a pre-existence of souls, though insufficient to explain this fact, leaves it untouched, or even requires to be explained by it. It is essential to Christianity that it rests on an historical basis, which, in order to be acknowledged in its true meaning, only presupposes experiences which every man can make for himself.

² Krabbe, in his excellent work, *Die Lehre von der Sünde*, p. 56, remarks, that he does not clearly understand what are my views respecting the origination of sin in the primitive state of man. But it was foreign to my object—since I only wished to develop the doctrines of the apostle Paul in the form in which they were conceived and represented by him, and their mutual connexion—to explain myself further on this topic, and to state, as I must have done as a believer in Revealed Religion, that, according to my conviction, the origin of evil can only be understood as a fact, a fact possible by virtue of the freedom belonging to a created being, but not to be otherwise deduced or explained. It lies in the idea of evil, that it is an utterly inexplicable thing, and

But this view of the subject is not admissible if, as many have maintained, Paul exhibited the first man as a representative of human nature, and wished to show by his example how, by virtue of the original constitution of human nature, love of pleasure appeared in opposition to the rational principle or to the capability for religion—that this is constantly repeated in the case of every individual, in order that man, from the consciousness of this opposition, may attain through redemption to the efficient supremacy of religion in his nature. This chain of ideas we should certainly find in Paul's writings, if it could be shown that, in Rom. vii. 9, he alluded to and intended to mark the condition of original innocence; and how by the commandment that state of childlike ingenuousness was removed, and the slumbering love of pleasure was brought into consciousness and raised to activity. But it cannot be proved that the apostle, where he speaks of an apparent freedom from guilt, in which the principle of sinlessness though scarcely developed, lay at the bottom, had in his thoughts that original freedom from guilt which he rather describes as sinfulness. Certainly he could not have said that by one man sin came into the world, if, in Rom. vii. 9, he had assumed the existence of sin already in the first man according to his original constitution, as something grounded in the essence of human nature. In order to reconcile this, something foreign must be introduced into Paul's train of thought, which evidently does not belong to it. If we proceed on the supposition that a freedom, in the sense in which it must be allowed according to this Pauline doctrine, and a transition from sinlessness to sin, is something inconceivable, still we are not justified in explaining Paul according to a representation

whoever would explain it nullifies the very idea of it. It is not the limits of our knowledge which make the origin of sin something inexplicable to us, but it follows from the essential nature of sin as an act of free will, that it must remain to all eternity an inexplicable fact. It can only be understood *empirically* by means of the moral self-consciousness. Τὸ ἐρώτημα, ὃ πάντων αἰτίον ἐστὶ κακῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἢ περὶ τούτου ὤδῃς, ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἐγγιγνομένη, ἣν εἰ μὴ τις ἐξαιρεθῇσεται, τῆς ἀληθείας ὕψους οὐ μὴ ποτε τύχοι. Ep. ii. Platon. Whoever in his arrogant littleness can satisfy himself with mutilating human nature, and reducing it to a minimum, with substituting thinking in a certain form in place of the whole man, may adjust after his own fashion all the phenomena in the moral world; but the unconquerable voice of Nature will know how to assert her rights against all such fine-spun theories.

of which no trace can be found in his writings, not to add that such a view is opposed to his moral and religious spirit, as well as to that of Christianity in general ; for according to it, the consciousness of freedom, and the sense of guilt connected with it, could be nothing else than a necessary deception imposed by the Creator himself in the development of human nature ; an unavoidable illusion in the consciousness of each individual.

The sin of the first man occupies so important a position in Paul's views, because it was a free act from which a course of life proceeded, contradicting the original moral nature of man or the image of God in man. When he says, Rom. v. 12, "By one man sin entered into the world," we shall most naturally understand it (as he adds no other limiting clause) in this manner ; that the sinful tendency of the will, or the opposition between the human and the divine will, now first made its appearance in the hitherto sinless human nature, and propagated itself with the development of the race from this first point. This is according to a law which regulates the propagation of human kind as a whole, and in particular tribes, nations, and families, without which there could be no history, no development of human kind as a race. And, in fact, we see Paul applying the same law, when he contemplates evil in its combined and reciprocal effects on the great mass of mankind, the collective body of Jews or Greeks.

All men have sinned, since they have followed the sinful tendency that has passed upon them through the development of the race. In this sense, Paul says that by the disobedience of one many became sinners.¹ He also connects

¹ It is now indeed generally acknowledged, that in the last clause of Rom. v. 12, the relative pronoun cannot be referred to Adam. It is not evident to me (as Rothe, p. 32 of his acute essay on this passage, Wittenberg, 1836, has maintained), that $\epsilon\phi'$ $\tilde{\phi}$ cannot be translated "*for that*;" the original meaning of this preposition with the dative, by means of which it expresses something conditional, an accompaniment, easily passes into the sign of a certain causal relation ; and as $\epsilon\pi\iota$ with a dative signifies this, hence $\epsilon\phi'$ $\tilde{\phi}$ by an attraction may signify "*for that*," "*because that*." This meaning is certainly to be adopted in 2 Cor. v. 4. What Rothe, p. 25, has said against this construction in the last passage is quite untenable. Nor does Philip. i. 21—24, contradict this interpretation, for anxiety after eternal life by no means excludes the repugnance necessarily founded in human nature against the conflict with death. Man would always prefer passing to a higher state of

sin and death together, and affirms that with sin death **came** into the world, and had propagated itself among all men.

existence without so violent a process of transition, and the βαρεῖσθαι is certainly (what Rothe denies) quite as necessary and constant a mark of the Christian life as the ἐπιποθεῖν. I will readily allow that Paul has made use of this expression in the Romans to designate causality, since it corresponds more than any other to the form under which he is here thinking of causality. The first original causality is the sin of Adam—the secondary cause, the connecting link for this continuation of death from Adam, is the sinning of individuals, on which the connexion between sin and death, subjectively considered, depends. But if the ἐφ' ᾧ be not referred to Adam, still the passage might be so taken that the imputation of Adam's sin would be maintained by it, if either the ἡμαρτον is referred to the participation of all in Adam's sin, (which yet would be entirely arbitrary, since no more definite expression is added to indicate that the apostle is speaking of the sinning of all in one,) or the ἐφ' ᾧ is understood in Rothe's sense. The reasoning of the apostle would then be this: Men sinned indeed from the time of Adam to the appearance of the Mosaic law, but they did not sin like Adam by the violation of a positive law, and without a law there can be no imputation of sin. Consequently, to that time, not men's own sins, but only *that* sin of Adam was punished as the common guilt of humanity; only in this relation could death affect them as a punishment of sin. But Paul could not say this without contradicting what he had asserted a little before: for he had distinctly shown, that the want of an outward theocratic law by no means excused the Gentiles in their sins, since its place was supplied by the divine law revealed in their consciences: and always when he refers to the consciousness of guilt in men, he appeals to this internal judgment on their own sins, without taking account of Adam's sin as reckoned to the whole human race. And if, with Rothe, we distinguish a positive juridical connexion formed by imputation between sin and death, from an internal, real, natural, and therefore immediate connexion, (which is a leading idea in his essay, and expressed fully in p. 54,) this self-contradiction in Paul would not be obviated, for the divine imputation and the voice of conscience, the internal sense of guilt, are correlative ideas. The voice of conscience, in the internal sense of guilt, is nothing else than the subjective revelation of the divine imputation; and as Paul assumes the first independently of a positive law, he must therefore assume the second as something independent of positive law, as he himself develops it in Rom. ii. 14—16, and also marks the connexion between sin and death established by the divine justice, and manifested as such in the consciences of men; Rom. i. 32. If we allow Paul to be his own interpreter, we shall find the train of thought in Rom. v. 13, 14, to be the following. He brings forward the objection that the sin of Adam **had** reigned in the world till Moses, although no positive law was in existence, and without law there could be no imputation of sin. He repels this objection by the fact, that death still reigned even over those who **had** not sinned like Adam against a positive law. This fact is an **objective** evidence of imputation, and, as is evident from the preceding

Now, according to Paul's views, this cannot be understood of an essential change in the physical organization of man, and that the body by that event first became mortal instead of immortal, for he expressly asserts the opposite in 1 Cor. xv. 45, since he attributes to the first man a *σῶμα χοϊκόν, ψυχικόν*¹ in contrast with the *σῶμα πνευματικόν* of the resurrection.

This change, therefore, can only relate partly to the manner in which our earthly existence would terminate, the forcible disruption of the connexion between soul and body which we designate by the name of death, partly to the manner in which the necessity of such a death would appear to the human mind. But both are closely connected with one another. As life, life in communion with God, a divine, holy, happy, and unchangeable life, are ideas indissolubly connected

remarks, this imputation approves itself to be just in the conscience, which exhibits men as transgressors of an undeniable divine law.

¹ What Paul here says of the *ψυχικόν* of man, certainly relates only to the constitution of the body, which only has in it the principle of earthly life; he could not mean to designate by it the nature of man in general, as if, since it had in itself nothing higher than an animal principle, and was destitute of the divine principle of life which was first imparted through Christ to human nature, it must necessarily succumb to temptation. That supposition which we have already combated would then follow, that sin was something already deposited in the psychical constitution of human nature, and a necessary link in its development, which would manifest its power when once aroused from its slumbers, and that sinlessness could only emanate from Christ. But according to the doctrine of Paul, the indwelling *πνεῦμα* of the human nature itself is to be distinguished from the supernatural *πνεῦμα*, as the receptacle in the human soul for the operations of the Divine Spirit, that which, in connexion with the supernatural influence, belongs to its right activity; see above, p. 130. Even in the spiritual nature of fallen man, he recognises something higher as the *ψυχή*. I cannot agree with Usteri, that, in the passage 1 Thess. v., by the term *πνεῦμα*, we are to understand the operation of the Holy Spirit, or the divine principle of life communicated by it, as some individualized in man. In reference to this, Paul could not express the wish that it might be preserved blameless, for in itself it could not be affected by any sin: wherever anything sinful found entrance, it must retire. The passage in 1 Thess. i. 19, "Repress not the operations of the Divine Spirit; let inspiration have its free movement," cannot be considered parallel; and as little the exhortation in Eph. iv. 30, not to grieve by evil passions the Spirit of God working in the souls of believers, which is very different from keeping it blameless and spotless. In all these passages, *πνεῦμα* is not spoken of as a property of man; in the first, on the contrary, the *πνεῦμα* is represented as altogether homogeneous, as a component part of human nature with the soul and body

in the New Testament phraseology, particularly in the writings of Paul and John, so, on the other hand, are equally connected the ideas of sin, unhappiness, and death. As man in communion with God becomes conscious of a divine life raised above all change and death, and the thought of the cessation of life or annihilation is unknown ; so when by sin this connexion is broken, and, in estrangement from God as the eternal fountain of life, he becomes conscious of his contracted existence, the thought of death first springs up. Without this, the transition from an earthly existence to a higher—objective in itself, and subjective to the mind¹—would have been only the form of a higher development of life. In this sense, Paul calls sin, the sting of death, 1 Cor. xv. 56, by which he marks the internal connexion between death and a sense of guilt ; as the wounding power of death is founded in sin, death as that terrific object to the mind of man exhibits itself only in connexion with the consciousness of sin.

Paul certainly represents a corruption of human nature as the consequence of the first sin, and admits a supremacy of the sinful principle in the human race, but not in such a manner that the original nature of man as the offspring of God, and created in his image, has been thereby destroyed. Rather he admits the existence in man of two opposing principles—the predominating sinful principle and the divine principle, depressed and obscured by the former, yet still more or less manifesting its heavenly origin. Hence he deduces an undeniable consciousness of God, and an equally undeniable moral self-consciousness as a radiation from the former. And as he recognises an original and universal revelation of God to the human consciousness, so also he acknowledges in human nature a constitution adapted to receive it ; as there is a self-testimony of God, in whom the spirit of man lives, moves, and exists, so also there is an original susceptibility in human nature corresponding to that testimony. The whole creation as a revelation of God, especially of his almightiness and

¹ Krabbe, in his work already quoted, although the premises deduced by him from 1 Cor. xv. 45, ought to have led to the same view as mine, yet he has opposed it, under the supposition that I have not admitted an objective alteration of the form of death, but only a subjective alteration in reference to the form in which it is represented to the mind of man. To guard against this misunderstanding, I have added several new observations to render my meaning more explicit.

goodness,¹ is designed to arouse the spirit of man to a perception of this inward revelation of God. But since by the predominant sinful tendency of man the susceptibility for this revelation of God is impaired, he has lost the ability to raise himself by means of the feelings awakened by outward impressions to a development of the idea of God, to serve as an organ for which is the highest destiny of the human spirit.² Since the consciousness in man of an interior being, by virtue of which he is distinct from nature, and exalted above it, is capable of appropriating the supernatural, has been depressed by sin,—since he has enslaved himself to that nature over which he was destined to rule,³ he is no longer able to develop

¹ In Rom. i. 20, Paul first asserts in general, that the invisible being of God is manifested to the thinking spirit by the creation; he then specifies the revelation of his power, and adds to it the general term *θεϊότης*, (on the form of this word see Rückert,) including everything besides which belongs to the revelation of the idea of God, to our conceptions of the divine attributes to the *ἀόρατα τοῦ θεοῦ*. We cannot deduce from the words (for it was not the apostle's intention to be more definite) a special reference to any other divine attribute; but it is not without reason that he brings forward the idea of Almightyness, because this first strikes the religious consciousness on the contemplation of Nature, and hence the consciousness of dependence on a higher power is the predominant sentiment in Natural Religion. Still we may infer, from the term *ὑπερῑσότησαν* in v. 21, that the goodness of God was present to his thoughts, which is favoured by a reference to Acts xiv. 17. In this result I agree with Schneckenburger in his Essay on the Natural Theology of Paul and its sources, contained in his *Beiträge zur Einleitung*, &c. But I cannot perceive the necessity for deducing the manner in which Paul has expressed himself from any other source than from the depths of his own spirit, enlightened by the Spirit of Christ; and in Philo's far less original investigations, I can find nothing which can serve to explain Paul's thoughts and language, although I see nothing in the use Schneckenburger is disposed to make of Philo for the illustration of the New Testament, which tends to depreciate the latter; and I must entirely agree with his excellent remarks on the relation of the Alexandrian-Jewish school to the appearance of Christianity. He also justly remarks, that those who in their folly think that they can illustrate the greatest revolution in the human race (the moral creation effected by Christianity) by excerpts from Philo (an attempt as rational as to explain the living principle by a corpse), must serve quite a different object from that which they have proposed to themselves.

² The connexion of the inward and outward revelation of God is probably hinted at in the phrase *ἐν αὐτοῖς*. Romans i. 19.

³ The dominion of man over nature presupposes in its true significance the free development of the knowledge of God, on which the

the feelings excited in his breast, of dependence on a higher power, and of gratitude for the blessings bestowed upon him, so as to believe in an Almighty God as Creator and Governor of the world, but he allows these feelings to terminate in the created beings, in the powers and phenomena of nature by which they were first excited. Thus, as Paul describes in the Epistle to the Romans, idolatry originated in the deification of Nature, which yet implies a depressed consciousness of God, and to this, as lying at its basis, Paul appealed in his discourse at Athens. This depression of the consciousness of God by the substitution of sensible objects, tended more and more to the deterioration of man's moral nature ; Rom. i. 28. Yet this, as it belonged to the essence of humanity, could not be entirely obliterated. It manifested itself in the conscience as the undeniable emanation from the consciousness of God. According to Paul, this is the revelation of an internal law for the life, and a judgment upon it, undeniable by man, even should he not deduce from it the consciousness of that God who here manifests himself as a hidden legislative and judging power. Men, in passing judgment on one another, give evidence of the power of that innate law of their nature, and condemn themselves ; Rom. ii. 1.¹

Thus Paul represents two general principles in the natural man as striving against each other ; the principle peculiar to the offspring of God, and allied to God, an implanted consciousness of God, and (grounded on that) a moral self-consciousness, the reaction of the religious and moral nature of man ; and the principle of sin ; or, in other words, Spirit and Flesh. And as the former, the original nature of man, is

elevation of the spirit over nature and its affinity to God is founded, as a means of exercising that true dominion.

¹ I cannot agree with those who think that Paul, in this passage, alluded to the Jews, who are expressly mentioned in v. 9. Had this been the case, the transition from those of whom he had been speaking, the Gentiles, to this new subject, the Jews, must have been in some way marked. But the *οὖν* only refers us to what immediately precedes, i. 32, which relates to the Gentiles, though it does not follow that Paul confined himself to the same class of Gentiles. Since whoever knows the law of God (according to which they who do such things are worthy of death) and yet does what it forbids, cannot excuse himself,—thou canst allege no excuse for thyself ; thou, whoever thou mayest be, thou who testifiest of thy knowledge of God, when thou judgest another, thou condemnest thyself.

checked in its development and efficiency by the latter, and detained a prisoner as by a hostile force, he describes the state of the natural man in general as one of *bondage*.¹ Still a distinction is to be made between the different states of this bondage, whether it is conscious or unconscious; whether the depressed higher nature has become unconscious of its own prerogative, and of the restraint imposed upon it, or whether the sense of bondage in which man's higher self is held has been excited, and hence a longing after freedom in the developed higher self-consciousness. The latter is the state to which the apostle has affixed the name of bondage in the more restricted sense of the word, the bondage under the law; a state in which the consciousness of the depressed higher nature is combined with that of the law revealing itself in it. Hence these two states of unconscious or conscious bondage are distinguished as living without the law, or living under the law. These two states the apostle describes in the 7th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans; he here depicts, in his own person, and from his own experience, two general states.

The first state he represents as one in which a man lives in delusive satisfaction, unconscious both of the requirements of the holy law and of the power of the counteracting principle of sinfulness. He awakes from this state of security when the consciousness of the law and its requirements is excited. The moral ideal, which is presented by the law to the self-consciousness of man, exerts an attractive influence on his higher nature. He feels that he can find satisfaction and happiness only in the agreement of his life with this law. But then he sees that he has been woefully deceived, for the law when it brings forth into consciousness the sinful desires that had hitherto been slumbering in his breast, irritates them to greater activity by the opposition of its commands. The man who is enduring this conflict is represented by Paul as saying, "The commandment that should have tended to life brought only death; for sin which now took occasion to break forth, deceived me by the commandment and by it slew me."—Rom. vii. 10, 11. The deception which was practised by the power of the hitherto slumbering but now rampant sinful desires, consisted in this, that when the law in its glory, the moral archetype, first revealed itself to the higher nature of man,

¹ The δουλεία τῆς ἁμαρτίας.

he was filled with earnest desire to seize the revealed ideal, but this desire only made him more painfully sensible of the chasm which separated him from the object after which he aspired. Thus, what appeared at first a blissful ideal, by the guilt of death-producing sin became changed into its opposite. The higher nature of man aspiring after a freer self-consciousness, is sensible of the harmony between itself and the divine law, in which it delights; but there is another power, the power of the sinful principle striving against the higher nature, which, when a man is disposed to follow the inward divine leading, drags him away, so that he cannot accomplish the good by which alone his heavenly nature is attracted.¹ In the consciousness of this wretched disunion, he exclaims, "Who shall deliver me from this power of sin?"² After thus vividly calling to mind the state of disunion and unhappiness from which Christianity has set him free, he is carried away by emotions of thankfulness for redemption from that internal wretchedness; and dropping the character he had for the moment assumed, he interrupts himself by an exclamation occasioned by the consciousness of his present state, and then, in conclusion, briefly adverts to the state of disunion before described. "I myself therefore am a man who with the spirit serve the law of God, but with the flesh the law of sin." If we understand the phrase, "*serve the law of God*," in the full strictness of the idea, more seems to be expressed by it than the standing-point of the natural man allows: for taking the words in their highest sense, they describe such a development of the whole life to God, such an animating of it by a practical sense of God, as must proceed from regeneration, and supposes its existence. But we must first of all accurately fix the meaning of

¹ By the opposition between the inner man and the law in the members or the flesh, Paul certainly does not mean simply the opposition between Spirit and Sense; for if the spirit were really so animated by the good which is represented in the law as it ought to be according to its original nature and destination, its volitions would be powerful enough to subordinate sense to itself. But the apostle represents the spirit as powerless, because a selfish tendency predominates in the soul. He therefore intends by these terms to express the opposition between the depressed higher nature of man, and the sinful principle which controls the actions of men.

² Paul terms it the body of death, inasmuch the power of evil desires manifests itself particularly in the body as the slave of sinful habits.

δουλεύειν and of νόμος in this passage. Both terms are used by Paul in a two-fold manner. The fundamental idea of δουλεύειν is that of a life corresponding to God's law and to the consciousness of dependence on him. But this consciousness of dependence may be of two sorts; either one with which the tendency of the will harmonizes, one in which the man consents with freedom; or one which stands in contradiction to the will. And so likewise in the application of the term Law, of which the general idea is a rule of life and action. This rule may be either, according to the second meaning of δουλεία, a rule presenting itself to the spirit of man from without, an outwardly commanding constraining law, which contradicts the predominant internal tendency of the Will, and whose supremacy is therefore only acknowledged by compulsion; or it may be a rule proceeding from within, founded on the internal development of the life, with which the predominant tendency of the will is in perfect harmony, according to the first meaning of δουλεία. Now the apostle here employs δουλεία in the second sense, and describes a state in which the consciousness of God makes its power felt in the opposition to the sinful tendency of the will, that controls the life; for if the other sense of the term were intended, that unhappy disunion would immediately cease. If the consciousness of God had become an internal law of the life with which the determinations of the will were in harmony, the σὰρξ would no longer exercise its power as a determining principle of the life.

No doubt, the apostle took the materials of this description from his own experience, which put it in his power to delineate the condition in such lively colours. Though educated by pious parents in Judaism, still there was for him during childhood a period of ingenuous simplicity, in which the consciousness of the law and of the contrariety between its requirements and the indwelling principle of sin, could not be developed with the same clearness as in maturer life. And from this first epoch of childhood, he was led on by his Pharisaic education to the summit of servitude to the law. But he represents in his own person the two general standing-points of human development, by which the race, as well as individuals, have been trained for the reception of redemption. He here describes in an individual example the

use of Judaism as the legal religion, viewed in its peculiar nature to Christianity, in reference to the development of the human race. Very different was that part of Judaism which constituted the point of union between it and the gospel, and the aspect under which it might be viewed as the gospel veiled, the prophetic element, by which it was connected with the promises made before the giving of the law, and formed a continuation of them till the Redeemer himself appeared. As in order to prepare for the reception of the Redeemer, it was needful, on the one hand, to excite a consciousness of internal disunion and bondage, and the consequent sense of a need of redemption; and on the other hand, to point out the relief about to be afforded for this misery, and the personage by whom it would be effected; so Judaism was in both these respects a divine revelation and a religious economy preparative to Christianity.

In confutation of the Jews and Judaizers, who would not recognise in Judaism a preparative dispensation, but maintained its perpetual validity, the apostle evinced that all the leadings of the divine government from the beginning of the world related to the fulfilment of a design embracing the salvation of the whole fallen race of man, a design of communicating among all men, by the Messiah, redeeming grace, for the obtaining of which no other means would be requisite than surrendering themselves to it and receiving it by means of faith. There was, therefore, only one fundamental relation between God and man; on the part of God, a revelation of his grace in its promise and fulfilment; on the part of man, an appropriation of this grace by faith. The legal Judaism could make no alteration in this unchangeable or fundamental relation between God and man, which had been already established by the promises given to Abraham; it could not add a new condition, such as the observance of the law, for the fulfilment of the promises, Gal. iii. 15, in which case the fulfilment of the promise would be attached to something that could not be performed, since no man is capable of observing the law. The law, therefore, formed only a preparatory, intervening economy for the Jewish nation,¹ partly designed to check in some measure the grosser

¹ To this Rom. v. 20 refers, νόμος παρεισῆλθεν.

Indulgences of sin,¹ but more especially to call forth and

¹ τῶν παραβάσεων χάριν, Gal. iii. 19. The interpretation which I have here followed of this passage requires to be supported against the objections of Usteri in his *Entwickelung des paulinischen Lehrbegriffes* (Development of the Pauline Doctrines), 4th ed. pp. 66, 67, and in his Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, p. 114. The reasons alleged by him are, that the idea of transgression presupposes the idea of law—that according to the Pauline association of ideas, sin was called forth by the law, the law could present no check to sin, but, on the contrary, must tend to hasten the outbreak of sinfulness. Paul would therefore contradict himself, if he said that the law was added in order to check sin. But although Paul by describing ἀμαρτία as παράβασις, conceived of it as a transgression of the law, yet sin without reference to the Mosaic law might be so denominated in reference to the law of God revealed in the conscience. When the internal law as a revelation of God is outwardly presented in a literal form, it only serves to bring this opposition into clearer consciousness, and to counterwork the manifold influences by which this consciousness is obscured and depressed. Indeed, the law, according to Paul, cannot conquer sin internally, but only serves to manifest it in its full extent. It can produce no true holiness in the disposition; nevertheless, we can readily conceive how a positive law, bringing into clearer consciousness the opposition of good and evil, opposing the distinctly expressed divine will to sinful inclinations, by threatening and alarming, would check the outward indulgence of sinful desires, act as a check on grosser immorality, and promote outward moral decorum. This, it is true, can be attained only in a very imperfect degree by the law, since it has not the power of operating on the internal ground, from which all the outward manifestations of sin proceed. On the one hand, the law checks the grosser outbreaks of sin; on the other, it occasions that the sinfulness called forth by opposition from its concealment, is displayed in the form of particular transgression of the law, and a man thereby becomes conscious of the hidden and deeply-seated root of all evil. Both may be represented as the work of the law; the check put on the outbreaks of sinfulness, and the greater prominence given to it in the form of particular transgressions of special commands. Both may be considered as the objects of that divine wisdom which gave the law to man, if we only keep the various references distinct from each other. On the one hand, to prevent the total brutalization of human nature, and, on the other, not to permit the self-deception that any other means of training can avail short of that method which will effect a radical cure. As to the first point, Paul marks it in Rom. iii. 23, where he says that men were kept as prisoners by the law, which agrees with what Christ says when in the Sermon on the Mount, he opposes the holiness of disposition attained through the gospel, to the theocratic political law, which would only restrain from without the outbreaking force of evil, and with what he says in Matt. xix. 8, on the relation of the law to the σκληροκαρδία of men. With respect to the other interpretation of the passage—"the law is added in order to make sin knowable as such, to bring men to a clear consciousness of it?" the words do not so plainly

maintain a vivid consciousness of sin.¹ Since the law put an outward check on the sinful propensity, which was constantly giving fresh proofs of its refractoriness—as by this means the consciousness of the power of the sinful principle became more vivid, and hence the sense of need both of the forgiveness of sin and freedom from its bondage was awakened—the law became a *παιδαγωγὸς εἰς Χριστόν*. The bondage of Judaism partly consisted in the union of religion with a multitude of sensible forms, which could only typify the divine that was not yet distinctly apprehended; the dependence of the development of the internal religious life on outward and sensible² objects, might also contribute, like the moral part of the law, to restrain rude sensuality, to awaken the internal religious sentiment, to arouse it to a consciousness of the bondage that oppressed it, and to a longing after freedom.³ convey this meaning. According to that interpretation they would ~~mean~~—the law was given to favour transgressions, in order that transgressions might take place; the thought would, after all, be very obscurely expressed, and if this were said without further limitation, it would convey such a mean estimate of the law, which Paul from his standing-point certainly could not allow. And as Rückert justly remarks, the use of the article with the word *παραβάσεων* (on account of certain existing sins in order to put a check to them) better suits the method of interpretation we have followed and the connexion of the passage, since it is the design of Paul to acknowledge the importance of the law in its own though subordinate value. See Schneckenburger's review of Usteri's work on the Pauline doctrines, which agrees in this and several other points with our own views, in *Rheinwald's Repertorium*, No. vi., &c.

¹ Rom. v. 20, *ἵνα πλεονάσῃ ἡ ἁμαρτία*, "so that sin might abound," that is, that the power of indwelling sin, the intuitive force of the sinful principle as such, might be manifested so much more strongly. In reference to the development of the Pauline sentiment, Fritsche, in his excellent commentary, to which I am much indebted, justly remarks (p. 350), that this cannot be the literal sense of the passage, for here *ἁμαρτία* is spoken of as a single violation of God's law. The sense of the passage is, in order that transgressions may increase. But this must serve to make them more conscious of the intrinsic power of the evil principle, by its coming forth more distinctly in outward manifestation, as we detect in the symptoms of a positive disease the morbid matter which has been for a long time lurking in the system. Thus, Rom. vii. 13, in order that sin might show itself abundantly as sin; sin in its destructive power, so that the law, in itself salutary, must bring destruction to man on account of sin.

² The *δεδοιλωσθαι ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα* = *τὰ σαρκικά*. Vide supra, p. 323, note.

³ Thus Peter calls the law in its whole extent, contrasted with the

In this aspect, the unity of the Moral and the Ritual in the Mosaic law is apparent ; both belonged to this standing-point of religious and moral development, and subserved the same object.

In the ages preceding Christianity, mankind were divided into Jews and Gentiles. The distinction between them consisted in the opposition between natural development, and revelation among the Jews. God had from the beginning communicated and propagated the knowledge of himself by a connected series of revelation ; by a positive law, the need of a redemption was manifested, and promises were given with gradually increasing clearness of Him who was to justify this need ; Rom. ix. 4. The theocracy was here presented in the form of a particular nationality, until at last the Redeemer arose from the midst of this nation, and verified in his own person the promises made to them. The Gentiles, on the contrary, were left to themselves, and shut out from the organized historical preparation of the kingdom of God. Still the apostle recognises, as we have here remarked, an original revelation of God among the heathen, without which even idolatry could not have arisen. He presents us with a two-fold idea of divine revelation, distinguished by two names. The universal revelation of God in the creation, and through that in the reason and conscience, in which three factors are combined—the self-revelation of God in creation acting from without—the adaptation to the knowledge of God in the spirit of man, (reason and conscience)—and the undeniable connexion of created spirits, with the original Spirit whose offspring they are, in whom they live and move and have their being, the fountain from which proceed all the movements of the higher life ; this universal revelation the apostle distinguishes by the name *φανέρωσις*. Revelation in a more restricted sense (which proceeds not from an operation of the Divine Spirit through the medium of creation like the former,) by means of which man apprehends in a divine light the truths relating to salvation, the knowledge of which he could not attain by his own reason,—Paul terms *ἀποκάλυψις*.

But that universal revelation, owing to the corruption grace of redemption, “a yoke which neither they nor their fathers were able to bear.” Acts xv. 10.

which repressed the awakened consciousness of God,¹ could not be manifested purely and clearly; the deification of nature, which gained the ascendancy over its partial illumination of mankind, formed an opposition against the element of divine revelation in Judaism which was implanted there in its purity, and presented by the providence of God. But in considering the opposition of Heathenism to Judaism, we must distinguish from its injurious influences that internally revealed law of conscience which corresponded to the positive law in Judaism.² That law of conscience would lead to the knowledge of the disunion in the inner man; and of the need of redemption, without which Christianity could find no point

¹ Rom. i 18, *τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐν ἀδικίᾳ κατέχουσιν*. "They repressed the truth that manifested itself to them, the consciousness of truth that was springing up in their minds—through sin." In these words, Paul particularly referred to the Gentiles, though they might also be applied to the Jews. It was not needful for him to point out to the Jews that they could not allege as an excuse for their conduct, the want of a knowledge of God and of his law, since they were only too much disposed to pride themselves on the mere knowledge of what had been revealed to them.

² Although Paul was accustomed to form his connexion of νόμος, from Judaism, and to apply it to the Mosaic law; yet his Christian universalism, and his unfettered views of the process of human development among heathen nations, led him to recognise everywhere a law of undeniable authority in the hearts of men, and to consider the law, under the special Mosaic form, as the representative of the universal law in force for all mankind; this is evident from Rom. ii. Hence, we cannot allow that Paul, wherever he speaks of νόμος, had only in his thoughts the Mosaic law; but, on the contrary, we must maintain that when he represents the law as one that condemns man, reveals his guilt, it appears to him as the representative of the divine law as it reveals itself, and is applicable to all mankind though less clearly. Although Paul, when he speaks of the curse of the law, Gal. iii. 13, and describes it as "the handwriting of ordinances," Col. ii. 14, must have the Jews immediately in view, who were conscious of the obligation of the law, yet certainly, according to his conceptions, it relates to all mankind. As long as the law was in force, it denounced a curse on all who did not obey it, as the observance of it was the only means for participating in the kingdom of God, and obtaining eternal life. Hence the curse pronounced by it must be first taken away, that "the blessing of Abraham" which related to all mankind might come upon the Gentiles; Gal. iii. 14. Hence also among the heathen the revelation of the ὁργὴ θεοῦ (to accomplish which is the work of the law), Rom. iv. 15, must precede, and they must obtain the knowledge that through Christ they are freed from this ὁργὴ in order to be partakers of redemption. These remarks are of force against the views of Rückert and Usteri.—See especially their **Commentary on Gal. iii. 13.**

of connexion or entrance in men's minds, and as such a point of connexion Paul on all occasions employs it in arguing with the Gentiles.

The apostle places in opposition to each other the Jews incorporated in the kingdom of God, and the heathen who were living without God; still he does not put all who were living in heathenism on the same level. Certainly he could not say of every individual, what he says of the corrupt mass in general, Eph. iv. 19, that they had given themselves up to the indulgence of their lusts with a suppression of all moral feeling; he no doubt recognised in the civil and domestic virtues of the heathen some scattered rays of the repressed knowledge of God. In this respect he says, comparing the heathen with the Jews, that where the former fulfilled in some cases the commands of the law, following the law written on their hearts, they thereby passed sentence of condemnation on the Jews, to whom the positive law had been given, of which they boasted, but neglected to obey it. Not that we can suppose him to mean, that in any instance there was anything like a perfect fulfilment of the law. To suppose this would be in direct contradiction to what Paul affirms respecting the consciousness of guilt universally awakened by the law, that it could only call forth a sense of sin and deserved punishment; we cannot separate a single act from the whole life, if with Paul we refer everything to the animating disposition, and do not form our estimate according to the outward value of good works. Where the whole of the internal life was not animated by that which must be the principle of all true goodness, that principle could not perfectly operate even for a single moment. Still the repressed higher nature of man, the seat of the law of God, gave more or fewer signs of its existence.

From the Jewish and from the Gentile standing-points there was only one mode of transition to a state of salvation, the consciousness of an inward disunion between the divine and the undivine in human nature, and proceeding from that, the consciousness of the need of redemption. And hence there were two hindrances which obstructed the attainment of salvation by men; either the gross security of heathenism, where the higher movements of life were entirely suppressed by the dominion of sinful pleasure, or the Jewish merit of

works and self-righteousness, where men, pacifying their consciences by the show of devotion and of fulfilling the law, deceived themselves, and supposed that, by the mechanism of outward religious exercises, or by the performance of certain actions which wore the appearance of good works, they had attained the essence of the holiness required by the divine law. In reference to the latter, Paul says of the Jews, Rom. x. 3, that since they knew not the essence of true holiness which avails before God and can be imparted by God alone, and since they esteemed their own works to be genuine holiness—they could not perceive their insufficiency, and hence they could not appropriate the holiness revealed and imparted by God.¹ As the manner in which the Jews, insensible of their need of divine aid, endeavoured to attain holiness by the observance of the law, was the cause of their not attaining it; so on the other hand the heathen—those, namely, in whom self-conceit of another kind had not been produced by a philosophical training—since no such spiritual pride counteracted the feeling of the need of redemption in their minds, when once through particular circumstances, inward experiences, or perhaps through the preaching of the gospel,² the voice of the law had been distinctly heard—were easily awakened to this feeling of helplessness, and thus led to faith in the Redeemer.³

In another respect also, Paul compares the Jewish and the heathen or Grecian standing-points with one another. Among the Jews the predominance of the sensuous element in their

¹ The δικαιοσύνη τοῦ θεοῦ here denote a righteousness which avails before God, and originates with him, in opposition to one which men suppose may be attained by their own power and works, and which, though men may deceive themselves by false appearances, cannot stand in the sight of a holy omniscient God. It denotes accordingly the manner in which men are justified through faith in Christ, in opposition to the righteousness of the law or of works. The apostle uses the expression ὑπετάγησαν, since he considers the cause of their not receiving what God is willing to bestow, to be a spirit of insubordination, a want of humility and acquiescence in the divine arrangements.

² Which in this connexion must present itself at first as a revelation of the divine wrath against sin. Rom. i. 18.

³ Hence, naturally, as among the Jews it was precisely their διακείν νόμον δικαιοσύνης which was the cause of their not attaining true righteousness, so among the heathen their μὴ διακείν was the cause of their more easily attaining it.

religious life, which, being unsusceptible of the internal revelation of divine power, sought for extraordinary events in the world of the senses as marks of the divine, a tendency which he distinguished by the name of *sign-seeking*, was opposed to faith in a crucified Redeemer, who had appeared in "the form of a servant." This revelation of the power of God, where the sensual man could perceive only weakness and ignominy, must have been a stumbling-block to their sign-seeking minds, which longed for a Messiah in visible earthly glory as the founder of a visible kingdom. Among the educated portion of the Greeks, on the contrary, that one-sided tendency, which sought only for the satisfaction of a love of knowledge in a new religion, the one-sided predominance of speculation, which Paul designated *wisdom-seeking* and philosophical conceit—opposed faith in that preaching which did not begin with the solution of intellectual difficulties, but with offering satisfaction to hearts that longed for the forgiveness of sin and sanctification; hence to this class of persons the doctrine which did not fulfil the expectations of their wisdom-seeking tendency, and demanded the renunciation of their imaginary wisdom, must have appeared as foolishness; 1 Cor. i. 22, 23. Thus Paul said in reference to the Greeks, 1 Cor. iii. 18, He who thinks himself wise, let him become a fool, that he may be able to find true wisdom in the gospel. To the Jews the language addressed on the Pauline principles would be, He who esteems himself righteous must first become in his own eyes a sinner, that he may find in the gospel true righteousness. Thus must nations as well as individuals be brought to their own experience, to a sense of the insufficiency of their own wisdom and righteousness, in order, by feeling their need of help, to be in a suitable state for receiving that redemption which was prepared for all mankind; Rom. xi. 32. The whole history of mankind has redemption for its object, and there are, according to the measure of the diversified standing-points of human development, diversified degrees of preparation; but this is the central point to which the whole history of man tends, where all the lines in the development of individual generations and nations meet. According to this, we must understand what Paul says, that God sent his Son into the world in the fulness of time, Gal. iv 4—when he speaks, Eph. iii. 9, of the mystery of redemption as hidden from eternity in God--

and which was to be fulfilled in the dispensation of the fulness of time, Eph. i. 10. In the divine counsels he could not suppose there was a before and after; but by this mode of expression he marks the internal relation of the divine counsels and works to each other, the actual establishment of the kingdom of God among men by redemption, the final aim of the whole earthly creation by which its destiny will be completely fulfilled. This globe is created and destined for the purpose of being the seat of the kingdom of God, of being animated by the kingdom of God, the body of which the kingdom of God is the soul. The end of all created existence is that it may contribute to the glory of God, or to reveal God in his glory. But in order that this may be really accomplished, it must be with consciousness and freedom, and these are qualities which can be found only in an assemblage of rational beings. It is such an assemblage therefore which is distinguished by the name of the kingdom of God; and when the reason of the creature has been brought by sin into a state of contrariety with the end of its existence, Redemption is a necessary condition of establishing the kingdom of God on this globe.

Paul could not indeed have represented human nature under the aspect of its need of redemption in this manner, if he had not been led to the depths of self-knowledge by his own peculiar development. But so far was he from mingling a foreign element with the doctrine of Christ, that from his own experience he has drawn a picture which every man, who like Paul has striven after holiness, must verify from his self-knowledge; it is a picture, too, the truth of which is presupposed by the personal instructions of Christ, as we shall find by reading the three first gospels. We gather this not so much from single expressions of Christ respecting the constitution of human nature, as from the representations he gives of the work he had to accomplish in its relation to mankind.¹ When he compares Christianity to leaven which was designed to leaven the whole mass into which it was cast, he intimates the necessity of transforming human nature by a new higher element of life which would be infused into it by Christianity. Christ calls himself the Physician of mankind; he says that

¹ That the work of Christ presupposes a condition of corruption and helplessness, is acknowledged by De Wette in his *Biblischen Dogmatik*, 246.

he came only for the sick, for sinners ; Matt. ix. 13 ; Luke v. 32. It is impossible that by such language he could intend to divide men into two classes—the sick, those who were burdened with sin, and who needed his aid ;—and the righteous, those in health and who needed not his assistance or could easily dispense with it ; for the persons in reference to whose objections he uttered this declaration, he would certainly have recognised least of all as righteous and healthy. Rather would he have said, that as he came only as a Physician for the sick, as a Redeemer for sinners, he could only fulfil his mission in the case of those who, conscious of disease and sin, were willing to receive him as Physician and Redeemer ; that he was come in vain for those who were not disposed to acknowledge their need of healing and redemption. Christ, when he draws the lines of that moral ideal after which his disciples are to aspire, never expresses his reliance on the moral capabilities of human nature, on the powers of reason ; he appeals rather to the consciousness of spiritual insufficiency, the sense of the need of illumination by a higher divine light, of sanctification by the power of a divine life ; wants like these he promises to satisfy. Hence in his Sermon on the Mount, he begins with pronouncing *blessed* such a tendency of the disposition, since it will surely attain what it seeks ; compare Matt. xi. 28. When Christ, Matt. xix. Luke xvii. enjoined on the rich man who asked him what he must do to inherit eternal life—to “keep the commandments,” it is by no means inconsistent with what Paul asserts of the insufficiency of the works of the law for the attainment of salvation, but is identical with it, only under another form and aspect. Christ wished to lead this individual, who according to the Jewish notions was righteous, to a consciousness that outward conformity to the law by no means involved the disposition that was required for participation in the kingdom of God. The test of renouncing self and the world which he imposed upon him, would lead one who was still entangled in the love of earthly things, though from his youth he had lived in outward conformity to the law, to feel that he was destitute of this disposition. Nor can we, from the expressions in which children are represented as models of the state of mind with which men must enter the kingdom of God, Matt. xix. 14, Luke xviii. 15, infer the doctrine of the incorruption of

human nature,¹ partly because the point of comparison is only the simplicity and compliance of children, the consciousness of immaturity,² the disclaiming of imaginary preeminence, the renunciation of prejudices; and partly because childhood is an age in which the tendency to sin is less developed,³ but by no means implies the non-existence of such a tendency. Still Christ could not have used these and similar expressions (as in Matt. xvii. 10) in commendation of what existed in children as an undeveloped bud, if he had not recognised in them a divine impress, a glimmering knowledge of God, which when brought from the first into communion with Christ, was carried back to its original, and thereby preserved from the reaction of the sinful principle.⁴ And the recognition of a something in human nature allied to the divine, is implied in what Christ says of the eye of the spirit, of that which is the light of the inner man, by the relation of which to the source of light, the whole direction and complexion of the life is determined; so that, either by keeping up a connexion with its divine source, light is spread over the life of man, or if the eye be darkened by the prevalence of a worldly tendency, the whole life is involved in darkness. But as we have seen, Paul presupposes such an undeniable and partially illuminating knowledge of God in human nature, and this assumption is supported by what he says of the various degrees of moral development among mankind.

The idea of the need of redemption leads us to the work of redemption accomplished by Christ. Paul distinguishes in the work of Christ, his doing and his suffering. To sin, which from the first transgression has reigned over all mankind, he opposes the perfect holy life of Christ. To the evil whose consummation is death, representing itself as punishment in connexion with sin by virtue of the feeling of guilt and con-

¹ As Baumgarten Crusius appears to do in his *Biblischen Dogmatik*, p. 362.

² See my *Leben Jesu*, p. 547.

³ On this account Paul in 1 Cor. xiv. 20, speaks of a *νηπιόζειν τῇ κακίᾳ*.

⁴ The qualities which Christ attributes to children, are entirely opposed to a harsh Augustinian theology, and the gloomy view of life founded upon it, although this must be recognised as relatively a necessary step in the development of the Christian life, in reference to certain circumstances, and as the root of important phenomena in the history of the church.

demnation founded in the conscience, he opposes the sufferings of Christ as the Holy One; which, as they have no reference to sins of his own, can only relate to the sins of all mankind, for whose redemption they were endured. In reference to the former, Paul says in Rom. viii. 3, that what was impossible to the law, what it was unable to effect owing to the predominant sinfulness in human nature, (namely to destroy the reign of sin in human nature, which the law aimed to effect by its holy commands,) was accomplished by God, when he sent his Son into the world in that human nature which hitherto had been under the dominion of sin, and when he condemned sin, that is, despoiled it of its power and supremacy, and manifested its powerlessness in that human nature, over which it had before reigned, in order that the requirements of the law might be fulfilled in believers, as those whose lives were governed not by sinful desire but by the Spirit, the divine vital principle of the Spirit that proceeded from Christ.¹ Paul does not here speak of any particular point in the life of Christ, but contemplates it as a whole, by which the perfect holiness required by the law was realized. Thus the reign of holiness in human nature succeeds to the reign of sin, the latter is now destroyed and the former established objectively in human nature; and from this objective foundation its continued development proceeds. And in no other way can the human race be brought to fulfil their destiny, the realization of the kingdom of God, which cannot proceed from sin and estrangement from God, but must take its commencement from a perfectly holy life, presenting a perfect union of the divine and the human. The Spirit of Christ, from which this realization of the ideal of holiness proceeded in his own life, is also the same by which the life of believers, who are received into his fellowship, is continually formed according to this archetype. In Rom. v. 18,

¹ The other interpretation of this passage, according to which it means that Christ bore for men the punishment attached to sin by the law, appears to me not to be favoured by the context, for it is most natural to refer the ἀδύνατον τοῦ νόμου in the first class to the κατὰ κρίνειν τὴν ἀμαρτίαν in the last. But this will not suit if we take the first in the sense of condemning and punishing, for it was precisely this which the law *could* do; but to condemn sin in the sense in which the word is used in John xvi. 11, and xii. 31, the law was prevented from doing by the opposition of the σάρξ.

Paul opposes to the one sin of Adam the one holy work (the ἐν δικαίωμα) of Christ. And if, induced by the contrast to the one sin of Adam, he had in view one act especially of Christ, the offering up of himself, as an act of love to God and man, and of voluntary obedience to God, still this single act, even according to Paul's statement, ought not to be considered as something isolated, but as the closing scene in harmony with the whole, by which he completed the realization of the ideal of holiness in human nature, and banished sin from it. In this view indeed the whole life of Christ may be considered as one holy work. As by one sin, the first by which a commencement was made of a life of sin in the human race, sin, and with sin condemnation and death, spread among all mankind; so from this one holy life of Christ, holiness and a life of eternal happiness resulted for all mankind. This holy life of Christ, God would consider as the act of the human race, but it can only be realized in those who, by an act of free self-determination, appropriate this work accomplished for all, and by this surrender of themselves enter through Christ into a new relation with God; those who through faith are released from the connexion with the life of sin propagated from Adam, and enter into the fellowship of a holy life with Christ. Since they are thus in union with Christ, in the fellowship of his Spirit, for his sake they are presented as δίκαιοι before God, and partake of all that is indissolubly connected with the holiness of Christ and of his eternally blessed life. In this sense, Paul says that from the one δικαίωμα of Christ, objective δικαίωσις and the consequent title to ζωὴ comes upon all (Rom. v. 18); that by the obedience of one many shall be made righteous (v. 19); in this latter passage, he probably blends the objective and the subjective; the objective imputation of the ideal of holiness realized by Christ, founded in the divine counsels, or the manner in which the human race appear in the divine sight; and the consequent subjective realization, gradually developed, which proceeds from faith.

With respect to the second point, *the sufferings of Christ as such*, we find this (not to mention other passages where this idea forms the basis) distinctly stated in two places. In Gal. iii. 13, after the apostle had said that the law only passed

sentence of condemnation upon men¹ who had shown that they were guilty of violating it, he adds, that Christ has freed them from this condemnation since on their account and in their stead² he had borne this condemnation, by suffering the punishment of the cross as a person accused by the law. The second place is 2 Cor. v. 21. Him who knew no sin, the sinless one, God has made sin for our sakes (the abstract for the concrete); he has made him a sinner, he has allowed him to appear as a sufferer on account of sin, that we might become through him the righteousness of God, that is, such as may appear before God as righteous; that therefore as Christ the Holy One entered by his sufferings into the fellowship of our guilt, so we sinners enter into the fellowship of his holiness.

In accordance with these views, Paul divided the life of Christ into two parts. At first Christ presented himself as a weak mortal, although conscious of possessing a divine nature and dignity, submitting to all the wants and limitations of earthly humanity, partaking of all those evils which affect human nature in connexion with sin, and as the punishment

¹ Although the use of *ἡμᾶς* (Gal. iii. 13) and the contrast with the *ἔθνη*, v. 14, make it probable that Paul had the Jews chiefly in his thoughts, yet this by no means excludes a reference to mankind in general; (agreeably to what we have already said respecting the ideal and universal relation of the law.) Paul indeed says particularly of the Jews, that they could not attain righteousness by the law, as they expected, but, on the contrary, it denounced its curse against them, from which they must first be freed. But since the *νόμος* corresponds to the universal law written on the heart, so also this curse pronounced by the law corresponds to the sentence of condemnation which that internal law pronounces in the consciences of men. The curse is only first expressly pronounced among the Jews, and presented more distinctly to their consciousness; just as the express promises were first made to them. See the excellent remarks in Bengel's *Gnomon*. On this supposition, the natural connexion between v. 13 and 14, is apparent, which is founded in the thought that the heathen must be first freed from the curse which rests on them as sinners, in order that the blessing which was to extend itself from Abraham to all mankind, and which could not be fulfilled in those who were estranged from God by guilt, might be fulfilled in them. The same sentiment, though expressed in another form, occurs in all the passages where it is said that all need forgiveness of sins. As in Paul's mind there was a common reference to Jews and Gentiles, he joins them together in the *λάβωμεν*. And afterwards he says, that Christ when he appeared among that nation who typified the theocracy for the whole human race, and satisfied the requirements of the law, performed this for the whole human race, who therefore were brought into a filial relation to God.

² Both these ideas may be included in the *ὕπὲρ ἡμῶν*.

of sin, so that in his outward appearance and condition he placed himself entirely on a level with men suffering on account of sin. The consummation of this state was the crucifixion, as the consummation of the misery entailed by sin is presented in death. The second part was the life of Christ risen and glorified, in which his unchangeable divine and blessed life reveals itself in perfection, corresponding to that perfect holiness which he manifested on earth—for as sin and death, so are sinlessness and a life of eternal blessedness correlative ideas in Paul's writings; and as in Christ's risen and glorified humanity, that divine life is presented which corresponds to perfect holiness, so it is a practical proof that he in the earlier portion of his life fulfilled the law of holiness in and for human nature, and, by enduring the sufferings incurred through sin, effected the release of mankind from the guilt and punishment, and has assured to them eternal life, which will be communicated to all who enter into fellowship with him by faith. Thus it is declared in 2 Cor. xiii. 4, that though Christ was crucified owing to human weakness, the crucifixion was the closing point of his life in the participation of human weakness—yet since his resurrection, he enjoys a life of divine power without any mixture of human weakness. In Rom. vi. 16, the death of Christ is spoken of as bearing a relation to sin—as an event which, but for sin, would not have taken place, and had for its only object the blotting out of sin; and that having perfectly attained that end, it was not to be repeated. The earthly life and sufferings of Christ bear a relation to sin, as being the means of redeeming the human race from it. But now the risen and glorified Saviour, having once completed the redemption of human nature, is separated from all relation to sin and the evils connected with it, and exalted above all conflicts and earthly weakness, lives in divine power and blessedness, to the glory of God. He no longer endures the sufferings to which human nature became subject by sin, and he needs to perform nothing more for the extinction of sin, having done this once for all. There remains only his positive operation for the glory of God, without the negative reference to the extinction of sin. Conscious of his divinity, he did not eagerly retain (Philip. ii. 6) equality with God for the mere exhibition of it, but divested himself of the divine glory which appertained to him, presented himself in the form of human

dependence, humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even the ignominious death of the cross.¹ Wherefore—on account of this perfect obedience rendered under all human weakness and suffering—God has exalted him to the highest dignity and rule in the kingdom of God. According to this train of ideas, as the sufferings of Christ are represented as having a relation to sin, so his resurrection is adduced as a practical evidence of the freedom from sin and the justification bestowed by him, by virtue of the connexion existing, not only between sin and death, but between righteousness and eternal life. And in reference to the importance of the resurrection of Christ, as an objective proof of the release of human nature from the guilt of sin and the death that it involved, the apostle says in 1 Cor. xv. 17, “If Christ be not risen, ye are yet in your sins.” From this connexion of ideas it follows, that the sufferings of Christ must be always considered in union with his whole life and as the close and consummation of it; and with a twofold reference which, according to the Pauline doctrine, they bear to the completion of the work of redemption, namely, the appropriation of human guilt, by entering into the suffering condition of man—and the perfect realization of the moral law. And therefore, when Paul speaks of what Christ effected by his blood and his cross, one single point which forms the consummation and close of the whole stands for that whole, according to a mode of expression common to the sacred writers, though in its full significance it can be understood only in connexion with all the rest.

As the result of this work of Christ for sinful mankind, Paul specifies reconciliation with God, redemption, justification. With respect to the idea of reconciliation, it cannot have been conceived by Paul as if men had been objects of the divine wrath and hatred, till Christ appeasing the divine justice by his sufferings, by his timely intervention reconciled an offended God to mankind, and made them again the objects of

¹ An illustration of Paul's language may be found in an Epistle of Constantine, relating to some Christians who eagerly seized on an opportunity of returning from exile to their native country, οἷον ἄρπαγμα τι τὴν ἐπάνοδον ποιησάμενοι, *Euseb. de Vita Constan.* ii. 31, and the words of Eusebius himself, *Hist. Eccles.* viii. 12, respecting those who preferred, rather than surrendering themselves to the heathen, τὸν θάνατον ἄρπαγμα θέμενοι τῆς τῶν δυσσεβῶν μοχθηρίας.

his love; for the plan of redemption presupposes the love of God towards the race that needed redemption, and Paul considers the sending of Christ, and his living and suffering for mankind, as the revelation of the superabounding love and grace of God; Eph. iii. 19; Titus iii. 4; Rom. v. 8; viii. 32. And this counsel of God's love he represents as eternal, so that the notion of an influence on God produced in time falls to the ground, since the whole life and sufferings of Christ were only the completion of the eternal counsel of divine love. Therefore Paul never says, that God being hostile to men, became reconciled to them through Christ, but that men who were the enemies of God became reconciled to him; Rom. v. 10; 2 Cor. v. 16.¹ Thus he calls on men to be reconciled to God; 2 Cor. v. 20. The obstacle exists on the side of men, and owing to this they do not receive the revelation of the love of God into their self-consciousness; and since by the redeeming work of Christ this obstacle is taken away, it is said of him that he has reconciled man to God, and made him an object of divine love.

From what has been said, we may attach merely a subjective meaning to reconciliation; and the ideas presupposed by it of enmity with God and of God's wrath may appear to be only indications of subjective relations, in which man finds himself in a certain state of disposition towards God—indications of the manner in which God presents himself to the conscience of a man estranged from him by sin, or the manner in which the knowledge of God must develop itself in connexion with the consciousness of guilt. Thus by the term *Reconciliation* only such an influence on the disposition of man may be denoted, by which it is delivered from its former state, and placed in another relation towards God. Since Christ by his whole life, by his words and works, and especially by his participation in the sufferings of humanity, and by his sufferings for men, has revealed God's love towards

¹ If we only reflect upon the connexion of the objective and the subjective in the doctrine of Paul respecting the reconciliation of men with God, it will easily appear that this passage is not chargeable with that want of logical connexion and clearness of conception, which one of the most noted expositors of the Pauline Epistles—Rückert—fancied that he found in it: the love of truth has, however, led this estimable man to a more correct view, and in the last edition of his able *Commentary on the Romans*, he has improved his analysis.

those who must have felt themselves estranged from him by sin—and has exhibited his sufferings as a pledge of the forgiving love of God, and his resurrection as a pledge of the eternal life destined for them,—thus he has kindled a reciprocal love and childlike confidence towards God in the souls of those who were unable to free themselves from the state of disquietude which was produced by the consciousness of guilt. The reconciliation of man to God (according to this view) consists in nothing else than the alteration of disposition arising from the revelation of God's love towards fallen humanity, which this revelation produces in their self-consciousness. Still it is supposed that the reconciliation of man to God is not the result of any amendment on the part of the former, but the amendment is the result of the reconciliation, since through the new determination of the self-consciousness by means of love and confidence towards God, an altogether new direction of the life, the source of all real amendment turned towards God and away from sin is produced. According to this view also, it is presupposed that man, who felt himself estranged from God by sin, finds in himself no ground of confidence towards God, and requires an objective ground, a practical revelation to which his own self-consciousness can attach itself, in order to excite and support his confidence. This latter is, without doubt, a leading point of the Pauline system, as it is of the doctrine of the New Testament in general. All the exhortations and encouragements of the apostle proceed continually from a reference to the practical revelation of God's redeeming love. Nor can it be a valid objection, on the other hand, that Paul, in 2 Cor. v. 20, addressing those who were already believers, and calling on them to be reconciled to God, meant that by amendment they entered into a new relation to God, and were brought out of their former state of enmity; for it makes here no difference whether Paul is speaking to those who had already professed Christianity, or to those with whom this was not the case. In every case, according to his conceptions, the believing appropriation of the reconciliation of man with God effected through Christ was accompanied by a new direction of the life, and where this did not ensue, it was a sign that the believing appropriation had not taken place, and the man was still destitute of that reconciliation with God from which amendment pro-

ceeds.¹ In that very passage Paul does not say, Amend yourselves in order that you may be reconciled to God; but rather, Let not the grace of reconciliation appear to be in vain for you, as if you had not appropriated it. By Christ's offering up his life for man estranged from God, man is objectively reconciled to God. God has removed that which made the separation between himself and man. But what has been objectively accomplished for all mankind, must now be appropriated by each individual and thus become subjective. Hence, according to these different points of view, Paul could say "Be ye reconciled (*subjectively*) to God," and "We are reconciled (*objectively*) to God by the death of his Son;" Rom. v. 10.

But those views in conformity to which the life and sufferings of Christ are considered merely as a manifestation of God's love, and the reconciliation effected by him as the subjective influence of this manifestation on the human heart, appear by no means adequate to the meaning of the Pauline declarations already quoted respecting the redemption of Christ. And although the gross anthropopathical notion of God's reconciliation with man, is evidently inconsistent with Paul's train of ideas, it does not follow, that by the expression reconciliation, only a subjective change in the disposition of man is denoted, for we are by no means justified in explaining the correlative ideas of an enmity with God, and a wrath of God merely as subjective, and among the various designations of the divine attributes connected with them, acknowledge a reality merely in the idea of the *love* of God. On the contrary, the common fact of human consciousness, according to which a man addicted to sin feels himself estranged from God, and cannot get rid of the feeling of his guilt and ill-deserts, reveals to us a deeper objective ground in the moral constitution of the universe and in the essence of God. In this universal fact, we have a witness of the revelation of God's holiness in the consciences of mankind, which is as undeniable as the revelation of his love. By the "*wrath of God*," though in an anthropopathical form, something objective and real is signified, which is not fully expressed by the idea of punishment, but includes what is the ground of all punishment, (on which account this phrase "the wrath of God" is sometimes used to

¹ This is distinctly marked by his exhortation *καταλλάγητε*.

express merely punishment,) the ground of the necessary connexion between sin and evil, the absolute contrariety existing between God as the Holy One and sin.¹ God recognises evil as evil, as that which stands in contrariety to his holiness, rebels against him and his holy order, and would exist independent of him. The mode in which God recognises evil, is also a sentence of condemnation upon it, and is a proof of its powerlessness and wretchedness. Evil is denied, if not contemplated as something occupying the place of God.

Thus in the mode by which man is freed by the love of God from that unhappy relation to God, in which he stands owing to the divine holiness, the love of God reveals itself only in connexion with his holiness, or as holy love. This connexion is pointed out by Paul in Rom. iii. 24. In this passage, he contrasts the revelation of God's holiness at that time by the publication of the gospel, and the non-punishment of past sins before the appearance of the gospel. By the *πάρεσις τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων* and the *ἀνοχή τοῦ θεοῦ* he understands the manner in which the conduct of God was manifested in reference to sin before the publication of the gospel, especially towards the heathen world, who knew nothing of the Old Testament revelations of the holiness of God in opposition to sin, and also towards the Jews, who, notwithstanding these testimonies in the delay of the divine judgments for their sins, instead of interpreting the longsuffering of God as a call to repentance, were sunk in carnal security. We may compare with this, Paul's language in Acts xvii. 30, speaking of the times of ignorance that God had overlooked. Though this is to be understood only relatively, in reference to the different standing-points of historical development, for Paul recognised, as we have already shown, in the moral nature of the heathen, a revelation of the divine law, of the divine holiness and punitive justice. But under their peculiar circumstances, there was from a kind of necessity a general obscuration of that religious and moral knowledge by which their thinking and acting was regulated. This induced on the part of God a passing over, a non-imputation of offences; though the reckoning taken of transgressions would never go beyond the measure of the possible knowledge of the law; Rom. v. 13. Thus there may be a chargeableness and a non-

¹ Compare Twisten's *Dogmatik*, ii. p. 146.

chargeableness under different aspects, by which the apparent contradictions in Paul's language may be reconciled.

Paul in Rom. iii. 25, declares that for both the Jews and heathens a revelation of the divine wrath must precede the revelation of the grace that forgives sin. The *πάρεσις* denotes only what was negative and temporary, the non-punishment of past sins on the part of God ; so that the sense of the guilt of sin is not presupposed, and the removal of that sense is not effected.¹ The *ἄφεσις*, on the other hand, denotes *objectively* that act of God by which sin is really forgiven, that is, is considered in relation to God and the moral constitution of the universe as not existing ; and, *subjectively*, that operation in the heart of man by which it is really freed from the consciousness of guilt ; this means far more than the non-punishment of sin during a certain period. In those to whom this act of God relates, the consciousness of guilt and of the divine *ὀργή*, the subjective revelation of the divine punitive justice, is presupposed ; and the operation that takes place in their dispositions necessarily implies forsaking a life of sin, and the renunciation of all fellowship with sin. According to the connexion of ideas in Paul's mind, we are led to take this view of the subject. In contrast with the former apparent overlooking of sin on the part of God, the holiness of God at this time is now manifested by his openly exhibiting Christ, through his offering up of himself, as a reconciler or sin-offering for the sins of mankind, so that he verifies himself as the Holy One, and permits every one to appear before him as holy,² who shows that he is in fellowship with Christ by faith. The holiness of God manifests itself (according to the Pauline connexion of ideas already noticed) in the life and death of Christ in a twofold manner. First, inasmuch as he completely realized (in opposition to sin which had hitherto been predominant in human nature) that holy law to which the life of man was designed to correspond,—made satisfaction to the moral order of the universe, and glorified God in that nature which was originally designed to glorify him. God has verified

¹ In scholastic language, *πάρεσις* may be referred to the *voluntas signi*, and *ἄφεσις* to the *voluntas beneplaciti*.

² That we ought not to translate *δίκαιος* *righteous*, but *holy*, appears from that meaning of this word which lies at the basis of *δικαιοῦν*, to declare a person *δίκαιος*

himself as the Holy One, since he forgives sin only on the condition of the perfect fulfilment of the law; he has shown that he remits nothing from the requirements of perfect holiness, and we always bear in mind that this remission to those who through it obtain justification, is not a mere outward act, but becomes in all the cause and pledge of the fulfilment of the law. Secondly, inasmuch as Christ, as perfectly holy, underwent those sufferings which the divine holiness, considered as punitive justice¹ in its opposition against sin, had suspended over human nature. We are not to conceive of this, as if God arbitrarily imposed these sufferings, or Christ had arbitrarily subjected himself to them; but that it was grounded on the assumption of human nature in its present condition and relation to God—as the divine punitive justice revealed itself to them who were suffering the consequences of sin—and thus it was accomplished through the historical development of the life of Christ devoted to conflict with the sin that reigned in the human race, and through his condescending to their condition from the sympathy of love.²

¹ That divine attribute which reveals itself in the necessary connexion of sin and evil, is founded in the reaction of the holiness of God against sin (= the wrath of God), exhibits itself in the reaction of the moral order of the universe against evil, whence punishment proceeds. If punishment is conceived of merely as a means of amendment, and this is supposed to comprehend all that is intended by it, this is a degradation of a rational being and of morality making it mechanical. But if punishment is viewed at first as a revelation of the divine justice, as an objective reaction of the moral order of the universe against evil, another mode of viewing it also presents itself, according to which the punishment necessary in itself is appointed by the love of God, in order, since punishment and sin stand in this internal connexion with one another, to lead thereby to a consciousness of sin and guilt, to make rational creatures sensible of the relation they stand in to the moral world, and thus to call forth the feeling of the need of redemption. The self-will which rebels in sin against the moral order of the universe and God's holy law, must be humbled by suffering before the holy omnipotence of God and the majesty of his law. Where submission is not yielded freely, it will be compelled. Without the idea of punishment, the reality of evil and the dignity of rational creatures cannot be acknowledged. It belongs to the privilege of rational beings created in the likeness of God, and distinguishes them from other *natural* objects, that the idea of punishment finds its application in them. See the excellent remarks of Twesten, in his *Dogmatik*, i. p. 148.

² The Pauline view of the work of redemption finds a point of connexion in Christ's words in Matt. xx. 28, whether we consider *λύτρον* as a sum paid for release from captivity or slavery, or for redemption from

With the idea of reconciliation, the ideas of ἀπολύτρωσις, σωτηρία, δικαίωσις are closely connected. The two first terms are used in a wider and a narrower sense; they denote the deliverance from the guilt and punishment of sin, the σωτηρία ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς, Rom. v. 9, first objectively as what has been gained by Christ for the human race; and also subjectively, what is effectuated by progressive development in each individual by personal appropriation, from his first entrance into fellowship with the Redeemer, to the complete participation of his glory and blessedness in the perfected kingdom of God; but more especially what belongs to the perfect realization of the idea, the complete freedom from sin and all its consequences, from all evil,—natural and moral.¹

With respect to the idea of δικαίωσις, in order to determine it, we must refer to what we have already remarked on the Pauline opposition to the common Jewish notion of righteousness. He sets out from the same point as his adversaries, as far as he considers the participation in all the privileges and blessings of the kingdom of God indissolubly connected with the δικαιοσύνη, the genuine theocratic disposition and condition of life. The correlative idea of righteousness in this sense was blessedness, the participation of the blessings promised through Abraham to all his posterity, the fulfilment of all the promises relating to the kingdom of God, all the privileges of the children of God; and an entrance into all the relations in which they stand to God. But Paul main-

deserved punishment; also in the institution of the Holy Supper, (in which he evidently alluded to the connexion between the Passover and the establishment of the Old Covenant,) which by the offering of himself to obtain and confirm the forgiveness of sins to mankind, marked the establishment of the New Covenant. The Pauline views are also supported by the manner in which Christ adopts the ideas of the wrath of God and of punitive justice from the Old Testament, without casting a doubt on their validity. The parable of the Lost Son, and other expressions which relate to forgiving love, offer no contradiction, but mark precisely the side on which God reveals himself in the work of redemption, and what, humanly speaking, could be the only motive to such an act of God towards a race estranged from him by sin; they do not, however, determine the manner in which the result designed by divine love is to be attained; the form and order followed by the compassionate love of God, for the love of God acts only as a holy and righteous love.

¹ ἀπολύτρωσις is found in the latter sense in Rom. viii. 23, Eph. i. 14 and σωτηρία in the latter sense in Rom. xiii. 11; 1 Pet. i. 5.

tained against the Jews and Judaizers, that by the law and the working of the law, no one could attain this δικαιοσύνη, present himself a δίκαιος before God, and enter into the relation with God founded upon it; but that every man appears as a sinner in God's sight, till entering by faith into fellowship with Christ (the only perfect δίκαιος by whom mankind are delivered, in the way that we have described from the state of ἀμαρτία), he presents himself in union with Christ (ἐν Χριστῷ) as a δίκαιος before God, and enters into the entire relation with God, implied in this predicate, is viewed by God as δίκαιος, and established in all the privileges connected with this idea (δικαιοῦται). Consequently Paul includes in the idea of δικαίωσις that act of God, by which he places the believer in Christ in the relation to himself of a δίκαιος, notwithstanding the sin that still cleaves to him. Δικαιοσύνη denotes, then, the subjective appropriation of this relation, the appearing righteous before God, by virtue of faith in the Redeemer, and the whole new tendency and aim of the life, as well as the whole new relation to God, now received into the consciousness, which is necessarily connected with it; the righteousness or perfect holiness of Christ appropriated by faith, as the *objective* ground of confidence for the believer, and also as a new *subjective* principle of life. Thus the righteousness of faith in the Pauline sense includes the essence of a new disposition; and hence the idea of δικαιοσύνη may easily pass into the idea of sanctification, though the two ideas are originally distinct. Accordingly, it is not any arbitrary act on the part of God, as if he regarded and treated as sinless a man persisting in sin, simply because he believes in Christ; but the *Objective* on the part of God corresponds to the *Subjective* on the part of man, namely faith, and this necessarily includes in itself a release from the state inherited from Adam, from the whole life of sin and the entrance into spiritual fellowship with the Redeemer, the appropriation of his divine life. The realization of the archetype of holiness through Christ contains the pledge that this shall be realized in all those who are one with him by faith, and are become the organs of his Spirit; its germ and principle is already imparted to them in believing, although the fruit of a life perfectly conformed to the Redeemer, can only be developed gradually in its temporal

manifestation. The connexion of these ideas will be rendered clearer by developing the Pauline idea of faith.

What Paul distinguished by the name of Faith has its root in the depths of the human disposition. It presupposes a revelation of God in a direct relation to man, and faith is the reception and vital appropriation of this divine revelation by virtue of a receptivity for the divine in the human disposition, of the tendency grounded in human nature and the need implanted in it for believing in the supernatural and divine, without which tendency and need, man, however his other faculties might be cultivated, would be no more than *an intelligent animal*.¹ Something must be presented as an object of knowledge adapted to this part of the human constitution, but this object must be of a kind that can be correctly recognised and understood only by the disposition; it presupposes a certain tendency of the disposition, in order to be known and understood, while it also tends to produce a decided and enduring tendency of the disposition. An inward self-determination of the spirit grounded in the direction of the will is claimed by this object, while a new and constant self-determination is produced by it. It is not in reference to the object of faith, but to the inward subjective significance of this act of the inner man, as that which forms the characteristic of true piety in all ages, that Paul compares the faith of Abraham with the faith of Christians, Rom. iv. 19, where he exhibits Abraham as a pattern of the righteousness of faith. When Abraham received a promise from God, of which the fulfilment seemed to be incompatible with the natural order of things, he raised himself by an act of faith above this impediment, and the word of the Almighty which held forth something invisible, had greater influence upon him than that order of nature which presented itself to his understanding and bodily senses. Hence this faith, as a practical acknowledgment of God in his almighty creative activity, and as a reference of his whole life to the sense of his dependence on God, a true honouring of God :² and it was this faith which gave its peculiar significance and character to the life of

¹ A state to which the intellectual fanaticism of a party in the present age, zealous for the pretended autonomy of reason, seeks to degrade man.

² ἡ δίδουσι δόξαν τῷ θεῷ. Rom. iv. 20.

Abraham. This faith, says Paul, was counted to him by God for *δικαιοσύνη*; that is, although Abraham was not sinless, (as no man is,) yet through this tendency of his inward life by virtue of his faith, he entered into the relation to God of a *δικαίος*; and this was no arbitrary nominal act on the part of God, but his faith was viewed by God, to whom the inward soul of man is manifest, as an index of the disposition by which Abraham became susceptible of all divine communications, and from which alone the sanctification of his whole life could proceed.¹ Now this is applied by Paul to faith with a special reference to Christianity. There is only added a peculiar direction caused by the object on which this faith is fixed, by which also the conception of it as subjective is modified. Faith in this sense presupposes the consciousness of sin, the renunciation of any merits of our own before God, the longing after freedom from the dominion of sin, and our not yielding to despair even under the most vivid sense of sinfulness,² but confiding in the grace of redemption; thus there is an entrance into communion with the Redeemer, and a new principle of life is received which continually penetrates and transforms the old nature.

As far as faith includes entering into vital fellowship with the Redeemer, and forsaking the old life of sin, it bears a special reference to the two chief points in which Christ presents himself as Redeemer, as the one who died for the salvation of men, and who also by his resurrection gave them the pledge of an eternal divine life: hence the two-fold reference of faith to Jesus the Crucified and the Risen, the negative and positive side of faith in relation to the old life which it renounces and to the new life which it lays hold of; it is the spiritual act by virtue of which, in surrendering ourselves to him who died for us, we die to a life of sin, to the world, to ourselves, to all which we were before,—whether we are Jews or Gentiles—and rise again in his fellowship, in the power of his Spirit to a new life devoted to him and animated by him. Hence it appeared to the apostle, as he develops

¹ The *διό* in Romans iv. 22, points to this connexion. Wherefore, as faith includes all this, as the apostle had before explained, it was imputed to Abraham as *δικαιοσύνη*, as if the *δικαιοσύνη* had already been completed by it.

² In this respect, *πιστεύειν παρ' ἐλπίδα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι*.

the sentiment in the sixth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, an absolute contradiction for any one to say that he believed in the Redeemer and yet to continue in his old life of sin. How shall we—he asks—we who (by the act of faith) are dead to sin, live any longer therein? And he demonstrates from the nature of faith in its reference to the death and resurrection of Christ, that faith cannot exist without a renunciation of the former sinful life and the beginning of a new divine life.

From the nature of πίστις as the governing principle of the Christian life, arises the peculiarity of the Christian standing-point, in relation to the Jewish as the legal standing-point; and the various indications of this contrariety serve more distinctly to characterise the nature of πίστις as the fundamental principle of the Christian life, on which account we wish to consider the subject more in detail.

The law always presents itself as imperative, and makes the salvation of men dependent on the perfect fulfilment of all its commands. "Do all this, and thou shalt live." But since no one can fulfil those conditions, the law can only produce despair. But the gospel addresses the man who despairs of himself, "Do not give thyself up to the feeling of despair.¹" Ask not how thou canst make the impossible, possible. Thou needest only receive the salvation prepared for thee; only believe, and thou hast with thy faith all that is needful for thy inward life. Paul admirably illustrates this by applying to it the passage in Deut. xxx. 12.² Say not to thyself, 'Who

¹ That interpretation of this passage, which supposes it to express the opposition between Belief and Doubt, appears to me not to be supported by the connexion, which leads us to expect a contrast of the righteousness by faith with the righteousness by works, the θεοῦ δικαιοσύνη with the ἰδία; and the τοῦτ' ἔστι, which, from comparing Rom. ix. 8, and other similar Pauline expressions, must be thus understood—"this is equivalent to saying;" and besides the relation of the Pauline words to the Old Testament quotation, since, according to the interpretation we have adopted, the Pauline application admirably suits, in spirit and idea, the meaning of the Mosaic words, which is not the case with the other interpretation.

² This passage certainly refers to the Mosaic religious institutions, and the words are fitted to distinguish them in their simple religious and moral character from the other religions of the East. But as far as the law, understood according to its own spirit, made certain requirements which it gave no power to fulfil, Paul might justly apply these words to mark the peculiar Christian standing-point; he found an idea

shall ascend to heaven and prepare a path for me thither? For Christ has descended from heaven and has prepared such a path. To ask such a question, is to desire that Christ would descend again from heaven for thy sake. But say not, Who shall descend for me to the regions of the dead and deliver me thence? Christ has risen from the dead and has delivered thee from the power of death. To ask this, is to desire that Christ might now rise from the dead for thy sake, as if he were not already risen. Instead of asking such questions, only let the gospel be cherished with vital power in thy heart;—believe in Him who descended from heaven and rose from death, and thus obtained salvation for thee. Whoever has this faith is truly pious and may be assured of salvation.”¹

Viewed in the light of legal Judaism, the commandments appeared as merely an outward counteraction of the internal corruption of man, which refused to be cured from without; it was only rendered more apparent by the law; hence the letter only tended to death; it called forth the consciousness of spiritual death and of merited unhappiness, 2 Cor. iii. 6.

The law in reference to its operation on the conscience could be described only as νόμος γραμματος, κατακρίσεως, θανάτου, αμαρτίας.² But when from faith in the Redeemer, a new divine principle of life proceeds, when from faith in the redeeming fatherly love of God, a child-like love develops itself as the free impulse of a life devoted to God, when, instead of the former opposition between the human and divine will, a union is formed between them—then the law no longer appears as a written code, outwardly opposing a will estranged

here expressed which is only realized by Christianity, and is thus prophetic of what Christianity alone accomplishes.

¹ Rom. x. 5. If Paul, in the second member of the contrast, has not opposed Christ to Moses, and employed Christ's own words—and such, no doubt, might have been found among the traditionary expressions of Christ which would have been fit to mark this contrast—it does not follow that he was unacquainted with any collection of the discourses of Christ, or that he could not suppose any such work to be known by the Christians at Rome, for his object was answered by borrowing from the Mosaic writings a motto for the righteousness of faith, which would first find its proper fulfilment in the gospel.

² It was perfectly consonant with the Pauline views to distinguish the law by these predicates, though it may be doubted whether, in Romans viii. 2, the Mosaic law is intended by the word νόμος.

from God, but the spirit of the law is transfused into the internal life of the believer. The life-giving spirit, harmonizing with the law, occupies the place of the dead and death-producing letter. In the love developed from faith there is a voluntary fulfilment of the law proceeding from the disposition, instead of actions the result of outward compulsion. In a different sense from that in which Paul, from the standing-point of the natural man, says that he had the law written *on* his heart, he says, from the standing-point of believers, that he carried the law of God *in* his heart—for on the former standing-point, the law, even though internal, presents itself as the command of a foreign higher voice, of a holy power which man is forced to acknowledge in opposition to his corrupted will; hence, it remains a deadly letter, whether we consider it as an external law or an internal revelation. On the contrary, in believers the divine law, by virtue of the new spirit of life imparted by Christ, the Holy Spirit, appears not merely an object of knowledge and recognition, but of an efficacious love practically influencing the life. In this sense, Paul says to believers, “Ye need not that I write unto you, for ye yourselves are taught of God,” ¹ 1 Thess. iv. 9; and this teaching does not signify something addressed to the faculty of acquiring knowledge, but a real internal effect on the springs of action. From what has been said, we may learn in what sense Paul said of the law in reference to its *moral* not less than to its *ritual* contents, that it was abrogated for believers, that they were dead to it, and placed beyond its jurisdiction;¹ and as we have before remarked, no such distinction in reference to its perpetuity can be made in the *νόμος*. The law is abrogated for the believer, and he is dead to it, as far as it was a compulsory, imperative, accusing code, as far as *δικαιοσύνη* and *ζωή* were to be sought for by the fulfilment of its commands. Justification and salvation by faith

¹ The being dead to the law, Rom. vii. 4, and Gal. ii. 19, the removal of the law in its whole extent, Colos. ii. 14, “for the handwriting of ordinances,” which Christ nailed to his cross is manifestly the law, and there must be a special reference to its moral precepts, for in this consisted the difficulty of fulfilling it. It would be altogether consonant with the Pauline views, to understand the figurative expression in Rom. vii. 2, of being dead to the law itself, (namely, this law in its outward theocratic form,) though other exegetical reasons might oppose this interpretation in the former passages.

in the grace of redemption,¹ are independent of every law to the believer. The law can produce only outward works² by its compulsory enactments, but not those internal determinations of the life, which form the essence of true piety—these proceed in the believer from the new animation by the Divine Spirit—the Christian virtues are the fruits of the Spirit, and those in whom these qualities, unattainable from the standing-point of the law, are formed, are thereby exalted above what can only be as a dead letter opposing the indwelling principle of corruption. But it by no means contradicts this relation of the law to the life of the believer, that Paul sometimes brings forward moral precepts as quotations from the νόμος, for he considers the Mosaic νόμος as an expression of the eternal law of God in a particular, temporary form, adapted to a particular, outward theocracy, in which the civil arrangements were subordinated to the religious, and hence both were intermixed. The substance of the eternal law of God lay at the basis of the νόμος, though for a special purpose it was presented in the form of a theocratic national law, which checked its free and complete development. The obligatory force of the commands borrowed from the νόμος by Paul, therefore, does not consist in their belonging to that νόμος, but that they formed a part of the eternal law, from which they were transferred to the peculiar form presented in the Old Testament; that portion of the eternal law to which the moral consciousness of men bears witness, is divested of its national garb³ by the spirit of the gospel, and developed with greater clearness by the illumination of the Holy Spirit. And when in Rom. xiii. 8, he appeals to the one command of love belonging to the law, he marks exactly the difference of the Christian standing-point from the legal; for if the spirit of love animates believers, and with love is given the fulfilment of the whole law, it follows that the law is no longer for them a compulsory, death-

¹ The δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ, opposed to the δικαιοσύνη ἀνθρωπίνῃ, ἰδίᾳ, ἐξ ἔργων, ἐξ ἔργων νόμου—χωρὶς νόμου; Rom. iii. 21.

² The ἔργα νόμου, which are not ἔργα ἀγαθά.

³ To this release of the spirit confined in this garb, to the inward as contrasted with the outward theocratic law, we must refer the antithetical expressions in the Sermon on the Mount, which certainly are described not merely against the Pharisaic expositions, but also against the letter of the law in its theocratic national form. See *Leben Jesu*, 130, 138.

producing letter ; and here is exemplified the truth of Christ's assertion that he came not to destroy but to fulfil the law.

Though the idea of the νόμος in that narrower sense, forms the distinctive mark between Judaism and the gospel, still there is no inconsistency in applying the term¹ in a wider sense, to denote the common relation in which both religions stand to the life of man. Both religions aim at a control over the life, and give a peculiar character to it. Legal Judaism aims at producing this by literal commands from without ; Christianity aims at forming it from within through faith, and the Spirit that proceeds from it. In the former case, the law is outward ; in the latter, it is inward, one which is the germ of a new life ; for every living being develops itself according to a peculiar law.² In reference to these various uses of the term νόμος, Paul endeavours to guard against the misconception that because Christians no longer live under the law, they are in a lawless state ; 1 Cor. ix. 21. They have still a law, the law of God, the law of Christ, not merely outward, but inward, entering into the very essence of the Christian life ; and this distinction is marked by the phrases living *under* the law, and *in* the law. Hence also Christianity contrasted with Judaism is called a law, and we find various modifications of the term so applied, such as νόμος πίστεως, νόμος ζωής, νόμος πνεύματος.

The different relations of the two theocratic standing-points, are clearly connected with the different applications of the idea of law ; the outward conception of the idea of the kingdom of God with the outward conception of the idea of law, and with the inward conception of that, the idea of the theocracy, as not outwardly constituted, but developing itself from within ; and thus throughout we meet with the contrast of the inward and the outward. On the legal Jewish standing-point, there was an outward submission to

¹ I cannot agree with those expositors who think that, when Paul describes Christianity as a νόμος, the general idea of law must be altogether given up.

² By Christianity or Regeneration, goodness again becomes a part of human nature, and thus the moral law becomes a higher law of nature harmonizing with the freedom of the will. We may here apply what Schleiermacher says in his academical essay, 1825, on the difference between the law of nature and the moral law, without adopting the views of the author respecting the relation of the law to the deviations from it, and especially the relation of the law to moral freedom.

the will of God, the outward observance of the divine commands, without the opposition between the human and divine commands being taken away; the δουλεύειν θεῷ ἐν παλαιότητι γράμματος, in the old state of a nature estranged from God, of which nothing can be altered by the literal, outward command. On the standing-point of faith, the δουλεία is inward, so that in the new state, by virtue of the inward renovation which proceeds from the influence of the Divine Spirit, the sanctified will determines itself in dependence on God, it is a servant of God (the δουλεύειν ἐν καινότητι πνεύματος). Hence δουλεία in the latter sense, is voluntary and one with true freedom; 1 Cor. vii. 22. Δουλεία in the first sense, forms a contrast to the freedom of the children of God; on the contrary, δουλεία in the second sense, cannot exist without νιοθεσία, and is at once a consequence and a mark of it, for what distinguishes the children from the servants of the family, is this, that they do not obey their father's will, as foreign to themselves, but make it their own; dependence on him is, as it were, the natural element of their life. That merely outward servitude of which the internal opposite to this consists, proceeds from the spirit of fear, the special characteristic of servitude; this inward service proceeds from the consciousness of communion with God obtained through Christ the Son of God, and of participation of his Spirit, the spirit of childlike relation to God, the spirit of adoption and of love; Rom. viii. 15; Gal. iv. 6.

So likewise the worship of God on the legal standing-point,¹ was an outward worship (σαρκική, κατὰ σάρκα, by means of ἔργα σαρκικά) consisting in a number of outward acts,² con-

¹ This is true of the legal moral, as well as of the legal ritual cultus.

² Connected with the δεδουλῶσθαι ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου. We wish to offer a few remarks in vindication and confirmation of the interpretation of this expression given above, and against the common one of στοιχεῖα, as "the first principles of religious knowledge among men." If the word στοιχεῖα meant first principles, we should naturally expect to find in the genitive connected with it, the designation of the object to which these first principles relate, as in Hebrews v. 12, τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν λογίων τοῦ θεοῦ. But in the Pauline passage, such a genitive of the object is altogether wanting, and we find instead only a genitive of the subject. The omission of the express mention of the leading idea can hardly be admitted. Paul, in Gal. iv. 8, plainly addressing those who had formerly been heathens, supposes that, before their conversion, they had been in bondage to these elements of the world, if we do not have recourse to an arbitrary interpretation of τὰ στοιχεῖα.

fined to certain times and places. Worship on the standing-point of faith, on the contrary, is *πνευματική*. since it proceeds from the inworking of the *θεῖον πνεῦμα*, and is an act of the spiritual nature of man, Philip. iii. 3; hence it does not relate to certain isolated acts, but embraces the whole life; Rom. xii. 1. On the former standing-point, men placed their confidence and pride in something human and earthly, whatever it might be, whether descent from the theocratic nation, or the righteousness of the law, or ascetic self-denial and mortification of the flesh, the *κατα σάρκα καυχᾶσθαι. ἐν σαρκὶ πεποιθέναι*.¹ But on the standing-point of *πίστις*, after acknowledging the nullity of all such distinctions, of all human works of righteousness, men place their confidence and glory only in the redemption obtained through Christ; they feel that they possess only what they all receive as believers on equal terms from him, and in communion with him; the *ἐν κυρίῳ καυχᾶσθαι*. Here all imaginary distinc-

According to the common interpretation, we must suppose that Paul, by the first elements of religious knowledge, intended to mark a universal idea, in a certain degree applicable both to Heathenism and Judaism. But how could this agree with the views of Paul, who recognised Judaism, as subordinate and preparative it is true, but yet a standing-point in religion founded on divine revelation, and who, on the other hand, saw in heathenism as such, that is, in idolatry, of which he here speaks, not a subordinate standing-point of religion, but something entirely foreign to the nature of religion, a suppression through sin of the original knowledge of God? Neither does the predicate *ἀσθενή* appear suitable to the idea of the first principles of religion. On the contrary, according to the interpretation I have proposed, all is consistent. The confinement of religion to sensible forms, and therefore its enthrallment in the elements of the world, is common to Judaism and Heathenism. All idolatry may be considered as a bondage and submission to the elements of sense, and a kind of idolatry may be attributed to the Jews and Judaizers, who sought for the Divine for justification and sanctification in external rites. This will make it evident how Paul could say to the Galatian Christians, once heathens, who were infected with this Judaism (Gal. iv. 8), "How can ye, who by the divine mercy have been led to the knowledge of God and communion with him, turn back again to the weak and beggarly elements (a suitable description of them, in reference to persons who sought to find in them what the power of God alone could bestow), to which ye desire to bring yourselves again in bondage? I fear that I have indeed laboured in vain to turn you from idolatry to the worship of the living God."

¹ According to Paul's views, this will apply to the overvaluation of what is human in every form and relation; as, for instance, the Grecian culture and philosophy; see the First Epistle to the Corinthians

tions, all differences vanish, which before separated men from one another and checked their fellowship in the highest relation of life; everything human is henceforth subordinated to the one spirit of Christ, the common principle of life; Gal. iii. 28. The only universal and constantly available principle of Christian worship which embraces the whole life, is faith in Christ working by love; Gal. v. 6.

The principle of the whole transformation of the life which proceeds from the Spirit of Christ is implanted at once in believing, by one act of the mind. Man by means of faith is dead to the former standing-point of a sinful life, and rises to a new life of communion with Christ. The old man is slain once for all; Rom. vi. 4—6; Coloss. iii. 3. Paul assumes that in Christians, the act by virtue of which they are dead to sin, and have crucified the flesh with its affections and lust, is already accomplished ideally in principle. Hence he infers, how can they who are dead to sin, live any longer therein? Rom. vi. 2; Gal. v. 24. But the practice must correspond to the principle; the outward conformation of the life must harmonize with the tendency given to the inward life. Walking in the Spirit must necessarily proceed from living in the Spirit, Gal. v. 25; the former must be a manifestation of the latter. Hence Christians are always required to renew the mortification of the flesh, to walk after the Spirit, to let themselves be animated by the Spirit. The transformation of the old nature in man which proceeds from the divine principle of life received by faith, is not completed in an instant, but can only be attained gradually by conflict with sin; for the renewed as well as the old nature consists of two principles, the πνεῦμα and the σὰρξ, only with this difference, that no longer (as Paul represents the state of the natural man in Rom. vii.) the human self with its powerless desires after goodness opposes the principle of sinfulness, the σὰρξ, but instead of the human self, there is the divine principle of life which has become the animating one of human nature, the πνεῦμα θεῶν, ἁγίων, the Spirit of Christ, Christ himself by his Spirit; Gal. ii. 20. Hence it is not said from *this* standing-point that the Spirit wishes to do good but is hindered by the σὰρξ from accomplishing its wishes, so that the σὰρξ is the vital principle of action; but it is enjoined on those who have received the divine principle

of life, Gal. v. 16, "Walk in the Spirit,¹ so shall ye not fulfil the desires of the flesh : for the Spirit and the flesh conflict with one another, so that you must distinguish what proceeds from the Spirit and what from the flesh, and you must not fulfil what you desire according to the carnal self, but what the Spirit within you desires."² This marks the contrast to the standing-point described in Rom. vii. 15.

¹ I cannot agree with Rückert, in referring the πνεῦμα here spoken of, not to the Spirit of God, but to the higher nature of man. Certainly the word πνεῦμα in this whole chapter is to be understood only in one sense, and taking everything into account, the idea of the Holy Spirit is the only one which suits Paul's meaning ; as, for example, in v. 18. And generally in this epistle, the same idea of the Spirit is to be firmly held. Verse 17 contains no proof to the contrary ; for Paul here assumes, that the πνεῦμα has pervaded the characteristic faculties of man, that the new principle of life has taken possession of human nature, and given it a new and peculiar vitality. He wishes to mark the new higher principle that is now the antagonist of the σὰρξ in man. Men may with the strictest propriety be called upon to surrender themselves to this higher principle, to allow themselves to be led by it, according to its impulses, for Paul considered the operation of the Divine Spirit in man, not as something magical, but constantly assumes the working together of the divine and the human. It is perfectly true that, according to Paul's doctrine, the higher nature in man, the capability of knowing God, which before was confined and depressed, is set at liberty by the Holy Spirit, and now serves as the organ for the operations of the Divine Spirit in human nature, and hence, that as this higher nature of man can now operate in its freedom as the organ of the Divine Spirit, so the latter can now operate in man by means of this organ, and hence the two are blended together in the Christian life. But when Paul wishes to infuse courage and confidence for the spiritual conflict, he directs the attention, not to what is subjectively human, but to the almighty power of God.

² This passage, in my opinion, cannot be understood otherwise than in this manner, though later expositors have given a different interpretation. It has been supposed to mean, "So that ye cannot accomplish what you desire according to the spirit ; ye are unable to follow the dictates of the better will ;"—and referring these words to the state of the regenerate, this would form a special ground of exhortation for following the leadings of the Spirit, and withstanding the σὰρξ, if Paul said to them that they were prevented from following the motions which proceeded from the Spirit by the prevalence of the σὰρξ. But if it is understood of the condition of the natural man, and v. 18 is considered as a contrast, we do not see how Paul, who had before addressed those whom he assumed to be Christians, could make such a sudden transition to a different class of persons. The correspondence of the last words of v. 17, with the last words of the foregoing sense, confirms the opinion, that the θέλητε relates to the ἐπιθυμίαν σαρκός.

Accordingly, the divine life in the inner man must be in continual conflict with the operations of the *σὰρξ*, and progressively converts the body hitherto under the control of sinful habits, into an organ for itself (Rom. vi. 11—13), so that the *μέλη τοῦ σώματος* become *ὄπλα δικαιοσύνης*; all the powers and faculties which hitherto have been in the service of sin, being appropriated and sanctified by the divine life, are employed as organs of grace for the service of the kingdom of God; and here the doctrine of charisms finds its point of connexion; (*ante*, pp. 131—140). All the peculiar capabilities or talents founded in the nature of each individual, are to be transformed into charisms and employed as such. And it is the province of Christian morals to show in what manner human nature must be pervaded in all its powers by the higher principle of life, and appropriated as an organ of its manifestation; how all human relations are set at liberty and referred to the kingdom of God; and how what is individual belonging to the representation of the image of God in man is not suppressed and annihilated, but is to be transformed and elevated to a peculiar form and manifestation of the higher principle of life. We here see the difference between Christian principle as Paul represents it, and a one-sided ascetic direction in morals. Paul brings forward as one side in the process of the development of the Christian life, the negative operation; to mortify the principle of sin which has hitherto reigned in the body, Rom. v. 3, to mortify the members as far as they serve sin, Coloss. iii. 5;¹ but this is only one side. The other is the positive operation, the positive appropriation, that as believers are now dead with Christ to sin, the world, and themselves, so now they lead a new divine life, increasingly devoted to him; the Spirit of Christ that dwells in them constantly animates their bodies afresh as his organ, Rom. viii. 11, so that the *μέλη* consecrated to God, are employed in his service according to the station God has indicated to each individual, as *ὄπλα δικαιοσύνης*. As the *πνεῦμα ἅγιον* is the common vital principle of all believers, the animating Spirit of the Church of God, so the diversity of the form in which he operates in and through each individual, varied by their sanctified

¹ The *μέλη ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*, which belong to a carnal earthly course of life are directly opposed to the heavenly mind in v. 2.

peculiarities and characteristics, is designated by the term *χάρισμα*.

But since this appropriation and pervasion of the old nature is a continual conflict, and the further a man advances in holiness the more capable he is rendered by the illumination of the Holy Spirit of distinguishing what proceeds from the Spirit and what from the flesh, and of discerning all the disturbing influences of the latter; hence the distinction between the objective justification and subjective sanctification is always necessary, in order that the confidence of man may not be wavering as it must be, if he looks only to himself, Philip. iii. 12, but may maintain its firm unchangeable ground, by being fixed on the objective, the grace of redemption, the love of Christ, from which no power of hell can separate the redeemed; Rom. viii. 31, 32. In the Pauline idea of the justification and righteousness available before God, which is granted to man by the redeeming grace of God, and appropriated by faith, the objective is always primary and predominant. At the same time something subjective is imparted with it, something new is deposited in the inner life which must be progressively developed; the righteousness of Christ appropriated by faith, is transferred to the inner life of the believer, and becomes a new principle, forming the life according to the example of Christ.¹ And when this process of development shall be completed, believers will attain the possession of an eternal, divine, and blessed life, inseparable from perfect righteousness; then the objective idea of justification will be wholly transferred to the subjective, Rom. v. 19—21; but till this is accomplished, in order to lay a firm foundation for the confidence of the soul, it is always necessary, while conceiving both ideas according to their essential and ultimate connexion, still to keep in mind their distinction from one another.

Since the whole Christian disposition is produced from faith, and thereby the whole life is determined and formed, the term *πίστις* has been employed to designate the whole of the Christian disposition and of Christian ability.² Thus the predicate

¹ The scholastic expression, "Justitia Christi per fidem habet esse in animo," perfectly corresponds to Paul's meaning.

² Hence the measure of faith as the measure of Christian ability, and the measure of grace bestowed on each individual, are correlative ideas

δυνατός τῇ πίστει designates the standing-point, where faith in the Redeemer, confidence in the justification obtained through him, has become to such a degree the animating principle of the convictions, and has so pervaded the whole tone of thinking, that a man is enabled to judge and act in all the relations of life according to it; that he cannot be drawn aside, as he otherwise would be, by any foreign element of other views which formerly influenced him; since otherwise it might happen that his earlier religious standing-point would exercise a kind of power over his conscience, from which he could not altogether free himself, even when raised to the Christian standing-point; as in the case of one who had become a believer from the Jewish standing-point; such a person would only by degrees free himself from its influences on his judgment of all the relations of life; as the new Christian principle proceeding from faith in the Redeemer gradually impregnated his whole mode of thinking. This power of faith over the judgment is shown for example in this, that a man certain of his salvation in fellowship with the Redeemer, will no longer allow himself to be agitated by scruples in the use of outward things, which he before indulged on the Jewish standing-point, as if this or that thing could defile him. So we are to understand what Paul says, Rom. xiv. 2, ὃς μὲν πιστεύει φαγεῖν πάντα, i. e. δυνατός ἐστὶ τῇ πίστει ὥστε φαγεῖν πάντα; he can no longer be misled by a mixture of scruples arising from his earlier legal standing-point. The ἀσθενείν τῇ πίστει forms the opposite to this strength of faith, in which, along with faith, another element arising from the former standing-point controlled the convictions, and hence the internal strife between the principle founded in Christian conviction or πίστις, and the doubts that rebelled against it; Rom. xiv. 1. Though Paul took occasion from existing relations to develop his views on this subject with a special reference to the Jewish legal standing-point, yet they would apply to the relation subsisting between any other standing-point and the Christian, or that of the righteousness by faith. The power of faith governing the life gives an independence and

Rom. xii. 3. Christians are only to aim at rightly applying the measure of ability they have received; to do everything according to its proportion; Rom. xii. 6. They are not to indulge conceit, or to pass beyond the limits of their own standing-point.

stability to the Christian character, imparts strength and freedom to the mind. This it is that forms the basis of Christian freedom, which consists in this, that the Christian since he has devoted his whole life to Christ as his Redeemer, and through him to God, since he is animated only by the consciousness of this dependence and acknowledges no other,—for this reason, feels independent of all created beings, of all earthly things; hence, he acts in the consciousness of this independence, is master of all things by the animating Spirit of Christ, and is in bondage to no man, to no circumstances; nothing can so operate upon him as to determine him to a different course from that dictated by the Spirit of Christ, for this is the great determining principle of his life; 1 Cor. vii. 21; 1 Cor. vi. 12;¹ 1 Cor. iii. 22. While the Christian as an organ of the Spirit of Christ who has won the government of the world, to whom at last all things must be subject, is free from the world and everything belonging to it, from all power of created beings, he likewise in spirit rules over all things. Freedom and mastery over the world here meet. This freedom and this mastery over the world proceeding from faith (like everything Christian), and founded in the depths of the soul, can hence manifest themselves under all outward restrictions, and evince their power by the fact, that these outward restrictions for the spirit which is exalted above them and feels itself independent of everything, cease to be restrictive, and are included in his free self-determination and mastery over the world. Paul proves his Christian freedom precisely in this manner, that for the good of others, and in order to make everything subservient to the Spirit of Christ, he so acted in all things as would best contribute to the advancement of the kingdom of Christ, and thus freely submitted to all the forms of dependence. Free from all, he made himself the servant of all; having the mastery over all, he submitted to all the forms of dependence ordained by God, and in doing so, exercised his mastery over the world; 1 Cor. ix. 1—19.

¹ οὐκ ἐγὼ ἐξουσιασθήσομαι ὑπὸ τινος, I will not suffer myself to be mastered by any outward things, but in the spirit of Christian love I will use all things freely. Instead of availing myself of my Christian freedom, I should make myself really a slave, in eating the flesh of sacrifices, if I believed that I must do this in every case without a reference to particular circumstances.

It is evident that nothing can be excepted from this reference of the whole life to the kingdom of God, for the Christian disposition proceeding from faith, and referring everything to God's glory, is the great arbitrator in all the events of life. Accordingly, there can be no empty space for things indifferent of which Christian principle takes no cognisance, nothing belonging to human nature which does not receive a moral impress from Christian principle, agreeably to Paul's exhortation, "Whether ye eat, or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God," 1 Cor. x. 31. It may appear to contradict this principle, by which the whole of life becomes one great duty, and no room is left for an *ἀδιάφορον*, that Paul, in 1 Cor. vi. 12, x. 23, distinguishes from the province of the lawful, that which is useful or serves for edification; but the contradiction is only in appearance, and will vanish on a closer examination of the apostle's views. It could only contradict the principle in question, if Paul had reckoned what did not contribute to edification as still belonging to what was lawful on Christian grounds, or if he had not considered what contributed to edifying as what alone was matter of duty. But it was not so, for he declares it to be the *duty* of Christians so to deny their selfish inclinations as would be for the best, or for the edification of the church, 1 Cor. x. 24; or, which is equivalent, as would be for the glory of God, 1 Cor. x. 31. This is the course of action prescribed by Christian love; but very different would be the course that proceeded from self-love, and for that reason sinful. The subject will be clearer, if we examine more closely the particular case under the apostle's consideration. He is speaking of partaking of certain kinds of food, more particularly of meat offered to idols. All this belongs to the province of things permitted, and in a religious and moral point of view indifferent, on which Christianity (unlike Judaism) laid no restrictions. "Meat commendeth us not to God; for neither if we eat are we the better; neither if we eat not are we the worse," 1 Cor. viii. 8. "The kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost," Rom. xiv. 17. But though all this in itself has no moral character, and without the addition of other marks belongs to things indifferent, yet like everything belonging to human nature, it is not excepted from the

impression of Christian principle, for it is included in the Pauline maxim, "Whatsoever ye do, whether ye eat or drink, do all to the glory of God;" and Paul himself adduces instances in which what is in itself indifferent may be either a matter of duty or criminal. An individual who, though not sufficiently advanced in Christian knowledge to attain the conviction that the eating of meat sacrificed to idols is in itself indifferent, is yet seduced by worldly considerations to partake of it, acts in a manner deserving of condemnation, since he does not act according to his convictions (*οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως*), Rom. xiv. 23. And whoever eats of flesh offered to idols, following his own inclination, and taking no account of the scruples of his weak brother, and thus seduces him to follow his example without a firm conviction of its rectitude, troubles his brother's conscience, and acts himself contrary to the law of love, and sins; 1 Cor. viii. 12; Rom. xiv. 15. From this exposition of the apostle's views, it appears that since what every one has to do, under the given conditions and relations of the individual standing-point on which the Lord has placed him, is defined by Christian principles, no one can accomplish more than the measure of his individual duty. Indeed, so much will sinfulness still adhere to all his performances, that even the most advanced Christian will come short of the requirements of duty; as Paul referring to himself acknowledges, Philip. iii. 12. Yet what Paul says in reference to his own conduct in one particular instance, may seem to contradict what has just been remarked, 1 Cor. ix. 14, 15, &c. The apostle was authorized in preaching the gospel, to receive his maintenance from the Christian communities for whom he laboured; but he waved his claim to it, and supported himself by the labour of his own hands. He did, therefore, more than his duty demanded, since he made no use of what was allowable. Certainly he would not have hesitated for a moment to apply to himself the words of Christ in Luke xvii. 16, in reference to his conduct in this particular instance. But he held it to be his duty, under all circumstances, so to act as would most contribute to the advancement of the kingdom of God; and a regard to that object induced him in this instance to receive no maintenance from the church, in order that he might avoid all appearance of self-interest. Hence he felt an inward compulsion to

act thus ; and if he had not thus acted he would have violated the spirit of his calling, and have been dissatisfied with himself ; for he went so far as to say, that he would rather die than act otherwise. The peculiar circumstances of his ministry, and the peculiar charism bestowed upon him, occasioned a peculiar modification of the general duty of all preachers of the gospel. What on his peculiar standing-point was a duty, might be contrary to duty on the standing-point of others—those persons, for instance, to whom Providence had committed the maintenance of a family.

The fundamental ideas of Christian morals are in general to be deduced from the nature of faith as a practical principle. From faith spontaneously proceeds the love that refers the whole life to God, and consecrates it to his service, for the advancement of his kingdom ; for from a knowledge of the love of God manifested in the work of redemption, love is kindled to him who has shown such superabounding love. In faith as Paul conceived it, love is already contained in the germ ; for what distinguishes faith in his view from superstition, was that the latter as it arises only from the dread of natural evil, only desires a Redeemer from such evil ; faith, on the contrary, is developed from the feeling of unhappiness in sin as sin, of estrangement from God, and of longing after communion with him, which presupposes the love of God in the heart, though checked and repressed. But when the revelation of God's holy love in the work of redemption, which faith receives, awakens the slumbering desire of man, or meets it already awakened, the germ of love deposited in the heart is set free from its confinement, that it may expand to communion with its original source. Entering into communion with the Redeemer, believers are penetrated by the love of God to them, and hence they are able rightly to understand the extent of God's love.¹ From this perception

¹ Rom. v. 5. By the Holy Spirit, the love of God is shed abroad in their hearts, and makes itself felt there. The voice of God himself in their hearts declares that they are his children ; Rom. viii. 16. Thus, in Eph. iii. 18, there is first the wish that Christ may dwell in their hearts by faith, whereupon it follows, that their inner life may be deeply rooted in the love of God—the love of God towards the redeemed is the element in which their whole inward life and consciousness rests—and having been first penetrated by the feeling of love, they can then rightly understand its extent.

of God's love, the childlike love of believers is continually inflamed towards him, and this love operates incessantly for the renovation of the whole life after the image of Christ, and for the advancement of the kingdom of God; it forms the life according to the heavenly model presented to it by faith. The whole Christian life appears as a work of faith, and thus all individual good works¹ appear as necessary immediate expressions of faith, its fruits, the signs of the new creation effected by it.² And as all the actions of the believer may be traced back to the "*work of faith*," so likewise to the "*labour of love*."³ Now faith and love have a relation on one side to something which is apprehended as present in the inward life: faith in communion with the Redeemer has already received a divine blessed life; believers are already incorporated with the kingdom of God, and have obtained the right of citizenship in it, and by partaking of the Holy Spirit operating in them by faith, they anticipate the divine power and blessedness of this kingdom; they have the foretaste of eternal life;⁴ they already possess the germs and first-fruits of the New Creation, in which everything proceeds from a divine living principle with which nothing heterogeneous is allowed to mingle—when it attains its completion after the resurrection. But it follows from this, that the Christian life cannot be conceived of without a reference to the future; as in the divine life the Future becomes in a certain sense a Present, so the Present exists only in reference to the Future,⁵ for it

¹ The *ἔργα ἀγαθὰ* are to be distinguished from the *ἔργα νόμου*.

² The *σωτηρία* not *ἐξ ἔργων*, as if men could gain salvation by works performed before conversion; for the announcement of the salvation obtained for men by redemption, belongs as a gift of unmerited grace to those who are destitute of the divine life, and thus of the true inclination to goodness, whether they are still sunk in gross sensuality, or are raised to an outward legal morality; and the *ἔργα ἀγαθὰ* which really deserve the name, presuppose that divine life which proceeds from faith; indeed the new creation must manifest itself by corresponding good works; is designed to produce such. Hence the contrast, that believers are not *σεσωσμένοι ἐξ ἔργων*, but *κτισθέντες ἐπὶ ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς*, Eph. ii. 9, 10.

³ 1 Thess. i. 3. *τὸ ἔργον τῆς πίστεως, ὁ κόπος τῆς ἀγάπης*.

⁴ The Holy Spirit as the *ἀρραβὼν* in relation to the whole assemblage of heavenly blessings, 2 Cor. i. 22, the earnest given as a pledge of the payment of the whole sum.

⁵ This must be carefully considered, in order rightly to understand the relation of the present to the future in a Christian sense, and to

contains an anticipation, the germ and preparation of that which will attain to perfect development and completion only in the Future. With the present earthly system a higher order of things is connected, which cannot be fully developed in believers, and whose nature is not yet wholly manifest, but in many respects veiled from their view. The development of the divine life, which they have received through faith, is now only giving signs of its existence, and feebly beginning to expand. The consciousness of this divine life is accompanied with a consciousness of the obstacles by which that life is fettered, till human nature is thoroughly pervaded by it and purified from all that is alien ; while this consciousness at the same time produces a longing after that perfect freedom which is the destiny of the children of God. Though it is always presupposed that believers have already attained the dignity and privileges of the children of God, still their rights relate to something future, for all that is involved in the idea of adoption, all that belongs to the dignity, glory, and blessedness of the children of God, is very far from being realized on earth. For this reason, it is said in Romans viii. 23, that Christians who have received the first-fruits of the Spirit, groan after the perfect manifestation of the dignity of the children of God,¹ after their redemption from all that checks

avoid the delusion of the pantheistic deification of self, which imposes on the language of Paul and John a sense quite foreign to the truth.

¹ The *πρόθεσμία*, though, in Gal. iv. 5, this is attributed to believing as something present. If we compare this passage in the Epistle to the Galatians with that quoted from the Romans, we shall discover a three-fold gradation in the idea of adoption. Paul first considers it as the predicate applied to the theocratic nation in the Old Testament to whom promises were given of an inheritance (the *κληρονομία*) in the kingdom of God. Those persons to whom the law and the prophets were given, are certainly children and heirs, but they have not yet attained to the actual self-conscious appropriation of the filial relation, and the exercise of the rights grounded upon it. Since they are in a state of minority, are standing under the guardianship and discipline of the law, and their father's will is not consciously and freely become their own, their relation to him can be no other than that of outward dependence and servitude. By faith in the Redeemer, and communion with him as the Son, they become freed from this dependence and servitude, and attain to a self-conscious, mature, and free filial relation. But this relation in its full extent includes all that which is founded in the idea of Christ as the Son of God, the perfect communion of his holiness, blessedness, and glory; hence a progressive development of this relationship takes place, until the appearance of the children of God will

and depresses their inward life. This longing after the other world is as essential a feature of the Christian life as the partial and fragmentary anticipation of the future in the participation of the divine life through faith. Paul uses expressions from this standing-point which would be most offensive to that deification of the world and self, which is diametrically and entirely opposed to Christianity. "We should be more miserable than any men if we had hope in Christ only in this life, with no higher future existence in which our hopes might be fulfilled; for the Christian life would be then a life full of delusive wants that would never be satisfied, a pursuit after unreal phantoms, the offspring of self-deceptive desires." Filled with divine assurance of his convictions and experience, Paul would turn away with abhorrence from views which would make all his conflicts and efforts appear as if expended on a nonentity.

If the soul under a sense of the burden which weighs down the higher life is absorbed in such longings not confined to one single object, and words fail to express the deeply felt necessities of the heart, these silent aspirations rising from the depths of a heart yearning after true and complete freedom, and yet resigned to the will of its heavenly Father, constitute prayer acceptable to God, inspired by the Spirit of God, the Spirit of adoption. The whole condition of such a soul is prayer. The Spirit of God himself intercedes with inexpressible and silent groans; Rom. viii. 26. Thus in Coloss. iii. 3, it is said, that as the glory of Christ exalted to the right hand of God is hid from the world, so also the glory of the inner life of believers proceeding from communion with him is still hidden with Christ in God, and its appearance does not correspond at present to its nature. But when Christ, the author and source of this life, shall manifest himself in his glory, then shall their hidden glory be manifest, and correspond in appearance to its original; Col. iii. 4.

From the relation of the Christian life of faith and love to a creation that is to be perfectly developed and completed only in the future state, it follows that *Faith* and *Love* cannot subsist without *Hope*.¹ Faith itself becomes hope,

perfectly correspond to the idea of a child of God; which is the third application of this idea.

¹ If we reflect how all the ideas relating to the dignity and blessed-

while it apprehends salvation as something to be realized in the future ; Rom. viii. 24.¹ Faith is proved and strengthened by conflicts and sufferings ; by the opposition which it has to overcome, it develops the consciousness of its indwelling divine power, and of those divine results which are not yet apparent, but stretch into eternity ; and thus it expands into hope for the future.² The consciousness of the love of God contains the pledge for the certain fulfilment of hope. The faith that operates by love could not persist in the efforts, which so many obstacles oppose, in conflict with the inward and outward world, if the prospect were not granted of certainly attaining its end. Hence *Perseverance*³ in the work and conflict of faith is the practical side of hope. "Ἐλπις and ὑπομονή appear as associated ideas,⁴ and the latter term is sometimes used instead of ἔλπις.⁵

We must here examine more closely the relation of knowledge in religion to these three fundamental principles of the Christian life, as laid down in the Pauline theology. Faith presupposes and includes knowledge, for it cannot exist without a reference of the disposition to something objective ; there must be an object of knowledge to operate on the disposition. But the divine cannot be known from without in a merely abstract logical manner, but only by what bears an-ness conferred by Christianity refer alike to something Present and something Future, and accordingly admit of a variously manifold application, it will be easy to explain why, in Gal. v. 5, δικαιοσύνη is represented in reference to its perfect realization in the life of believers as an object of expectation and hope ; and it belongs also to the contrast between the Jewish-legal and the Christian standing-point, that on the former it was supposed that δικαιοσύνη might be possessed as something outwardly perceptible and apparent, while the distinction between the idea and the appearance was not thought of.

¹ If ἔλπις be here understood subjectively, ἔλπις would be placed instead of πίστις as laying hold of σωτηρία ; for πίστις itself can exist in necessary relation to the future only as ἔλπις. But if ἔλπις be understood objectively, then it will signify that σωτηρία is here presented as the object of hope, which may be affirmed, on account of the various meanings attached to the former.

² Rom. v. 4. Perseverance under sufferings produces a confirmation (of faith), and confirmation of faith produces hope.

³ On this idea and its relation to the Christian idea of Hope, see Schleiermacher's academical treatise *über die wissenschaftliche Behandlung des Tugendbegriffes*, 1820.

⁴ 1 Thess. i. 3. ὑπομονή τῆς ἐλπίδος.

⁵ 2 Thess. i. 4.

affinity to it in the soul, by the sense for the divine. As long as man is opposed to the divine in the bias of his disposition, he cannot know it. Hence Paul says, 1 Cor. ii. 14, the natural man who is estranged from the divine life, receives not what proceeds from the Spirit of God, for it appears to him (on account of this his subjective relation to the divine) as foolishness, and he is unable to know it, because it can be rightly understood and appreciated only in a *spiritual* manner, that is, by means of the πνεῦμα ἅγιον, so that a participation in this spirit of a higher life is presupposed. Hence, also, we are not to conceive of faith as something proceeding from unassisted human nature, from man in his natural state; but the manner in which faith arises in the disposition, presupposes the entrance of the divine into the conscience and inner life. But as the knowledge of divine things depends upon a participation of the divine life, it follows that, in proportion as the divine life received by faith progressively develops, as the matter of faith is vitalized by inward experience, the knowledge of this matter enlarges in a higher degree, and hence this wider expansion of knowledge is described as a fruit of faith.¹ And since the divine life of faith is love, since faith in the Pauline sense cannot be conceived of without love, it is evident that the true knowledge of divine things can only continue to be developed according to the measure of increasing love. Hence Paul says in 1 Cor. viii. 2, that without love there can be only the appearance of knowledge. But as the divine life in believers is constantly subject to disturbing and depressing influences, and exists only in a fragmentary and alloyed state, it follows that the knowledge arising from it will never be otherwise than defective. This may also be inferred from what we have remarked before respecting the relation of faith to the higher order of things still veiled from human sight, with which faith places us in vital communion, and to the nature of that adoption which is at present so imperfectly realized, owing to the opposition between the idea of it and its actual manifestation. Hence Paul forms a contrast between the inadequate knowledge of the matter of faith in the present life, and its perfect immediate intuition in eternity. He illustrates the relation of the two, by a comparison of the know-

¹ Coloss. i. 9; Ephes. i. 18. In the last passage, knowledge is represented as an effect of the illumination proceeding from faith.

ledge we possess of an object by seeing it reflected in a dim mirror, with the knowledge obtained by immediately beholding it; by comparing the notions of children (which contain a certain portion of truth, though not developed with clearness and certainty, so that there is a continuity of knowledge carried on from the child to the man) with the ideas of mature manhood;¹ by contrasting what is fragmentary and isolated with what is perfect; 1 Cor. xiii. 9—12. Such is the knowledge of divine things as they are shadowed forth to us in our temporal consciousness compared with the intuition of the things themselves. Hence, it is evident, that Paul was conscious that he could speak of these things only in a symbolical form, which veiled and contained a higher reality. Therefore, from the sense of the defectiveness and limitation of our present knowledge of God and divine things, a longing is excited after that perfect knowledge which the mind of man allied to its Maker and filled with a divine life, requires. This longing naturally merges into hope.

We are now led to inquire, why Paul, when he represents faith, hope, and love as the abiding, unchangeable foundations

¹ We may here compare Plato's representation of a twofold standing-point of knowledge at the beginning of the seventh book of his Republic. As if a person were confined in a cavern where the light only feebly glimmered, and he saw merely the shadows of objects by that faint light; and afterwards regaining his liberty, became acquainted with the objects themselves as they appeared in broad daylight. In this manner Plato contrasts two standing-points of the present life; the standing-point of the multitude, the slaves of sense, and the standing-point of the higher intellectual life, as it is presented by Philosophy. This higher standing-point of Philosophy might be allowed in the state of the heathen world: but Christianity will not authorize any such intellectual aristocraticism. This would become a beautiful image in a Christian sense, if applied not to the contrast between the degrees of knowledge in this life and those in the future, but to that between the views of the world entertained by the natural man, and those which the divine light of the gospel imparts to all who receive it. We may here compare with Paul's language, the beautiful remarks of Gregor. Nazianzen: Θεων ὁ, τί ποτε μὲν ἐστι τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν, οὔτε τις εὗρεν ἀνθρώπων πώποτε, οὔτε μὴν εὗρη. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν εὐρήσει ποτέ, ζηγείσθω τοῦτο. εὐρήσει δὲ ὡς ἐμὸς λόγος, ἐπειδὴν τὸ θεοειδὲς τοῦτο καὶ θεῖον, λέγω δὲ τὸν ἡμέτερον νοῦν τε καὶ λόγον, τῷ οἰκείῳ προσμῖξῃ, καὶ ἡ εἰκὼν ἀνέλθῃ πρὸς τὸ ἀρχέτυπον, οὗ νῦν ἔχει τὴν ἔφεσιν, καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ τὸ πάνυ φιλοσοφούμενον ἐπιγνώσεσθαι ποτε ἡμῶς, ὅσον ἐγνώσμεθα. Τὸ δὲ νῦν εἶναι βραχεῖά τις ἀποβρόχῃ πᾶν τὸ εἰς ἡμῶς φθάνον καὶ οἶον μεγάλου φωτὸς μικρὸν ἀπαύγασμα.—*Orat.* 34.

of the Christian life in its earthly development,¹ distinguishes love as the greatest of these three. What is asserted by the Catholics is indeed true, that love alone can give faith its true value, since it makes it living, and hence forms the criterion between dead and living faith.² It is equally true, that love forms the difference between genuine Christian and carnal selfish hope.³ But in this connexion Paul could not, according to his own association of ideas, intend to say that love was the greatest, for love in its true Christian meaning presupposes faith—(love in a general sense is a different thing; that love which proceeds from the universal sense of God implanted in the human mind, and from the general manifestations of the love of God in the creation and in the heart of a man who follows the divine guidance;)—and faith again presupposes love, and that which Paul distinguishes by the name of faith stands in the closest connexion with love. What the Catholic church understands by the term *fides informis*, Paul would not esteem worthy of being called faith. He calls love the greatest rather for this reason, that it is the only eternal abiding form of the connexion of the human spirit with the divine; love alone endures beyond this earthly life; it will never give place to the development of a higher principle, but will expand itself in perpetuity.⁴

¹ In reference to understanding this, it makes no difference whether we consider the *νυν* in 1 Cor. xiii. 11, as an illative particle or one of time, for in either case, what Paul here says can relate only to the present earthly condition of the Christian life. According to Paul's views, hope necessarily relates to something still future, not yet realized; when the realization takes place, hope ceases to exist; Rom. viii. 24. And faith and the perfect knowledge of immediate intuition are ideas that reciprocally exclude one another; 2 Cor. v. 7. When Billroth in his late Commentary on this Epistle, supposes the *μένει* to mean the objects of these graces as eternal and abiding, this certainly cannot be Paul's idea, for they are indeed unchangeable, and the same for all the three operations of the Spirit; but these three terms refer to the subjective relation in which man stands to divine things, and this relation under the form of faith and hope, is suited only to the earthly standing-point, and is itself transitory. Love only is in itself the *μένον*.

² The *fides informis* and the *fides formata*.

³ The *πνευματική* and the *σαρκική* as proceeding from a heathenish and from a Jewish element.

⁴ Augustin beautifully remarks: "Fides quare sit necessaria, quum jam videat? Spes nihilominus, quia jam tenet? Caritati vero non solum nihil detrahatur, sed addetur etiam plurimum, nam et illam singularem veramque pulchritudinem quum viderit, plus amabit, et

Thus these three fundamental principles of the Christian life, *Faith*, *Hope*, and *Love*, are intimately connected with one another; and since everything which directly or indirectly belongs to man's moral nature is brought under their control, and receives from them a peculiar character, they form a foundation on which to erect the whole structure of Christian morals.

The idea of *ταπεινοφροσύνη* is inseparable from these principles. This quality is closely connected with the whole system of the theocratic views developed in the Old Testament, and marks the contrast of the Christian and Heathen mode of contemplating human nature. The consciousness of dependence on God as the animating principle of life in all its relations, the innate weakness of all created beings, and that they can be and do nothing excepting through God, was in direct opposition to the prevailing sentiments of self-esteem and self-confidence.¹ But on the legal standing-point, this consciousness was either only partial as far as self-righteousness (which implied a desire of independence in reference to moral development and the attainment of salvation) counteracted the perfect acknowledgment of dependence on God; or, where the feeling of internal disunion had been developed to its utmost extent, and the feeling of estrangement from a holy Omnipotence became predominant, only the negative element of humility remained, the consciousness of personal worthlessness as something mortifying to pride, the consciousness of an impassable chasm between the limited sinful creature and the Almighty Holy Creator. But when to this feeling is added faith in the Redeemer, and the consciousness of having obtained redemption, the positive is blended with the negative element, the consciousness of the participation of the divine life and of the high dignity of adoption bestowed by God. If, on the contrary, the connexion between these two points, which belong to the essence of Christian knowledge and of the Christian disposition, be dissolved, and the negative element be unduly brought forward, a false self-humiliation is produced,—a self-aborrence with a denial of

nisi ingenti amore oculum infixerit, nec ab aspiciendo uspiam declinaverit, manere in illa beatissima visione non poterit.”—*Soliloquia*, i. § 14.

¹ See Knapp's excellent remarks on this opposition in his *Scripturarii Argumenti*, ed. II. p. 367.

the dignity founded on the consciousness of redemption,—a sense of depression without that sense of exaltation which is blended with it in the consciousness of redemption. Such a false humility, which displays itself in outward gestures and ceremonies, Paul combated in the false teachers of the Colossian church ; but he classed this mock-humility with spiritual pride, veiled as it was under the form of an ascetic self-debasement.¹

With the consciousness of the nothingness of all that man can be and effect by his own power, Paul combined the elevating consciousness of what man is and can perform through the Lord ; to the *κατὰ σάρκα, ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ καυχᾶσθαι* he opposes the *ἐν κυρίῳ καυχᾶσθαι*.

As humility first acquires its true character through the love that proceeds from faith, as through love man's whole life is pervaded by a sense of his dependence on God, and the human will becomes an organ of the divine, so also Christian love cannot exist without an abiding consciousness of the difference between the creature and the Creator, the redeemed and the Redeemer, and the sense of dependence which that difference involves. It is the sentiment which Paul expresses in the interrogation, "What hast thou, which thou hast not received?" 1 Cor. iv. 7. In the exercise of his ministry, his soul was pervaded by a consciousness of his weakness as a man (*ante*, p. 173), which was deepened by his sufferings and conflicts, though accompanied by the conviction that he could do all things through the power of the Lord ; Acts xx. 19. Thus that state of mind was produced which he describes as *μετὰ φόβον καὶ τρόμον*. This was far from being

¹ This is a caricature of humility, which has often reappeared in the history of the church ; and thus the nature of genuine Christian humility has been frequently mistaken by those who were strangers to the Christian standing-point, and knew not how to distinguish a morbid from a healthy state of the spiritual life. An individual of this class, Spinoza, justly says of that mock-humility, which alone can exist where the natural feelings are not overpowered by the force of a divine principle of life, and at the same time transformed into something higher, and where man has not risen from the depths of self-abasement to a sense of his true dignity : "Hi affectus, nempe humilitas et abjectio, rarissimi sunt. Nam natura humana, in se considerata, contra eosdem, quantum potest, nititur, et ideo, qui maxime creduntur abjecti et humiles esse, maxime plerumque ambitiosi et invidi sunt."—*Éthiques*, pars iii., § 29.

the mark of a slavish fear, but only of that state of mind which resulted from a sense of the insufficiency of mere human power for the discharge of his apostolic vocation.¹

Ταπεινοφροσύνη bears an immediate relation to God alone, and according to the Pauline views can be transferred to no other being; men and created beings in general are not its objects; for humility is the sense of dependence on the Creator as such, and places the whole assemblage of created beings on a level. It follows, that a man who is thoroughly imbued with this sentiment does not make any fellow-creature the object of it, but as far as his spiritual life is concerned, is perfectly independent of men, while sensible of his continual dependence on God. To act differently would be to transfer to a creature the honour due to the Creator. As it is opposed to every slavish feeling, it inspires the soul with that true Christian freedom which Paul so admirably develops in the First Epistle to the Corinthians as opposed to every species of a slavish deference to men. But though *ταπεινοφροσύνη* does not directly affect our behaviour to our fellow-men, we may deduce from it the right line of Christian conduct towards others. He who is rightly penetrated with the feeling of dependence on God in reference to his whole existence and conduct, and with the nothingness of everything human while living only for oneself, will not pride himself in his abilities, but feel that they are bestowed upon him by God for a definite object, and must be used in dependence on him; in his intercourse with others, he will bear in mind the defects, the limits, and imperfection of his own character and abilities, and his dependence with that of all other men, on their common Lord. From this *ταπεινοφροσύνη* will naturally arise an aversion from every kind of self-exaltation in a man's conduct towards others, and that which is the foundation of moderation in the Christian character, and hence is distinguished by no particular name in Paul's writings, but what may be deduced from the idea of *ταπεινοφροσύνη*, as in Phil. ii. 3. And it is not without reason, that kindness, meekness, and long-suffering are mentioned in connexion with *ταπεινοφροσύνη*. Eph. iv. 2; Col. iii. 12.

¹ Thus in Philip. ii. 12, he deduces "working out salvation with fear and trembling," from the consciousness that all things depend on the power of God, who works "to will and to do."

In order to preserve the purity of the divine life in its conflict with the *κόσμος* and the *σὰρξ*, from within and from without, to prevent unhappy mixtures of the human with the divine, the *σωφροσύνη*, the *σωφρονεῖν* is requisite, the self-government and conquest over the world that proceeds from love, or Christian circumspection and sober-mindedness. The Holy Spirit is represented as a spirit of *ἀγάπη* and of *σωφρονισμός*, 2 Tim. i. 7.¹ The latter word, as its etymology imports, signifies that quality by which the Christian life is preserved in a healthy state, and kept free from all noxious influences. Humility, which guards the boundary between the divine and the human, is accompanied by the *φρονεῖν εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν*, which acts as an antidote to the intoxication of self-esteem, and promotes a sober valuation of one's own worth, the consciousness of the measure of ability, and gifts granted to each one—the position which a man may take without arrogating too much to himself; Rom. xii. 3. With this is connected the *ἐγρηγορέναι καὶ νήφειν*, by means of which the sensual and the natural are prevented from interfering with the movements of the divine life, and the mind is kept clear of all enthusiastic tendencies. Moreover, since faith working by love ought to govern the whole life, animate it with a new spirit, and form it for the service of God, it will be requisite for this end, that the reason enlightened by this spirit should acquire the capability of so regulating the whole life, of so managing and applying all the relations of social and civil life, as will be suited to realize the design of the kingdom of God, according to the place assigned to each individual by Providence. This is expressed by the term *σοφία*, which comprehends the ideas of wisdom and prudence,² of which the first relates to the choice of proper objects of pursuit, and the second to the choice of suitable means for their attainment; and both are blended in

¹ Titus ii. 6, 12. *σωφρονεῖν* here means the exercise of a control over youthful and worldly lusts.

² To *σοφία* is attributed the *ἀκριβῶς περιπατεῖν*, careful examination relative to one's conduct in social life, that a man may discern on every occasion what is agreeable to the will of the Lord, and, under difficult circumstances, may choose the right opportunity for accomplishing what is good, the *ἐξαγοράζεσθαι τὸν καιρὸν*, Eph. v. 15. *Σοφία* would be shown in the intercourse of Christians with heathens, in avoiding whatever would give them offence, and so regulating the conduct according to circumstances, as would be best fitted to overcome their prejudices against Christianity, and recommend it to their regard.

one idea, when everything is employed as means for the all-comprehensive object of life, the realization of the kingdom of God,¹ and when Christian wisdom is conceived of as so shaping and controlling the life, that it may contribute as a whole and in all its subordinate relations for the advancement of the divine kingdom, according to the position of each individual ; and thus what is in itself an object, becomes a means to a higher object. Christian prudence, which emanates from the clear undisturbed survey of the whole life by wisdom, is to be distinguished from what is not founded on such a basis, but would proudly assume a separate standing as capable of regulating the conduct independently of Christian wisdom : the prudence which subserves a selfish interest, or employs means which a Christian mind cannot approve, or one which places more confidence in human means than in the power and guidance of the Divine Spirit, the *σοφία σαρκική*, which, as such, is opposed to the simplicity and purity of the disposition produced by the Spirit of God ; 2 Cor. i. 12. Paul requires the union of a matured understanding, and a childlike disposition, 1 Cor. xiv. 20. " In malice be ye children, in understanding be ye men," even as Christ enjoined his disciples to unite the wisdom of the serpent and the harmlessness of the dove.

Thus, in the renovation of human nature by the divine principle of life—in the inspiring of the whole life by the principle of believing and hoping love, we find the three fundamental virtues, which were regarded by the ancients in the development of morals as forming the grand outlines of moral character ; *ὑπομονή* corresponds to *ἀνδρεία*, and includes *courage* in action, the *ἀνδρίζεσθαι, κραταιοῦσθαι*, 1 Cor. xvi. 13, and *patience, μακροθυμία*, under sufferings for the kingdom of God ;—(this latter idea, from its connexion with the Christian views of total dependence on God, and of the imitation of the sufferings of Christ, who by his sufferings conquered the kingdom of evil, stands out in more direct contrast to the principles of ancient heathenism ;) *σοφία* corresponds to *φρόνησις* and *σωφροσύνη*. Of the cardinal virtues only *δικαιοσύνη* is wanting, for what is generally intended by Paul under this name, does not naturally belong to this place, since it bears no

From this point of view, Christ represents all Christian virtues under the form of prudence. See *Leben Jesu*, 206, 239.

correspondence to the more confined sense of righteousness, but, according to the Hellenist phraseology, is put for the whole of moral perfection founded in piety. But the idea of *δικαιοσύνη* is closely connected with that which essentially distinguishes the moral development of the ancients from Christianity, namely, the practice of considering civil life as the highest form of human development which includes all others in it, and the state as the condition adapted for the complete realization of the highest good.¹ As now by realizing the idea of a kingdom of God, morality was freed from this limitation, was exalted and widened in its application to all mankind, became transformed into a divine life in human form; and as it is the *Love of God* which manifests itself as the holy and redeeming characteristic of this kingdom—it follows that, in the divine life of this kingdom, love occupies the place of righteousness on the standing-point of antiquity, so that, as Aristotle and Plato traced back all the cardinal virtues to the idea of righteousness, and according to the Grecian proverb, righteousness included in itself all other virtues;² so according to Paul, love is the fulfilling of the law, includes and originates all other virtues, and is, in short, the sum and substance of perfection.³ And in 1 Cor. xiii. 4, 5, he represents all the peculiar acts of the leading Christian virtues as so many modes of love. Love is discreet, patient, persevering, always chooses what is becoming, is all things to all men, and thus acts with true sagacity. The idea of righteousness is not excluded, for all the acts of love may be conceived as determined by a regard to right; for love is not capricious but conformable to law; it acknowledges and respects those human relations which are agreeable to the will of God, and gives to every one what his position in society demands. In Rom. xiii. 7, Coloss. iv. 1, love is represented as the animating principle in the performance of the *δικαιον και ἴσον*, which may therefore be considered as only one mode of the operation of love.

Since Paul considered faith as the fundamental principle of

¹ The opinion of those who attribute to the *State* such an importance, and would constitute it a perfect model for the realization of the kingdom of God, is derived from unchristian premises, and leads to unchristian conclusions.

² *ἐν δὲ δικαιοσύνῃ συλλέβδην πᾶς ἀρετὴ ἐνι.* Aristot. Eth. Nicomach. lib. v. c. 3.

³ *σύνδεσμος τῆς τριλειότητος.* Coloss. iii. 14.

the Christian life, it follows, that the immediate relation of each individual to the Redeemer was in his view of primary importance, and the idea of fellowship, the idea of the Church, was deducible from it. Through faith each one entered for himself into fellowship with the Redeemer, partook of the Holy Spirit as the new principle of life, and became a child of God, a temple of the Holy Spirit. The knowledge of God has been rendered attainable to all through Christ, for in him God has been manifested in the most complete and only conceivable manner to the human mind, and communicated to our race; and as the founder of reconciliation, he has established a new filial relation of man to God. Through his mediation the whole Christian life becomes acceptable to God, by a reference to him who is always the sole worthy object of the divine good pleasure, and from whom that good pleasure is extended to all who enter into spiritual fellowship with him. To this mediation, which forms the basis of Christianity, the foundation of the whole Christian life through the knowledge of the redemption received from Christ, the Pauline expressions relate, "*God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ*"—"doing all in the name of Christ to the glory of God"—"*giving thanks to God through Christ*"—"praying to God"—"*in the name of Christ*"—"through Christ"—in which connexion these propositions can be deprived of their strict meaning only by an utter misconception of the Pauline sentiments. Although the high priesthood of Christ and the universal priesthood of all believers are expressions not found in Paul's writings, yet from what has been said, the ideas implied in them enter largely into his religious conceptions. This apostle is distinguished by an immediate reference of religious knowledge and experience to Christ as the fountain-head, from whom everything else is derived. Hence, he could treat of the nature of Christian faith in the eleven first chapters of the Epistle to the Romans, without introducing the idea of the Church. But the consciousness of divine life received from Christ, is necessarily followed by the recognition of a communion which embraces all mankind, and passes beyond the boundaries of earthly existence, the consciousness of the Holy Spirit as the Spirit producing and animating this communion—the consciousness of the unity of the divine life shared by all believers, a unity which counterbalances all the

other differences existing among mankind, as had been already manifested at the first promulgation of Christianity, when the most marked contrarieties arising either from religion, national peculiarities, or mental culture, were reconciled, and the persons whom they had kept at a distance from each other became united in vital communion. To the extraordinary influence of Christianity in relation to these contrarieties, Paul bears witness when he says, "For ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus. For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ." There was in this respect no difference whether a member of the Church was Jew or Greek, slave or freeman, male or female, for all were in communion with Christ as one person, there was in all the one life of Christ, Gal. iii. 26—28.¹ The consciousness of communion with the Redeemer cannot exist without the recognition of the existence of the community of believers animated by one Spirit, who belong as his body to him the head, under whose continued influence alone it can grow to maturity, and in which all believers are members one of another. This body of Christ is *the Church*, the ἐκκλησία θεοῦ or Χριστοῦ.² This communion is formed and developed on the same foundation as the Christian life or the temple of God in each individual, namely faith in Jesus as the Redeemer, 1 Cor. iii. 11. Hence the image so frequently used by Paul of representing the church

¹ In Coloss. iii. 11, Paul notices particularly the contrast between the civilized and uncivilized, the Greek being the most striking example of the former class, and the Scythian of the latter. His language conveys a prophetic intimation that Christianity would reach the rudest tribes, and impart a new divine principle of life, the mainspring of all sound mental culture.

² This is no abstract representation, but a truly living reality. If in all the widely-spread Christian communities, amidst all the diversity of human peculiarities animated by the same spirit, only the consciousness of this higher unity and communion were retained, as Paul desired, this would be the most glorious appearance of the one Christian church, in which the kingdom of God represents itself on earth; and no outward constitution, no system of episcopacy, no council, still less any organization by the State, which would substitute something foreign to its nature, could render the idea of a Christian church more real or concrete, (if any are disposed to make use of scholastic terms, which, so applied, contain the germ of error, and rather obscure than illustrate the subject.) See, on the other hand, Rothe's work before quoted, pp. 290, 310.

as a building reared on this foundation, Ephes. ii. 20; and his application of the term *οικοδομεῖν*, to designate whatever contributes to the furtherance of Christian life. That principle, from which the formation of this communion proceeded, always continues to be the bond of its union. Paul, in treating of this unity, adduces as marks of its internal formation, that one spirit which animated this one body, the one object of heavenly blessedness to which they were called, the one faith in one God, whom through Christ they acknowledged as the Father of all, with whom through Christ and the Spirit imparted by him, they were connected most intimately, so that he rules over them with his all-guiding, all-protecting might, pervades them all with his efficacious power, and dwells in all by his animating Spirit—and the one Redeemer, whom they all acknowledge as their Lord, and to whom they were dedicated by baptism.¹ The chosen people, under the Old Testament form of the theocracy, constituted a contrast to the heathen nations, which was now transferred with a more spiritual and internal character to the community of believers. They retained the predicate of ἅγιοι and ἡγιασμένοι as the holy, devoted people, in reference to the objective consecration founded on redemption, and their objective contrariety to the profane, the κόσμος; but yet the subjective consecration arising from the development of the divine principle of life, was necessarily founded on the former, and inseparable from it—even as justification and sanctification are connected with one another. They retained also the predicate κλητοὶ, as those who were called by the grace of God to a participation of the kingdom of God and eternal happiness; and this calling is not to be considered merely as outward, by virtue of the external publication of the gospel, but agreeably to its design, and as the very idea imports, the outward is united with the inward, the outward publication of the gospel with the efficacious inward call of the Divine Spirit, so that hence the idea of κλητοὶ coincides with that of believers who really belong in heart to Christ. In general, Paul considers the outward and the inward, the idea and the

¹ We cannot suppose that the ἐν βάπτισμα refers to unity in the outward institution of baptism, which would be here quite irrelevant. All the marks of unity manifestly relate to the same thing, to which the unity of faith also relates.

appearance, in all these relations as intimately connected, the confession as an expression of faith, 1 Cor. xii. 3,—the being in Christ as a reality, the being a professed Christian as a sign of inward communion with the Redeemer. 2 Cor. v. 17 ; and thus also the Church as the outward exhibition of the body of Christ, the fellowship truly established by the Spirit of God. The language in which he addresses individual churches is conformable to these views.

But though in general the apostle sets out from this point of view, yet it could not escape his observation that not all who represented themselves as outwardly members of the church, were really members of the body of Christ. This distinction he does not make in the original idea of the church, since it is not naturally deducible from it, but must be considered as something incongruous and morbid, and not to be known excepting by observation, unless we refer it to the inevitable disorders in the development of the visible church, owing to the reaction of sin. Certain experiences of this kind forced the distinction upon him ; in 1 Cor. vi. 9, he declares that those who professed Christianity outwardly, and represented themselves as members of the church, but whose conduct was at variance with the requirements of Christianity, could have no part in the kingdom of God. It followed, therefore, that they were already excluded by their disposition from that kingdom, from that communion of the faithful and redeemed which, strictly speaking, constitutes the church. In this passage, he treats of cases in which the foreign elements which had mingled with the outward manifestation of the church, might be easily detected and expelled by the judgment of the Christian community for the preservation of its purity ; for such marks of an unchristian course of life are here mentioned, as are notorious and apparent to every one. But an unchristian disposition, a deficiency of faith working by love, might exist, without being manifested by outward signs which would be as easily understood as in the former case ; and here the separation of the elements corresponding to the idea of the ἐκκλησία from those that were incongruous, could not be so accurately made. We learn this from Paul himself, in 2 Tim. ii. 19, 20, where he contrasts with the apostates from Christian truth, those who constituted the firm foundation of God's house, and who

wore the impress of this seal, "The Lord knoweth them that are his," and "Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity." "In a great house there are not only vessels of gold and vessels of silver, but also of wood and of earth; and some to honour, and some to dishonour." The great house is here the visible church; in it there are those who are members only in appearance by an external superficial union, without really belonging to it by their disposition, and though reckoned by the Lord to be his, they are "the vessels to dishonour," and are thus distinguished from those who are united in heart to the church, "the vessels to honour," who, in order that they may be preserved as such, avoid all sin, and call on the name of the Lord without hypocrisy. He here intimates that the line of distinction between the genuine and spurious members of the church can be drawn only by God, who knows the state of the heart. Accordingly, in the application of the idea of the visible church, the distinction arises between the collective body of those in whom the appearance corresponds to what is internal and invisible, and those who belong to the church in appearance, without having internally any part in it.

Since the *ἐκκλησία* as the body of Christ not merely lays claim to a part of the life of its members, but must embrace the whole as belonging to the Redeemer, and animated by the Holy Spirit, the source of life to the church, it follows that the care for the promotion of the good of the whole is committed not merely to certain officers and persons, but all the members are bound together as organs of that Spirit by whom Christ as the governing head animates each individual member, and thus connected, are to cooperate for the same object; Eph. iv. 16. Thus, accordingly, it is the duty of each one to consider the standing-point on which God has placed him by his natural character, his peculiar training, and his social relations, as that which determines the mode in which he may most effectually labour for this end. As all natural abilities are to be consecrated as forms of manifestation for the divine life, so the Holy Spirit, while animating the whole, appropriates each individual character, and gives to each one his special gifts by which he is ordained on his own standing-point to promote the general good. Here we have the idea of charism, which has been already explained. Without the Holy Spirit and the charisms as the necessary manifestations

and signs of his continued efficacious presence in the collective body of believers, the church (which is the continued revelation of the divine life in human form proceeding from the glorified Saviour, cannot exist; 1 Cor. xii. By the spirit of love animating the whole, the charisms of all the individual members, forming reciprocal complements to each other, are conducted to the promotion of one object, the perfecting of the body of Christ; as Paul has so admirably represented in 1 Cor. xii.

Since the church is no other than the outward visible representation of the inward communion of believers with the Redeemer and one another, the institution of outward visible rites or signs corresponds to these two elements of it, (both as visible and invisible;) these rites, Baptism and the Supper, are designed to represent the facts which form the basis of this communion. Baptism denotes the confession of dependence on Christ and the entrance into communion with him; and hence, the appropriation of all which Christ promises to those who stand in such a relation to him; it is the *putting on Christ*, in whose name baptism is administered,¹ an expression which includes in it all we have said; Gal. iii. 27. As communion with Christ and the whole Christian life has a special reference to the appropriation of those two great events, his redeeming sufferings and his resurrection, Paul, alluding to the form in which baptism was then administered, and by this illustrating the idea of baptism, explains the outward act by a reference to these two events. (*Ante*, p. 161.) The twofold relation of man to the former standing-point of life which he had renounced, and to that new one which he had embraced, is here signified—entering into the communion of the death of Christ, into a believing appropriation of the work of redemption accomplished by his death, dying with him in spirit, to the world in which man has hitherto lived; mortifying self, as it heretofore existed, and by faith in his resurrection as a pledge of resurrection to an eternal divine life in a transformed personality, rising to a new life devoted

¹ On the meaning of the formula, "to baptize in the name of any one," see the remarks of Dr. Bindseil in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1832, part ii. Paul in Gal. iii. 27, might have said, All of you who have believed in Christ. But he said instead of this, "As many of you as have been baptized into Christ," since he viewed baptism as the objective sign and seal of the relation to Christ into which man entered by faith.

no longer to the world but to him alone; Rom. vi. 4. In accordance with this train of thought, Paul terms baptism, a baptism into the death of Christ. And for the same reason, he could also call it a baptism into the resurrection of Christ. But this latter reference presupposes the former, in which it is naturally joined. From communion with Christ as the Son of God, the new relation follows of sonship to God, of filial communion with God, Gal. iii. 26; and the participation of the spirit of a new divine life communicated by Christ, the Holy Spirit. It is Christ who imparts the true baptism of the Spirit, of which water-baptism is only the symbol, and this immersion in the Spirit makes the great difference between Christian baptism and that of John. Therefore, baptism in the name of Christ is equally baptism in the name of the Father and of the Holy Spirit. The single reference cannot be thought of without the threefold. In virtue of the connexion of ideas before noticed, entrance into communion with Christ is indissolubly connected with entrance into communion with the body of which He is the head, the whole assemblage of believers. "By one Spirit we are all baptized into one body;" 1 Cor. xii. 13. As entrance into communion with the Redeemer at baptism implies a cessation from communion with sin—the putting on of Christ implies the putting off of the old man—the rising with Christ implies the dying with Christ—the transformation by the new Spirit of holiness implies the forgiveness of sins—entrance into communion with the body of Christ implies a departure from communion with a sinful world; so the distinction arises of a positive and negative aspect of baptism. Hence the washing away of sin, sanctification and justification, are classed together at baptism; 1 Cor. vi. 11.¹ What we have remarked respecting Paul's idea of *ἐκκλησία*, the relation of the inward to the outward, the ideal to the visible, will also apply to baptism. As Paul, in speaking of the church, presupposes that the outward church is the visible community of the redeemed; so he speaks of baptism on the supposition that it corresponded to its idea, that all that was inward, whatever belonged to the

¹ As Paul here joins the *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου* and *ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ θεοῦ*, it may be inferred that he is here speaking of subjective sanctification, by the communication of a divine principle of life, as well as of objective justification.

holy rite and its complete observance, accompanied the outward ; hence he could assert of outward baptism whatever was involved in a believing appropriation of the divine facts which it symbolized ; whatever was realized when baptism fully corresponded to its original design. Thus he says, that all those who had been baptized into Christ, had entered into vital communion with him, Gal. iii. 27 ; language which was applicable only to those in whom the inward and the outward coalesced. Hence also he calls baptism the bath of regeneration and of renewal by the Holy Spirit ; Tit. iii. 5. And hence he says, that Christ by baptism has purified the whole church as a preparation for that perfect purity which it will exhibit, in that consummation to which the Saviour intends to bring his redeemed ; Eph. v. 26.

Relative to the Holy Supper, it appears from Paul's language in 1 Cor. xi. 24, that he considered it as a feast of commemoration on account of Christ's offering his life¹ for the salvation of men, and all the benefits accruing thereby to mankind. According to his explanation of the words of the institution, 1 Cor. xii. 26, believers, when they celebrate together the Last Supper of Christ with his disciples, are gratefully to acknowledge what they owe to the sufferings of Christ till his second coming, till they are favoured with the visible presence of the Saviour, and the perfect enjoyment of all that his redeeming sufferings have gained for mankind ; they are to consider it as a pledge of their constant communion with him, till that communion is consummated in his immediate presence. Christ further designed, as Paul intimates, to remind his disciples of the new relation or covenant established by his sacrifice between God and man, which is naturally connected with what has been already mentioned ; for as the work of redemption accomplished by Christ's sufferings is the foundation of this new relation, which supersedes the ancient legal economy, its connexion with this ordinance is self-evident. And as in the institution of the Supper there are several allusions to the usages practised at the passover, a natural point of comparison is

¹ That this was the leading reference, I agree with what Lücke has stated in his essay, *De duplicis in sacra Cæna Symboli Actusque Sensu ac Ratione*, 1837. Yet other references appear to me not to be excluded, but to be originally given with it, and to be naturally founded upon it.

here presented between the establishment of the earthly national theocracy, which was accomplished by the release of the Jews from earthly bondage and their formation into an independent people,—and the establishment of an universal theocracy in a spiritual form, which consisted in releasing its members from the spiritual bondage of sin, and their formation into an internally independent community or church of God. If this subject is viewed in the Pauline spirit, it will be evident, that all this can be properly fulfilled only in vital communion with the Redeemer, apart from which nothing in the Christian life has its proper significance; and that the commemoration of Christ's redeeming sufferings can never be adequately performed except in vital communion with him. The solemn remembrance of Christ's sufferings is the leading idea in this holy ordinance, though the consciousness of communion with him is necessarily connected with it. And communion with Christ necessarily presupposes his redeeming sufferings, and their personal appropriation. Baptism also introduces believers into his communion as baptism into the death of Christ.

With respect to the manner in which Paul conceived the relation to exist of the outward signs to the body and blood of Christ, we must not forget that the latter are considered merely as being given for the salvation of mankind. Under this view the form in which he quotes Christ's words is important. He says, "This cup is the *καινή διαθήκη*, which was established by the shedding of my blood." This can only mean: The cup represents to you in a sensible manner the establishment of this new relation. And by analogy the first *τοῦτό ἐστι* must be interpreted "It represents my body."¹

¹ Those who advocate the metaphorical interpretation of the expressions used in the institution of the Supper, are very unjustly charged with doing violence to the words, by departing from the literal meaning. If the literal interpretation of the circumstances and relations under which anything is said, be contrary to the connexion and design of the discourse, this literal interpretation is unnatural and forced. And this is certainly the case in the interpretation of these words of our Lord, for since Christ was still sensibly present among his disciples when he said that this bread was his body, this wine was his blood, they could understand him as speaking only symbolically, if he added no further explanation. Moreover, they were accustomed to similar symbolical expressions in their intercourse with him; and this very symbol receives its natural interpretation from another of Christ's

Though he afterwards says that whoever eats or drinks in an unworthy manner, that is, with a profane disposition, is not one who is interested in or recollects the design of the holy ordinance, so that, as Paul himself explains it in v. 29, he does not distinguish what is intended to represent the body of Christ from common food—that such a one sins against the body and blood of the Lord. But from these words we cannot determine the relation in which the bread and wine were considered by Paul to stand to the body and blood of Christ, for the sinning of which he speaks, as the connexion shows, consists only in the relation of the communicant's disposition to the holy design of the ordinance. On the supposition that only a symbolically religious meaning was attached to the Supper, this language might be used respecting those who partook of it merely as a common meal. And what he afterwards says, that whoever partook of the Supper unworthily, partook of it to his condemnation, is by no means decisive, for this relates only to the religious state of the individual. Whoever partook of the Lord's Supper with a profane disposition, without being penetrated with a sense of the holy significance of the rite, by such vain conduct passed the sentence of his own condemnation, and exposed himself to punishment. Accordingly, in the evils which at that time affected the church, the apostle beheld the marks of the divine displeasure.

In the 10th chapter of the same Epistle, the apostle speaks of the Lord's Supper, and declares to the Corinthians that it was unlawful to unite a participation in the heathen sacrifices with Christian communion in the Holy Supper. He points out that, by participating in the heathen sacrifices, they would relapse into idolatry. These sacrifices bore the same relation to the heathen worship as the Jewish sacrifices to the Jewish cultus, and as the Lord's Supper to the social acts of Christian worship. And in accordance with this fact he says, "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?"—this can only mean that it marks, it represents this communion, it is the means of appropriating this communion; for the rite is here viewed discourses, (see the chapter on John's doctrine; also *Leben Jesu*, p. 644, and Lücke's Essay.)

in its totally corresponding to the idea, in the congruity of the inward with the outward, in the same sense as when Paul says that as many as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ.¹ As to the two other points with which the Lord's Supper is here compared in its relation to Christianity, the essential is only the communion marked by it for the conscience; respecting the kind of communion nothing more can be ascertained from these words.

Since the Supper represents the communion with Christ, a reference is at the same time involved to the communion founded upon it of believers with one another as members of the one body of Christ. With this view Paul says, 1 Cor. x. 17, "For we being many are one loaf and one body, for we are all partakers of that one loaf;" that is, as we all partake of one loaf, and this loaf represents to us the body of Christ, so it also signifies that we are all related to one another as members of the one body of Christ.²

The idea of the church of Christ is closely connected in the views of Paul with that of the kingdom of God. The former is the particular idea, which may be referred to the latter as the more general and comprehensive one. The idea of the church is subordinate to that of the kingdom of God, because by the latter is denoted either the whole of a series of historical developments, or a great assemblage of co-existent spiritual creations. The first meaning leads us to the original form of the idea of the kingdom of God, by which the Christian dispensation was introduced and to which it was annexed. The universal kingdom of God formed from within, which is to embrace the whole human race, or the union of all mankind in one community animated by one common principle of religion, was prepared and typified by the establishment and development of a nationality, distinguished by religion as the foundation and centre of all its social institutions, the particular theocracy of the Jews. The kingdom of God was not first founded by Christianity as something entirely new but the original kingdom of God, of which the groundwork

¹ The older Fathers of the church not illogically inferred, that there was a bodily participation of Christ at Baptism as well as at the Supper.

² In 1 Cor. xii. 13, there may be an allusion to the Supper in the words [*eis*] *ἐν πνεύμα ἐποτίσθημεν*, and in this case to the participation in the *ἐν πνεύμα* proceeding from spiritual communion with the Redeemer; this may be also the case in 1 Cor. x. 34.

already existed, was released from its limitation to a particular people and its symbolical garb; it was transformed from being a sensuous and external economy to one that was spiritual and internal; and no longer national, it assumed a form that was destined to embrace the whole of mankind; and thus it came to pass, that faith in that Redeemer, whom to prefigure and to prepare for was the highest office of Judaism, was the medium for all men of participating in the kingdom of God. The apostle everywhere represents, that those who had hitherto lived excluded from all historical connexion with the development of God's kingdom among mankind, had become, by faith in the Redeemer, fellow-citizens of the saints, members of God's household, built on the foundation laid by apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone; Eph. ii. 19, 20. The same fact is represented by another image in Rom. xi. 18. Christianity allied itself to the expectation of a restoration and glorification of the theocracy, which was preceded by an increasing sense of its fallen state among the Jews. Those who clung to a national and external theocracy, looked forward to this glorification as something external, sensuous, and national. The Messiah, they imagined, would exalt by a divine miraculous power, the depressed theocracy of the Jews to a visible glory such as it had never before possessed, and establish a new, and exalted, unchangeable order of things, in place of the transitory earthly institutions which had hitherto existed. Thus the kingdom of the Messiah would appear as the perfected form of the theocracy, as the final stage in the terrestrial development of mankind, exceeding in glory everything which a rude fancy could depict under sensible images, a kingdom in which the Messiah would reign sensibly present as God's vicegerent, and order all circumstances according to his will. From this point of view, therefore, the reign of the Messiah would appear as belonging entirely to the future; the present condition of the world (the αἰὼν οὗτος, or αἰὼν πορνῆδος), with all its evils and defects, would be set in opposition to that future golden age (the αἰὼν μέλλων), from which all wickedness and evil would be banished. But in accordance with a change in the idea of the kingdom of God, a different construction was put on this opposition by Christianity; it was transformed from the external to the internal, and withdrawn from the future to the

present. By faith in the Redeemer, the kingdom of God or of the Messiah is already founded in the hearts of men, and thence developing itself outwards, is destined to bring under its control all that belongs to man. And so that higher order of things, which from the Jewish standing-point was placed in the future, has already commenced with the divine life received by faith, and is realized in principle. In spirit and disposition they have already quitted the world in which evil reigns; redemption brings with it deliverance from this world of evil,¹ and believers, who already participate in the spirit, the laws, the powers, and the blessedness of that higher world, constitute an opposition to the αἰὼν οὗτος, the αἰὼν πονηρός. Such is the idea of the kingdom of God presented by the apostle as realized according to the spirit on earth; the kingdom of Christ coincides with the idea of the church existing in the hearts of men, the invisible church,² the totality of the operations of Christianity on mankind;—and the idea of the αἰὼν οὗτος is that of the ungodly spirit of the present world maintaining an incessant conflict with Christianity.

¹ Deliverance from the ἐνεστώσ αἰὼν πονηρός, necessarily accompanies redemption from sin. See Gal. i. 4.

² This is the ἡ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ, the mother of believers; Gal. iv. 26. Rothe disputes this interpretation (see his work before quoted, p. 290), but without reason. He is indeed so far right, that primarily something future is designated by it, as appears from its being contrasted with "the Jerusalem which now is;" but this future heavenly Jerusalem, which at a future time is to be revealed in its glory, is already, in a sense, present to believers, for in faith and spirit and inward life they belong to it; while the earthly Jerusalem is already passed away, they are dead to it, and are separated from it. From this it follows that the heavenly Jerusalem stands to them in the relation of a mother; the participation of the divine life by which they are regenerated, constitutes them the invisible church. The perfect development of this life belongs to the future; their life is now a hidden one; the manifestation of it does not fully correspond to its real nature. Though the idea of the invisible church is not expressed in this distinct form by Paul, yet in spirit and meaning it is conveyed in the above expression, as well as in the distinction which he makes in 2 Tim. ii. 19, 20; and when he forms his idea of the body of Christ according to this distinction, it entirely coincides with that of the invisible church. Hence, also, this idea was strikingly developed by the reformation which proceeded from the Pauline scheme of doctrine. And it is important to maintain it firmly against ecclesiastical sectarianism, against the secularization of the church, whether under the form of Hierarchy, of Romanism, or, what is still worse, the subordination of religion to political objects, the supremacy of the State in matters of religion, Byzantinism.

But as we have already remarked in reference to the Christian life generally, as founded on the necessary connexion of the ideas of *πίστις* and *ἐλπίς*, the Pauline conception of the kingdom of God necessarily contains a reference to the future ; for as the Christian life of the individual is developed progressively by inward and outward conflicts, while aiming at that perfection which is never attained in this earthly existence, the same thing is also true of the manifestation of the kingdom of God on earth, which comprehends the totality of the Christian life diffused through the human race. The knowledge of the manifestation of the kingdom of God is necessarily accompanied by a recognition of this manifestation as still very obscure and imperfect, and by no means corresponding to its idea and real nature. Hence the idea of the kingdom of God in its realization, can only be understood if we view it as now presenting the tendency and germ of what will receive its accomplishment in future, and this accomplishment Paul represents not as something which will spontaneously arise from the natural development of the church, but as produced, like the founding of the kingdom of Christ, by an immediate intervention of Christ. Hence various applications of this term have been made. Sometimes it denotes the present form assumed by the kingdom of God among mankind, the internal kingdom, which is established in the heart by the gospel ; sometimes the future consummation, the perfected form of the victorious and all-transforming kingdom of God ; at other times, the present in its union with the future and in reference to it. The conception of the idea of the kingdom of God in the first sense, is found in 1 Cor. iv. 20. The kingdom of God does not consist, the participation of it is not shown, in what we eat or drink, but in the power of the life ; not in ostentatious discourse, as in the Corinthian church, but in the power of the disposition ; Rom. xiv. 7. The kingdom of God is not meats and drinks—its blessings are not external and sensible, but internal, by possessing which we prove our participation of it, such as justification, peace in the inner man, and a sense of the blessedness of the divine life.¹ The

¹ The connexion of this passage, Romans xiv. 16, appears to me to be this: Give no occasion for the good which you possess as citizens of the kingdom of God (more particularly in the present instance Christian

reference to the future is introduced, where he speaks of the *συμβασιλεύειν* of believers with Christ ; and where he says, that those who, although they have received outward baptism and made an outward profession of Christianity, yet contradict it by the course of their lives, shall not inherit the kingdom of God ; 1 Cor. vi. 10. The passage in 1 Thess ii. 12, where Christians are called upon to conduct themselves in a manner worthy of that God who had called them to his kingdom and glory, has certainly a reference to the future, as far as the *δόξα* of this kingdom has not yet appeared ; in 2 Thess i. 5, the apostle says that Christians, as they already belong to this kingdom, fight and suffer on its behalf, and therefore will enjoy a share in its consummation.

But it is not merely in reference to the series of events which are advancing to their completion that the external form of the kingdom of God is presented as part of a great whole ; there is another consideration which is naturally connected with this view. As the church is a seminary for the heavenly community in which its members are training for their perfect development, it appears even here below as a part of a divine kingdom not confined to the human race, but comprehending also a higher spiritual world, where that archetype to the realization of which mankind are now tending, is already realized. The knowledge of God, according to the comprehensive views of Christianity, is represented not merely as the common vitalizing principle of the human race, but as a bond by which mankind are united with all the orders of beings in a higher spiritual world, in one divine community, according to that universal idea of the kingdom of God which is presented in the Lord's Prayer. Thus Paul represents "God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, not merely as the common Father of mankind, but also as Him after whom the whole community in heaven and on earth are named ;" Eph. iii. 15. By sin men were estranged, not only

freedom) to be spoken ill of by others ; for it is not of such a kind that you need be afraid of losing it : even if you do not avail yourselves of your Christian freedom, if you neither eat nor drink what you are justified in partaking of as Christians, as free citizens of the kingdom of God. Your good is one that is situated within you, not dependent on these outward things ; for the goods of God's kingdom are not outward, or objects of sense, they are within you ; they consist in what is godlike, as the apostle proceeds to specify.

from God, but from that higher spiritual world in which the kingdom of God is already realized. As Christ, when he reconciled men to God, united them to one another in a divine community, broke down the wall of partition (Eph. ii. 14) which separated them, and joined Jews and Gentiles in one body, which is animated by himself as their head; so also while men are brought back to communion with God, they are connected with all those who have already attained that degree of perfection in the kingdom of God to which the church on earth is aspiring. In this respect Paul says, that Christ, in making peace, has united all things in heaven and on earth in one divine kingdom; Coloss. i. 20.¹

Accordingly, Christ is considered by the apostle as in a twofold sense *the head of the church of God*. He distinguishes the divine and the human in the Saviour, and, according to this twofold reference, exhibits him in a twofold though vitally connected relation to the creation and to the universal church of God. Paul and John, for the purpose of designating the indwelling divinity of the Redeemer, employed the idea already formed among the Jewish theologians of a mediating divine principle of revelation, through which the whole creation is connected with the hidden inconceivable essence of God. A primeval self-revelation of the hidden God, antecedent to all created life, the *Word* by which that hidden essence reveals itself, (as man reveals the secrets of his mind by *speech*,) as hypostasized in a spirit in which the essence of Deity is represented in the most perfect manner; this constitutes a universal revelation of the divine essence in distinction from the partial, individualized revelations of God in the variety of created beings. This is a designation of the idea of a self-revelation of God, (corresponding to the oriental cast of mind, which is more addicted to symbols and images than to purely intellectual notions,) which the whole creation presupposes, in which it has its root, and without which no sentiment respecting God could arise in the human soul. We are by no means justified in deducing this idea from Alexandrian Platonism, though a certain mode of expressing it may be traced to that source.² On the contrary, this idea, which

¹ The passage in Coloss. i. 20, has some peculiar difficulties. See below.

² In Philo himself, those descriptions of the idea of the Logos, in

found a point of junction in the theophanies of the Old Testament, and in the theory of revelation lying at their base, formed a natural transition from the legal Judaism, which placed an infinite chasm between God and man, to the gospel by which this chasm was taken away, since it revealed God communicating himself to mankind, and establishing a vital communion between himself and them. The ideas of a divine utterance, which prescribed its mode of being to the creation—of a word by which God operates and reveals himself in the world—of an angel representing God and speaking in his name—of a divine wisdom presupposed through the universe—were so many connecting links for a contemplation which ascended from a revelation of God in the world, to his most absolute self-revelation. And it was a result of this mode of contemplation, that the appearance of Him who was to effect the realization of the idea of the theocracy and was its end, to whom all its preceding development had pointed as the most perfect self-revelation and communication of God in human nature, was acknowledged as the human appearance of the Word, from whom the whole creation and all the early revelations of God, the whole development of the theocracy, proceeded. When the idea of the Messiah was freed from its popular theocratic garb, it would assume that higher element of the idea of a communication of the Divine Being in the form of human nature.

Certainly it could be nothing merely accidental which induced men so differently constituted and trained as Paul and John, to connect such an idea with the doctrine of the person of Christ, but the result of a higher necessity, which is founded in the nature of Christianity, in the power of the impression which the life of Christ had made on the minds of men, in the reciprocal relation between the appearance of Christ and the archetype, that presents itself as an inward revelation of God in the depths of the higher self-consciousness. And all this has found its point of connexion and its verification in the manner in which Christ, the unerring witness, expressed his consciousness of the indwelling of the divine essence in

which the Platonic element which forms their basis may be easily perceived, are to be distinguished from those which were manifestly deduced from a different tradition, and afterwards clothed in a Platonic dress.

him.¹ Had this doctrine, when it was first promulgated by Paul, been altogether new and peculiar to himself, it must have excited much opposition, as contradicting the common monotheistic belief of the Jews, even among the apostles, to whom from their previous habits, such a speculative or theosophic element must have remained unknown, unless it had found a point of connexion in the lessons received from Christ and in their Christian knowledge. What opposition had Paul to encounter—though Peter had already prepared his way—when he asserted the validity of the gospel apart from the observance of the ceremonial law! But *this* doctrine of Christ was equally opposed to common Judaism,² which, when it afterwards appeared in a Christian form, directed its opposition against Christianity (which appeared as a new independent creation affecting both doctrine and practice) principally on this point. Certainly this Judaism can appear to no impartial observer of historical development, as a reaction of the original

¹ Though in the three first evangelists, owing to their peculiar character, in which the purely human predominates, such expressions of Christ are less frequent, yet even here we find some which declare or imply the idea of a Son of God in the sense of Paul and John; Matt. xi. 27; xii. 44; xxviii. 18, 20. See the excellent remarks of Baumgarten Crusius, in his *Outlines of Biblical Theology*, p. 378. The whole character of the Christ of the first Gospels, and several single expressions of divine confidence, correspond only to the Son of God as he is represented by Paul and John. And the predicates *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* (the Messiah appearing as man, who realized the archetype of humanity, human nature exalted to the highest dignity), and the *υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ* (which, as used by Christ, denoted something different from the common Jewish idea of the Messiah), applied by Christ to himself, have a reciprocal relation to one another, and imply the distinction as well as the conjunction and unity of the divine and human in him; see *Leben Jesu*, p. 143.

² Paul himself, in opposition to the common Jewish idea of a Messiah belonging, as a descendant of David, peculiarly to the Jewish nation, who would never break through the forms of their theocracy, in Rom. i. 3, 4, describes Jesus as the Son of God, who, by natural descent, belonged to the posterity of David, but evinced himself to be the Son of God in a powerful manner by his resurrection through the Holy Spirit; that is, after his resurrection, he divested himself of all those peculiar, earthly, national relations, in which he appeared to stand as a native Jew of the family of David. With respect to his interior nature, though before veiled under a terrestrial form, he manifested and declared himself, through the divine life that proceeded from him, to be the Son of God, belonging to all mankind, and exalted above all such earthly relations. Compare 2 Cor. v. 16.

elements of the doctrine of Christ against foreign adulterations, but rather a reaction of the Jewish spirit against the spirit of Christianity, which had broken through the Jewish forms in which it was at first enveloped, and had developed itself into the new creation designed by its divine Founder. Thus, too, the doctrine of the Son of God, as the Son of Man in the sense of John and Paul, was not a mere isolated element accidentally mingled with Christianity, but it is closely connected with the whole nature of its doctrines and morals. God is no more a God at an infinite distance, but revealed in man; a divine life in human form. But this peculiar principle of Christian morals, the idea of the pure humanity transformed by a divine life, obtains its true significance only in connexion with the doctrine of the historical Christ, as the God-man, the Redeemer of sinful humanity which from him must first receive the divine life, and persevere in constant unreserved dependence on him. The self-idolatry of pantheism, which denies equally the God and the Christ of the gospel, rests upon an entirely different basis, and is essentially opposed to it. On the Christian standing-point, the elements of the inward life are a consciousness of dependence on One Being, of a state of pupillage in relation to him, a surrender of the soul to him; with a sense of want, in order to receive from him what man cannot derive from himself, the key-tone of humility; on the anti-christian standing-point of pantheistic self-idolatry, the consciousness of self-sufficiency arises from the supposed union with God which it professes. Hence we see how enormous a falsehood it is, when men make use of Christian phrases for conveying sentiments utterly at variance with their genuine meaning, as they have often been of late years.

Since Paul contemplated the Redeemer equally on the side of his divine preexistence and on that of his human appearance, he united under one point of view the reference to the universe of created beings in general, and to the new spiritual creation in particular, which was introduced among mankind by the gospel; or in other words, the universal kingdom of God, which embraces the whole spiritual world, and that particular kingdom established in the form of a church on earth. Paul was led to exhibit this twofold re-

ference in its unity in his Epistle to the Colossians, for the purpose of combating the pretensions of certain notions then in vogue respecting spirits. He who is the image of the hidden incomprehensible God, he in whom that God revealed himself before all created existence, he who carries in himself the archetypes of all existences,¹ in whom all earthly and heavenly beings, all invisible as well as visible powers, have been created, by whom and ² in reference to whom all things are created, who is before all,³ and in whom (in connexion with whom) all beings continue to exist,—the same being, therefore, who is the head of all, of the whole all-comprehending kingdom of God, is also the Head of the Church which belongs to him as his body (by virtue of his entering into communion corporeally with human nature); since he, as the first-born from the dead, has become the first-fruits of the new creation among mankind, that he may be the first of every order of beings; as he is the *πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως*, so also the *πρωτότοκος τῆς καινῆς κτίσεως*.⁴ According to his divine being deduced from the original of the divine essence before the whole creation, he forms the medium for the origination of all created existence; as the Risen One before all others in glorified human nature, he forms the medium for the new spiritual creation which proceeds from him among mankind. This combination of reference to the twofold creation which finds its point of union in Christ as the God-man Redeemer, is also made in

¹ Col. i. 16, the *ἐν αὐτῷ* must be distinguished from the *δι' αὐτοῦ*; the former indicates that the Logos is the ideal ground of all existence; the latter that he is the instrument of revealing the divine idea.

² Inasmuch as the revelation and glory of God in the creation can be effected only through him, in whom alone God reveals himself, through him everything refers itself to God.

³ The *ἐστι* denotes the divine existence, but also with a particular reference to the *ἐστι* in v. 18.

⁴ It cannot be urged against this interpretation, that if Paul had intended to mark the reference to the divine and human, he would have pointedly marked the distinction of the *κατὰ σάρκα* and *κατὰ πνεῦμα*, for when Paul uses such marks he wishes to render the antithesis prominent; but here it is his main design, along with the distinction, to mark the unity of the subject, and therefore it would have been contrary to his intention to have marked the contrast more sharply. In the former passage (Rom. i. 3, 4) the dialectic element predominates, but here the soaring of inspiration.

the expressions by which Paul distinguishes the nature of Christian faith from heathenism ; 1 Cor. viii. 6 ;—one God the Father, from whom all existence proceeds, and to whose glory we, as redeemed, are conscious that we exist ; and one Lord Jesus Christ (the mediator in our knowledge of God as Christians), through whom all things were created, and through whom, by means of the new creation, our destiny will be realized, so that our life and conduct will be referred to God, and be subservient to his glory.¹

The idea of the kingdom of God has also in Paul's writings an essential reference to a kingdom of evil. Although evil carries with it only division and internal contradiction, and forms no unity, and therefore we cannot speak of a kingdom of evil that is constituted for one precise object, yet the opposition against the kingdom of God imparts a unity to all the diversified manifestations of evil. As the kingdom of God, according to the Pauline views, in its most extensive sense, passes beyond the boundaries of earthly existence, and embraces the totality of the development of the divine life in all those beings who are destined to exhibit a conscious revelation of their Maker, so likewise the opposition against the kingdom of God is represented by the apostle as of vast extent and diversified relations. He considers the prevalence of sin in mankind to stand in connexion with the prevalence of evil in the higher spiritual world ; the principle of sin is everywhere the same,—the selfishness striving against the divine will in those rational beings who were designed to subordinate their will to God's with consciousness and freedom. All other evil is traced by Paul to the outbreak of this opposition in the rational creation as

¹ It is connected with the Pauline mode of conception here developed, that while he ascribes a truly divine yet derived being to Christ, he is wont to mark Him to whom he ascribes the divine original being, God the Father, simply as *ὁ θεός*. Nor is it at variance with this, that, as he ascribes to him a *ὑπάρχειν ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ*, an *εἶναι ἰσα θεῷ*, Phil. ii. 6, he could also designate him in that difficult passage, Rom. ix. 5, as *θεός*, as elevated above all, according to his divine nature. But in the passage Titus ii. 13, I cannot but consider the Great God and the Saviour as two different subjects. "It is Christ our Saviour by whom the glory of the Great God is revealed." The expression "the Great God hath given himself for us," would be altogether unapostolic. Compare the remarks of that unprejudiced critic Winer, in his *Grammar* p. 115, 3d edit. [p. 122, 4th edit.]

its primary source. As all sin among mankind is deduced from the original sin at the beginning of the race and is considered as its effect, so all evil generally is viewed in connexion with that first evil, and as the operation of the same fundamental tendency. This is of importance in relation to the whole doctrine of sin. Had Paul, according to the views ascribed to him by some, considered evil as only something necessarily grounded in human nature, and the first man as in this respect a type of all mankind, the idea of an evil extraneous to mankind in a world of higher intelligences, could have found in his mind no point of connexion. But it constitutes the importance of this doctrine in relation to Christian Theism, that the reality and inexplicability of sin as an act of the will is thereby firmly established, in opposition to all attempts at explaining it, which go to deny the very existence of a Will, and deduce evil from a necessity which classes moral development with the chain of causes and effects in nature.¹ Thus the apostle recognises in all the ungodliness of men, whether it assumes a theoretical or practical form, the power of a principle of darkness—a spirit which is active in unbelievers.² The αἰὼν οὗτος and the κόσμος οὗτος are the terms used to express the totality of everything which opposes the kingdom of God, the collective assemblage of the ungodly, the kingdom of this spirit which is the representative of evil in general.³

¹ This has been recognised in the light of an ethico-religious idealism by a Kant, whose earnest moral spirit (on this point at least) approaches much nearer to biblical Christianity, than the modern pantheistic idolatry of the understanding, and the logical monism of those who fancy they can reconcile, by dint of logic, the contrarieties in human nature which only admit of a practical settlement. See Kant's *Religion innerhalb der Gränzen der blossen Vernunft*.

² Eph. ii. 2. τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ νῦν ἐνεργοῦντος ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆς ἀπειθείας.

³ Paul must naturally have regarded heathenism in itself (as a suppression by sin of the knowledge of God) as belonging to the kingdom of the evil spirit. But though the opinion that the apostle adopted the notion of the Jews, that the heathen gods were evil spirits who influenced men to pay them religious homage, has met with several advocates in modern times, much may be urged against it. When Paul speaks of the origin of idolatry in the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, it would have been a most natural opportunity for saying, that men through sin were grown up to the influence of evil spirits, and were seduced by them to transfer to them the homage that was due to the

Jesus appeared in humanity to annihilate the empire of sin and of Satan. All the powers of evil arrayed themselves

living God. It would have marked more strongly the detestable quality of idolatry, and the predominance of unnatural lusts, to which he there refers, if he could have traced them to the influence of evil spirits, to whom men had subjected themselves, esteeming them to be divinities. But we find nothing of all this; Paul speaks merely of the transference to earthly things of the homage due to God, and he deduces all the enormities he specifies only from the moral and intellectual course of development among men left to themselves. In Gal. iv. 8, when he says of those who had before been heathens, that they had served what was no god, as if it were God, it is noways implied that they considered other real beings or evil spirits to be gods; but only that they had made themselves slaves of the *στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου*, instead of serving God alone, as became the dignity of human nature. The *στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου* are the objects to which they ascribed divine power. In reference to the Corinthian church, I cannot retract the opinion I expressed above, *ante*, p. 243. I cannot so understand the passage in 1 Cor. viii. 7, as if the persons indicated by Paul were Christians who could not altogether free themselves from faith in the reality of the heathen divinities as such; for, according to the relation in which Christianity at that time stood to heathenism, it is utterly inconceivable that, among those who became Christians, such a mixture could be formed of their earlier polytheistic views with Christian monotheism. Still, if they could not free themselves from belief in the reality of beings who had formerly exercised so great an influence over their minds, those whom they once held to be divinities must have appeared to them as evil spirits, in consequence of the total revolution in their modes of thinking. But if this be assumed, Paul could not at the same time hold as correct that view which he attributes to the weak as erroneous. He declares, moreover, that the views of the liberal party in the Corinthian church were correct in theory, but they proceeded on the supposition that the heathen divinities were only imaginary beings, and that for this reason the eating of the meat offered to them was a matter of perfect indifference. In 1 Cor. viii. 5, he contrasts only two subjective standing-points in religion, without speaking of the relation to the objective. The passage in 1 Cor. x. 20, is the strongest in favour of the view which we are here opposing. But we must determine the meaning of this verse by comparing it with verse 19. If we admitted that Paul considered the heathen divinities to be evil spirits, we must agree with Billroth (see his commentary on this passage), that he wished to guard against that misunderstanding to which the preceding comparison might have given rise, as if he really acknowledged their divinities to be actually divine. But, as we have already remarked, no member of the Corinthian church could be supposed to entertain such an opinion, nor can it be supposed that any one could have so misunderstood the language of Paul, who always maintained so strongly an exclusive monotheism. On the other hand, his words might be so understood, as if he considered these divinities to be real beings (though evil spirits), and hence ascribed an objective importance to what was offered to them.

against the Holy One of God ; his death, in which was manifested the mighty power of the kingdom of darkness among mankind, seemed to be their most splendid triumph, for here the mightiest opponent of this kingdom succumbed to their machinations. But the relation was reversed, and since the sufferings of Christ were the completion of his work of redemption, since Christ by his resurrection and ascension to heaven manifested the victorious power of the redemption he had completed, since now as the Glorified One, with the power of a divine life that overcame all opposition, he continued to work in and by those whom he had redeemed from the power of sin and Satan,—it was precisely by that event which appeared as a victory of the kingdom of darkness that its power was destroyed. In this connexion Paul says, in Coloss. ii. 15, that Christ by his redeeming sufferings had gained a triumph over the powers that opposed the kingdom of God, and had put them openly to shame, just as the chiefs of vanquished nations are led in a triumphal procession as signs of the destruction of the hostile force,—thus the power of evil now appeared annihilated. And a similar image in Eph. iv. 8, represents Christ, after he had made prisoners of the powers opposed to him, as ascending victoriously to heaven, and distributing gifts among men as the tokens of his triumph, just as princes are wont to celebrate their victories by the distribution of donatives. These gifts are the charisms. As the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, the impartation of divine life to believers, and especially the founding of a church animated by a divine principle of life, are proofs of the conquest over the kingdom of evil, and of the liberation of the redeemed from its power ; so likewise the manifold operations of this divine life in redeemed human nature, are so many marks of Christ's victory over the kingdom of evil, since those powers belonging to man, which formerly were employed in the service of sin, are now become the organs of the divine life. Now, through redemption the power of the kingdom of darkness is broken, and a foundation is laid for the complete victory of the king-

And in opposition to this mistake, he now says that he speaks only of what the heathens believed subjectively from their own standing-point, which stood in opposition to the Christian, and with which Christians could enter into no sort of communion, that those beings to whom they sacrificed were *δαμόνια* in the Grecian sense of the term.

dom of God and its total separation from all evil. But till this final consummation is effected, the kingdom of Christ can only develop itself in continued conflict with the kingdom of evil, for the power of the latter is still shown in them who have not been freed from it by redemption, and by them the kingdom of God as it exists in the believer is opposed, though all that opposes it must in the end contribute to its victory. And even in the redeemed themselves, points of connexion with the kingdom of evil exist, as far as their lives are not purified from a mixture of ungodliness. Hence Christians are called to act as soldiers for the kingdom of Christ, 2 Tim. ii. 3, against all the power of evil, both that which meets them from without in their efforts for the extension and promotion of the kingdom of Christ among mankind, as well as against all from within, which threatens to disturb the operations of the divine life in themselves, and in so doing to retard the internal advancement of Christ's kingdom, Eph. vi. 11. It is the dictate of practical Christian morals, that as every talent is transformed into charism, it becomes appropriated for this divine equipment of the *militia Christi*. If Christians only rightly appropriate divine truth, and make all the powers of their nature subservient to it, they will find therein the most complete equipment (the *πανοπλία τοῦ θεοῦ*) in order to carry on this warfare successfully. Whenever Paul mentions this invisible kingdom of evil, it is always in connexion with the presupposed sinful direction of the will in human nature, for the doctrine of Satan can only be rightly understood by means of the idea of sin derived from our moral experience. In the copious discussion on the nature and origin of sin, and on the reaction of the work of redemption against sin, which is given in the Epistle to the Romans, Satan is not mentioned; and when Paul first turned to the heathen and led them to the faith, he certainly appealed at first only to the consciousness of sin in their own breasts, as in his discourse at Athens. Moreover, he always contemplated this doctrine in connexion with the redemption accomplished by Christ. Believers have reason to fear the invisible powers of darkness only when they expose themselves to their influence by the sinful direction of their will, and are not careful to make a right use of the means granted them in communion with Christ, for conflicting with the kingdom of evil; that kingdom which the

Redeemer has overcome once for all. Paul employs this doctrine to arouse believers to greater watchfulness, that, under the consciousness of an opposing invisible power which avails itself of every germ of evil as a point of connexion, they may carefully watch and allow nothing of the kind to spring up ; and that they may rightly appropriate and use the divine weapons furnished by the gospel against all temptation ; 2 Cor. ii. 10, 11 ; Eph. vi. 12.

We have now to speak of the gradual development of the kingdom of Christ, as it advances in conflict with the kingdom of evil, until the period of its completion.

With respect to the manner in which both nations and individuals are led by the publication of the gospel to a participation in the kingdom of God, Paul deduces the counsel of redemption and everything belonging to its completion, both generally and particularly, from the free disposal of the grace of God, irrespective of any merit on the part of man. The peculiar form of his doctrinal scheme is closely connected with the manner in which he was changed from being an eager persecutor of the gospel into its zealous professor and publisher. And this free movement of grace, not measured and determined according to human merit, he brings forward in opposition to a theory equally arrogant and contracted, according to which admission to the kingdom of God was determined by the merits of a legal righteousness ; the Jewish people, by virtue of the merits and election of their progenitors, were supposed to have an unalienable right to form the main-pillar and centre of the theocracy. Accordingly, he contemplates the free arrangements of grace in a twofold contrast ; in contrast to claims founded on natural descent from distinguished ancestors, and a peculiar theocratic nation—and to claims founded on the meritoriousness of a legal righteousness. In reference to the former, he makes the contrast on the one hand of natural descent determined by law, and therefore founded in a law of natural development, and defined by it ; on the other hand, a development not to be calculated according to such a law of nature, but one which depends on the free disposal of divine grace and of the divine Spirit ; the arrangement according to which the promise is fulfilled as the work of God's free grace. In the former case, the development of the kingdom of God proceeds by outward propaga-

tion and transmission—in the latter, a development ensues in virtue of the invisible and internal connexion of the operations of the divine Spirit, and of the communication of divine life. Paul illustrates this universal contrast,¹ this law for the theocratical development through all ages by a particular example, the example of Abraham's posterity, from whom the Jews deduced their theocratic privileges. He points out how, among the immediate posterity of Abraham, not that son was chosen who would have carried on the line of his descendants according to the common course of nature, but one who was miraculously born² contrary to all human calculation; that this latter, and not the former, was destined to be the instrument of fulfilling the divine promises, and of continuing the theocracy; such, he shows, was the law of its continued development. Most unjustly has Paul been charged here with an arbitrary allegorizing which could carry weight only with the readers of that age.

We do not here perceive in him a theologian entangled in Jewish prejudices, of which his education in the school of Pharisaism could not divest him, but a great master in the interpretation of history, who in particular facts could discern general laws and types, and knew how to reduce the most complex phenomena to simple and constantly recurring laws. Thus he here infers, with perfect correctness from a particular case, a universal law for the historical development of the theocracy, which he illustrates by that fact. He applies the same law to the Jews considered as the peculiar theocratic people in relation to the theocratic people formed from the mass of mankind by the gospel. Since those who, according to the law of natural descent from the theocratic people, imagined that they had a sure title to admission into the kingdom of God, were yet excluded from it; on the contrary, by a dispensation of the divine Spirit, which could not have been calculated beforehand, towards the heathen nations, who according to the order of nature, since they were entirely

¹ The same contrast, which has always made its appearance among the conflicting views in the Christian church, the contrast between Judaism in a Christian form, as in catholicism and other similar modes of thinking, and the free evangelical point of view of the visible church depending for its development on the invisible efficiency of the divine word.

² κατὰ πνεῦμα, not κατὰ σάρκα; Gal. iv.

distinct from the theocratic people, appeared to be altogether excluded¹ from the kingdom of God, a new theocratic race was called into existence, in whom the promises made to Abraham were to be fulfilled.

With respect to the second point, that of founding a claim for admission into the kingdom of God on the merits of a legal righteousness, Paul meets this arrogant assumption by the fact that the Jews, who by their zeal in the righteousness of the law, appeared to have the most valid title to such a privilege, were excluded from it owing to their unbelief; and on the contrary, the heathen, among whom there had been no such striving after a legal righteousness, were unexpectedly called to partake of it.

As in the ninth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, he contemplates only this one aspect of the dispensation of divine grace in the perpetuation of the kingdom of God, and for a polemical purpose, it might seem as if he deemed the dispensation of divine grace to be in no respect affected by the determination of the human will—as if happiness and unhappiness were distributed among men by a divine predestination entirely unconditional; and as if he deduced the different conduct of men in reference to the divine revelations and leadings—from a divine causation which arranged everything according to an unchangeable necessity. This principle if carried out, would lead to a denial of all moral free self-determination in general, contradict the essence of genuine theism, and would logically be consistent only with Pantheistic views. But on such a supposition, the line of argument which Paul here adopts would be entirely inconsistent with the general design of this epistle. He wishes to prove both to Gentiles and Jews, that, owing to their sins, they had no means of exculpating themselves before the divine tribunal; that all were alike exposed to punishment; he particularly wished to lead the Jews to a conviction that, by their unbelief, they deserved exclusion from the kingdom of God. But on the hypothesis to which we have just referred, he would have

¹ However improbable it appeared that Abraham would obtain offspring for the continuance of his race, in the manner which actually occurred, there was as little probability that the true worship of Jehovah would proceed from nations who had been hitherto devoted to idolatry.

removed all imputation of guilt, and furnished the best ground of excuse for all, a necessity that guided all human actions by a secret machinery. Or we must explain his scheme by the distinction of a twofold standing-point, one theoretical, the other practical, a hidden and a revealed will of God; but we can find nothing in his mode of thinking to authorize such a distinction. It is, in short, evident from the close of his whole argument, which begins in the ninth chapter—even if we do not view this single discussion in its relation to the whole of his theology and anthropology—how very far he was from thinking of God as a being who created the greater part of the human race, in order to manifest his punitive justice to them after involving them in sin and unbelief; and who had created a smaller part in order to manifest his redeeming grace, by rescuing them from the sin into which they had been involved by a divine destiny; for he represents as the final issue of all the dispensations with the generations of mankind, not such a partial, but the most general revelation of the divine grace. God hath suffered all, Jews as well as Gentiles,¹ to come to a knowledge of their sin, and by that of their need of redemption, that he may manifest his redeeming grace to all who are in this way fitted to receive it, Rom. xi. 32. Moreover, the doxology with which he closes the whole exposition of his views (xi. 33), contains a twofold reference,—to the infinite wisdom of God, which manifests itself in the development of the kingdom of God among the Gentiles by an unexpected course of events,—and to the grace of God, to which men are indebted for all those blessings which no merits of their own could secure. Therefore, in the discussion which is closed by this doxology, there is only a reference to a divine wisdom, whose proceedings are not to be calculated beforehand, according to any contracted human theory; and to a superabounding grace of God, which anticipates all human merit, reigns over all, and serves to explain all. These two

¹ The great mass of mankind, as being either of the Jewish or Gentile race, seems to be the subject of discourse, rather than individuals; though what Paul here says is applicable to the plan and course of the divine dealings with individuals; the same preparation for the appropriation of redemption, is needed for individuals as for collective bodies consisting of individuals; the consciousness of the need of redemption is always the necessary intermediate step, though this may be awakened in various ways.

relations are closely connected with one another; for as the superabounding grace of God is shown by all, Jews as well as Gentiles, and Gentiles as well as Jews, being brought to a participation of redemption, so the wonderful wisdom of God is manifested by the manner in which, by the dealings of his providence with the nations, the feeling of the need of redemption as the necessary preparation for obtaining it, is developed in various ways among them, according to their respective standing-points.

Thus, too, Paul says in Eph. iii. 10, that by the manner in which the church of God was formed among mankind, and especially in which the heathen were led to a participation in redemption, the *πολυποίκιλος σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ* was manifested; the epithet here given to the divine wisdom, serves to express the variety of methods by which it conducted the development of mankind to one end. But the praise of the divine wisdom in this respect, is directly opposed to the hypothesis of an arbitrary impartation of grace and of an unconditional divine causation. For this very reason, divine wisdom was requisite for the establishment of the church of God among mankind, because God did not all at once give that direction to men's minds which they required to attain a participation in redemption, but trained them to it with free self-determination on their part according to their various standing-points.¹

In the discussion of this controversy, Paul dwells principally on the free grace and independent will of God, because it was only his object to humble the pride of the Jews, and to awaken in their minds the consciousness that man, by all his

¹ When Paul speaks of the incomprehensibility of the divine dealings towards the generations of men, it is in this sense, that the limited reason of man cannot determine *à priori* the proceedings of the divine government, and that man cannot understand its single acts till he can survey the connexion of the whole in its historical development. But since he speaks of a revelation of the divine wisdom, it is evident that he assumes that a knowledge of these proceedings is possible in such a connexion. And, in fact, the divine wisdom must have already manifested itself conspicuously in the transference of the kingdom of God from the Jews to the Gentiles, and in the preparation of the latter for that event, to those who only cast a glance at the events that were passing under their eyes. The divine wisdom will also be discerned at a future period, in the manner of bringing so large a portion of the Jewish people to faith in the Redeemer.

efforts, cannot seize what he can only receive from the grace of God under a sense of his own dependence and need of help ; that God was under no obligation to choose the instruments for perpetuating the theocracy only from the members of the theocratic nation, but might make them the objects of punishment. But from this we are by no means to infer that Paul considered that this grace operated as a magical, unconditional necessity, or that the divine punishment was an arbitrary act, or, equally with sin and unbelief, a matter of divine causation. It was far from his intention to give a complete theory of the divine election of grace, and its relation to free-will, but only to exhibit it under one special point of view. It was therefore natural that, if this antithetical reference was not always kept in view, and everything else in connexion with it, much would be misunderstood, and a very one-sided theory of election would be formed from this portion of Scripture. When Paul says God hardeneth whom he will—the freedom of the divine will in reference to the divine punishment is maintained against the delusion of the Jews, that their nation could not be an object of the divine displeasure. But that this punishment should be conditional, depending on the criminality of man as a free agent, is by no means excluded, but rather implied in the idea of *hardening*.

By this expression that law of the moral world is indicated, according to which the moral self-determination gives its direction to the whole inward man ; the sinful direction of the will brings on blindness of mind, and the manner in which everything from without operates on man, depends on this his inward self-determination, and by his consequent susceptibility or unsusceptibility for the revelation of the Divine which meets him from without. And in this respect, Paul holds up the example of Pharaoh as a warning to the Jewish nation. As the miracles which, by another direction of his inward man, might have led him to an acknowledgment of the divine almightiness in the dealings of God with the Jewish people, and to a subjection of his will to the divine will clearly manifested to him—as these miracles, on the contrary, only contributed to harden him in his self-will and delusion, so there was nothing to prevent God from acting in a similar way with the Jewish nation in reference to the reception they

gave to the revelation of himself through Christ. When he says, that the Jews by all their efforts could attain nothing ; but that the Gentiles, on the contrary, without such efforts had been admitted into the kingdom of God (Rom. ix. 30, 31); such language by no means implies that the conduct of men makes no difference in the impartation of grace, but exactly the contrary ; for he thus expresses the hindrance to the reception of the gospel by the Jews arising from the direction of their minds, from the state of their hearts ; namely, that a confidence in their own "willing and running," prevented the consciousness of their need of redemption, while those classes of heathens among whom the gospel was first propagated were more easily led to embrace it, because they indulged in no such false confidence. And as he combated the presumptuous dependence of the Jews on their own works and exposed its nullity, so on the other hand, he warned the Gentiles against a false dependence on divine grace, which might mislead them to forget what was required on their part, in order to its appropriation. He represents the operations of grace as depending on their faithful retention on the part of man—the remaining in grace on the right direction of the will, Rom. xi. 20. "Because of unbelief they were broken off, and thou standest by faith." In another passage, Paul allows it to depend entirely on the direction of the will whether a man should become a vessel of honour or of dishonour. "If a man purge himself from these, he shall be a vessel unto honour," 2 Tim. ii. 21. But in his own sphere of action, the apostle was more frequently called to oppose a false confidence in a vain righteousness of works, than a false confidence in divine grace ; and his own mental training led him particularly to combat the former error. Both these circumstances together had the effect of disposing him to develop the Christian doctrine on this side especially, and to present what belonged to it in the clearest light.

Besides, when it was his object to arouse and establish the courage and confidence of believers, he could not direct them to the weak and uncertain power of man, but pointed to the immovable ground of confidence in the counsels of the divine love in reference to their salvation, the foundation of what God had effected through Christ. The divine counsel of salvation must necessarily be fulfilled in them, nor could the

accomplishment of this unchangeable divine decree be prevented by anything which might happen to them in life ; on the contrary, all things would serve to prepare for its accomplishment, everything which they might meet with in life must contribute to their salvation. This is the practical connexion of ideas in Rom. viii. 28, &c., those whom God in his eternal intuition¹ has recognised as belonging to him through Christ, he has also predetermined that they should be conformed to the archetype of his Son, since he having risen from the dead in his glorified humanity, must be the first-born among many brethren. But those whom he had predestined to this end, he has also called to it ; those whom he has called, he has also justified ; those whom he has justified, he has also glorified. The train of thought is therefore this : first, the divine idea of Christ, and of mankind contemplated in him, the divine counsel to realize this idea in believers ; to conform them as redeemed to the archetype of Christ by the completion of the new creation. Then the gradual accomplishment of this counsel ; first, the calling to believe (in the Pauline sense, the outward and the inward call are taken in combination for the production of faith), as believers they become justified, and with believing the realization of the dignity of the children of God begins in their inward life. That God gave up his Son in order to secure this blessing to them, is a sure pledge of their obtaining it, and that nothing which appears to stand in the way shall really obstruct, but on the contrary must serve to advance it. Consequently, this doctrine of predestination and election, in the Pauline sense, is nothing else but the application of the general counsel of God for the redemption of mankind through Christ as the ground of salvation to those in whom it is accomplished by virtue of their believing. The greatness and certainty of the dignity of Christians is thus evinced ; but nothing is determined respecting the relation of the divine choice to the free determination of the human wills. When Paul, in Eph. i. 4, represents Christians as objects of the divine love before the foundation of the world, his object is to show that Christianity

¹ I do not mean a knowledge simply resulting from the divine prescience, which is quite foreign to the connexion of the passage, but a creative knowledge, [such as in the Arts a man of genius has of his designs,] established in the divine idea.

was not inferior to Judaism as a new dispensation, but was in fact the most ancient and original, and presupposed by Judaism itself, the election in Christ preceded the election of the Jewish nation in their forefathers ; and redemption, the verification of the archetype of humanity through Christ and proceeding from him, is the end of the whole terrestrial creation, so that everything else appears as a preparation for this highest object in the counsel of creation in reference to this world.

Of the apostle Paul's views in reference to the last conflict which the kingdom of God will have to sustain, and his expectations of the victory to be gained by the approaching coming of the Lord, we have already spoken in our account of his ministry ; *ante*, p. 205. The prospects of the consummation of the kingdom of God bear the same relation to the development of the New Testament dispensation, as the prophetic intimations of the glorification of the theocracy by the work of the Redeemer bear to the development of the Old Testament dispensation. Everything prophetic must be fragmentary, and hence cannot furnish us with clear and connected knowledge. We cannot, therefore, help considering as a vain attempt, the endeavour to frame, by a comparison of particular apostolical expressions, a connected complete doctrine of the consummation of all things. From the standing-point of the apostles this was not possible. It might indeed happen, that in moments of higher inspiration and of special illumination, many higher but still isolated views might be imparted, which yet they could not combine into an organic systematic unity with their other representations on this subject.

With the doctrine of the consummation of the kingdom of God, is closely connected, in the Pauline system, the doctrine of the resurrection. This doctrine does not present itself here as an accidental and isolated fact, but stands in intimate relation to his general mode of contemplating the Christian life. It is the fundamental view of Paul and of the New Testament generally, that the Christian life which proceeds from faith carries in it the germ of a higher futurity ; that the development of the divine life begun by faith, through which a man appropriates the redeeming work of Christ, and enters into fellowship with him, will go on until it has pervaded

human nature in its full extent. Thus the appropriation of the body as an organ for the sanctified soul, as a temple of the Holy Spirit, must precede the higher state in which the body will be furnished as the glorified and corresponding organ of the perfected holy soul, Rom. vi. 5—8, 11; 1 Cor. vi. 14. Expositors, for want of entering sufficiently into the profound views of the apostle, and of grasping the comprehensive survey that stretches from the present into the future, have often erred by a mistaken reference of such passages either solely to the spiritual resurrection of the present state, or solely to the bodily resurrection of the future.

The difficulties which were raised, even in the apostle's time, respecting the doctrine of the resurrection, were founded particularly on the gross conceptions of it, and on the mode of determining the identity of the body. Paul, on the contrary, in the fifteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, teaches that, by the same creative power of God which caused a peculiar creation to proceed from a grain of corn, an organ of the soul adapted to its higher condition would be formed from an indestructible corporeal germ. It may be asked, what is the essence of the body considered as an organ belonging to a distinct personality? Only this is considered by Paul as abiding, while the corporeal form is subject to change and dissolution; the former, as something belonging to the representation of the whole personality, will be restored in a form corresponding to its glorified state. And as the body of man is the mediating organ between the soul and nature, the idea is here associated of a Palingenesia of the latter, with the resurrection to which Paul alludes in Rom. viii. 19—23¹

¹ The later distinguished commentators on this epistle have acknowledged this to be the only tenable exposition; and even Usteri, who had before brought forward the strongest objections against it, has been induced, for the same reasons which appear to me convincing, to accede to it. Against that interpretation, according to which this passage refers to the anxiety of the heathen world, the following reasons appear to me decisive. 1. Paul would in that case have used, as he generally does, the word *κόσμος*. 2. If we admit that he here pointed out the deeply felt sense of universal misery, the feeling of dissatisfaction with all existing things, the longing after something better, though without a clear knowledge of the object, as felt by the heathen, yet he would attribute such feelings to only a small and better part of the *κόσμος*; it is impossible that he could assert this of the whole mass of the heathen world sunk in sin. Yet we must grant that, in describing an age of

This idea stands in close connexion with the whole of the Pauline scheme of doctrine, and the Christian system generally: the κληρονομία τοῦ κόσμου, which promised to believers that they shall reign with Christ—that to them as to Christ all things in the future world shall be subject—that this globe is destined to be the scene of the triumphant kingdom of God—that in its progressive development this kingdom will subject all things to itself, until the consummation which Paul marks as the aim of this universal longing.

He usually connects the doctrine of the eternal life of the individual with the doctrine of the resurrection, and says nothing of the life of the soul in an intermediate state after death till the end of all things. The designation of death as a sleep in relation to the resurrection that is to follow, may favour the opinion that he considered the state after death to be one of suppressed consciousness like sleep, and admitted that the soul would first be awakened at the resurrection of the body, though in every other reference to death he could describe it under the image of sleep as a transition to a higher existence. When in the church at Thessalonica the anxieties of many were excited respecting the fate of the believers who had already died, he only intimates to them that, at the time of Christ's second coming, the believers then alive would not anticipate those who were already dead. But it might be

great excitement, and pervaded by a vague and obscure anxiety, it might be said, that an anxiety of which they were unconscious was at the bottom of their wrestling and striving,—that they were in a state of unhappiness, which only he who had attained a higher knowledge could explain to them; and thus Paul might apply the expressions used by him to describe the spiritual condition of the world around him. But then, he must have described this state of men's minds as something peculiar to that age, and not as having existed up to that moment from the beginning, ever since the creation had been subject to this bondage. 3. According to his own ideas, he could not say that the κόσμος against its will was subjected, in a manner free from blame, by God himself to the bondage of a vain existence. 4. According to this interpretation, Paul must have taught, that as soon as the children of God had attained their destined glory, it would spread itself over the heathen world, which would then enter into the communion of the divine life. But if it be assumed that Paul here so openly and clearly expressed the doctrine of a universal restitution, he must first have mentioned the appropriation of redemption by faith as a means of salvation equally necessary for all; he could not have admitted the possibility of such a state of glorification not brought about through faith in the Redeemer.

supposed, that had he admitted a continuance of consciousness in more exalted and intimate communion with the Lord as taking place immediately after death, he would have reminded the persons whose minds were disturbed on the subject, that those for whom they mourned had already been admitted to a higher and blessed communion with their Lord, as the later Fathers of the Church would not have failed to have done.

Yet since Paul was convinced that by faith men pass from death unto life¹—since he testified from his own experience under manifold sufferings, that while the outward man perished the inward was renewed day by day, 2 Cor. xiv. 16, and this experience was to him a type of the future—since also the outward man would only pass to a higher life from the final dissolution of death—since he received a progressive development of the divine life in communion with the Redeemer—since he taught that believers would follow the Saviour in all things—from all these considerations it necessarily followed, that the higher life of believers could not be interrupted by death, and that by means of it they would attain to a more complete participation in Christ's divine and blessed life. This idea of a progressive development of the divine life in communion with the Redeemer, is indeed not one introduced from a foreign standing-point, into the doctrine of the apostles, but proceeds from his own mode of contemplation, as we learn from a comparison of his language in numberless passages. Still we are not sufficiently justified to conclude from that idea of such a process of development in the earthly life, that Paul believed in its progression after the close of our earthly life, in the period intervening till the resurrection. We may imagine the possibility that the consequences flowing from those premises would not be

¹ For although he has not expressed this in precisely the same terms as John, yet the sentiment they contain follows of course from what he has repeatedly asserted respecting deliverance from spiritual death, and the life produced by faith. Between the two apostles there is only a difference of form, not of the manner in which the idea of ζωή is employed by them,—for in this they agree, in considering it as something that really enters the soul with believing; but John refers the idea of ζωή αἰώνιος to the present, Paul only to the future, although both substantially agree in the recognition of the divine life founded in faith, which bears in it the germ of a future higher development, anticipates the future, and contains it in itself as in bud.

consciously developed by him, since the thought of the resurrection and everlasting life were in his mind so closely connected, that he would be induced to leave the interval between the death of believers and their resurrection as an empty space. But, in the Epistle to the Romans, Paul expressly makes this distinction between the soul and the body, that the latter will die, and be given up to death on account of sin, the germ of which it carries in itself, but the former will be alive, exalted above death, so that it will have no power over them; accordingly, their life will be exposed to no repression or destruction, but be in a state of progressive development, never again to be interrupted by death. And the conclusion which we may draw from this single passage, is confirmed by those passages in the later Pauline epistles, which intimate that higher degrees of communion with Christ and of happiness are immediately consequent on death. The admission of this fact is by no means contradicted by his representing that the last and greatest result in the consummation of the kingdom of God, will proceed, not from its natural spontaneous development, but from without by the immediate event of Christ's *παρουσία*; as, in the same manner, the facts of the appearance of the Son of God in humanity, redemption, and regeneration, though they are not deduced from a preceding development, and constitute a perfectly new era in the spiritual life, are far from excluding, but rather presuppose, an antecedent preparatory development. Now, the later epistles of Paul contain such passages, in which he expresses most decidedly the hope of a higher development immediately consequent on death, of a divine life of blessedness in more complete communion with Christ; Philip. i. 22, 23. We cannot in truth perceive how Paul, if he supposed the second coming of Christ and the resurrection to be events so very near, could say, that he "desired to depart and to be with Christ which was far better," in case he placed the salutary consequences of death only in something negative—in freedom from the toils and conflicts of earthly life, under which, as he so often declared, he experienced so much more intensely the blessed effects of the gospel on his own soul,—and had not contemplated a higher kind of communion with Christ, a higher development of the life which was rooted in that communion as a consequence of death.

Must not a man of Paul's flaming zeal and devoted activity have preferred such a life of conflict for the kingdom of Christ, to a slumbering and dreaming existence or a life of shadows? In 2 Tim. iv. 18, he also describes an entrance into the kingdom of Christ as immediately following death; though this last passage is not so decisive, as the interpretation in this point of view may be disputed.¹

It may perhaps be thought² that a progress on this subject in the development of Christian knowledge took place in Paul's mind. As long as he expected the second coming of Christ and the final resurrection as near at hand, he had little occasion to separate from one another the ideas of an eternal life after death and of a resurrection; and, in accordance with the Jewish habits of thinking, he blended them together in a manner that led to the idea of a certain sleep of the soul after death. But when, by the course of events and the signs of the times, he had learned to form clearer notions of the future, and when he was induced to think that the last decisive epoch was not so near (as appears from his later epistles), the idea of a higher condition of happiness beginning immediately after death must have developed itself in his mind, under the illumination of the divine Spirit, from the consciousness of the divine life as exalted above death, and as destined to perpetual progression, and from the consciousness of unbroken communion with the Redeemer as the divine fountain of life. The illumination of the apostles' minds by the Holy Spirit was surely not completed at once; but was the operation of a higher power possessing a creative fertility, under whose influences their Christian knowledge and thinking progressively developed, by means of higher revelations which were not violently forced upon them, but coalesced in a natural manner with their psychological development, as we have seen in the example of Peter; *ante*, p. 72. This might be the case with Paul; and it might happen that he was led to a more perfect understanding of the truth exactly at that point of time when it was required for his own religious necessities

¹ The remarks by Weizel of Tübingen, in his essay on the original Christian doctrine of Immortality, in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1834. Part iv., have not occasioned any alteration in my views on this subject.

² This seems to be the view taken by Usteri.

and those of future generations. But it is against this supposition that, in the fifteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, he expresses himself on death and the resurrection, in the same manner as in the First Epistle to the Thessalonians, and yet we find in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians written some months later, a confident expectation expressed, that a life of a higher kind in communion with Christ would immediately succeed the dissolution of earthly existence; for it is impossible to understand 2 Cor. v. 6—8 in a different sense; when Paul marks, as correlative ideas on the one hand, the remaining in the earthly body and being absent from the Lord (a want of that higher immediate communion with him which would belong to an existence in the other world), on the standing-point of faith; and, on the other hand, the departure from earthly life, and being admitted to the immediate presence of the Lord, and to an intimate communion with him no longer concealed under the veil of faith. How could he have described what he longed for, as a departure from this earthly life and being present with the Lord, if he intended to describe that change which would arise from the *παρουσία* of Christ, from his coming to believers? We also find in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, the same views presented as in the Epistle to the Philippians; yet it is not probable that in the few months between the time of his writing the First and the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, such a revolution had taken place in his mode of thinking on this subject. From a comparison of the First and Second Epistle to the Corinthians, we may therefore conclude that Paul, even when, in his earlier statements respecting the resurrection, he said nothing of the state of the souls of individual believers in the interval between death and the resurrection, still admitted the uninterrupted development of a higher life after death, though he did not particularly bring it forward, as he was accustomed to found all the hopes of believers on the resurrection of Christ, and to connect them with the doctrine of the resurrection; perhaps, also, he thought that last great event so nigh, and was so constantly turning his attention to it, that his mind was not directed towards the other fact. But as he became aware that the period of the consummation of the kingdom of God was not so nigh as he

had formerly anticipated, he was induced to bring forward more distinctly a subject which had hitherto been kept in the background.

Paul represents as the ultimate object of his hopes, the complete victory of the kingdom of God over all the evil which had hitherto prevented its realization, over everything which checked and obscured the development of the divine life. Believers, in their complete personality transformed and placed beyond the reach of death, will perfectly reflect the image of Christ, and be introduced into the perfect communion of his divine, holy, blessed, and unchangeable life. The perfected kingdom of God will then blend itself harmoniously with all the other forms of divine manifestation throughout his unbounded dominions. Inspired by the prospect of this last triumph of redemption, when sin with all its consequences, death and all evil, shall be entirely overcome, with the certain knowledge of the victory already won by Christ, the pledge of all that will follow, Paul exclaims (1 Cor. xv. 55—58), "Where, Death, is now thy sting? (Death has now lost its power to wound the redeemed from sin, since they are already conscious of an eternal divine life.) Where, Grave, is thy victory? (the victory which the kingdom of death gained through sin.) But the sting of death is sin; that which causes the power of sin to be felt is the law. (What the law could not do, which made us first feel the power of sin in its whole extent, that Christ has done by redeeming us from sin and thus from death.) God be thanked who hath given us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ." Inasmuch as the kingdom of Christ is a mediatorial dispensation, which maintains a conflict with the kingdom of evil for a precise object, which is founded on the redemption accomplished by him, and by which all that his redemption involves in principle must be realized—the kingdom of Christ in its peculiar form will come to an end, when it has attained this object, when through the efficiency of the glorified Christ, the kingdom of God has no more opposition to encounter, and will need no longer a Redeemer and Mediator. Then will God himself operate in an immediate manner in those who through Christ have attained to perfect communion with him, who are freed from everything that

opposed the divine operation in their souls, and transformed into pure instruments of the divine glory. The mediatorial kingdom of God will then merge into the immediatorial. Such is the declaration of Paul in 1 Cor. xv. 27, 28. But if we understand what is said in that passage of the universal subjection and conquest of all the enemies of God's kingdom, in the strictest sense of the words, it would follow, that all subjective opposition to the will of God will then cease, and that a perfect union of the will of the creature with that of the Creator will universally prevail. This will necessarily be the case, if we understand the words that "God may be all in all,"¹ in absolute universality; for then it would follow, that the kingdom of God is to be realized subjectively in all rational creatures, and that nothing ungodlike will any longer exist. Then would be fulfilled, in the most complete sense, what Paul expresses in Rom. xi. 32. But though this interpretation is in itself possible, and founded on the words, still we are not justified by the connexion to understand the expression in an unlimited sense. If that subjection were to be understood as only objective and compulsory, it might be affirmed that the enemies of God's kingdom will have no more power to undertake anything against it, that they will no longer be able to exert a disturbing influence on its development. By the "all," *πάντι*, in whom God will be "all," *τὰ πάντα*, we may understand merely believers, as in v. 22 by *πάντες*,² those who enter by faith into communion with Christ; and it certainly appears from the connexion to be Paul's design only to represent what belongs to the perfect realization of Christ's work for believers. The words in Philip. ii. 10, 11, may indeed be supposed to mean, that all rational beings are to be subjected to the Redeemer as their Lord, although this will not be accomplished with respect to all in the same manner; in some there may be a subjectively internal free obedience, in others only what is outward and compulsory, the obedience of impotence, which can effect nothing against the kingdom of Christ. The question arises, whether in the words "bow the knee in the name of Christ,

¹ *πάντι* may be taken either as masculine or neuter.

² If the emphasis be laid not on the *πάντες*, but on the *ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ*, that here everything proceeds from Christ, as on the other side from Adam.

and confess that he is Lord to the glory of God," something more is meant than a description of such forced outward obedience, if we understand these words according to the Pauline phraseology.¹ The passage in Coloss. i. 20, we shall interpret in the simplest and most natural manner, if we can admit such a reference to the reconciling and redeeming work of Christ on the fallen spiritual world. And we can then combine in one view the three passages, and interpret them by a mutual comparison. A magnificent prospect is thus presented of the final triumph of the work of redemption, which was first opened to the mind of the great apostle in the last stage of his Christian development, by means of that love which impelled him to sacrifice himself for the salvation of mankind. At all events, we find here only some slight intimations, and we acknowledge the guidance of divine wisdom, that in the records of revelation destined for such various steps of religious development, no more light has been communicated on this subject.

¹ The doctrine of such a universal restitution would not stand in contradiction to the doctrine of eternal punishment, as it appears in the gospels; for although those who are hardened in wickedness, left to the consequences of their conduct, their merited fate, have to expect endless unhappiness, yet a secret decree of the divine compassion is not necessarily excluded, by virtue of which, through the wisdom of God revealing itself in the discipline of free agents, they will be led to a free appropriation of redemption.

* * The conclusion of this work, together with several
* minor pieces by the same author, will be given in the
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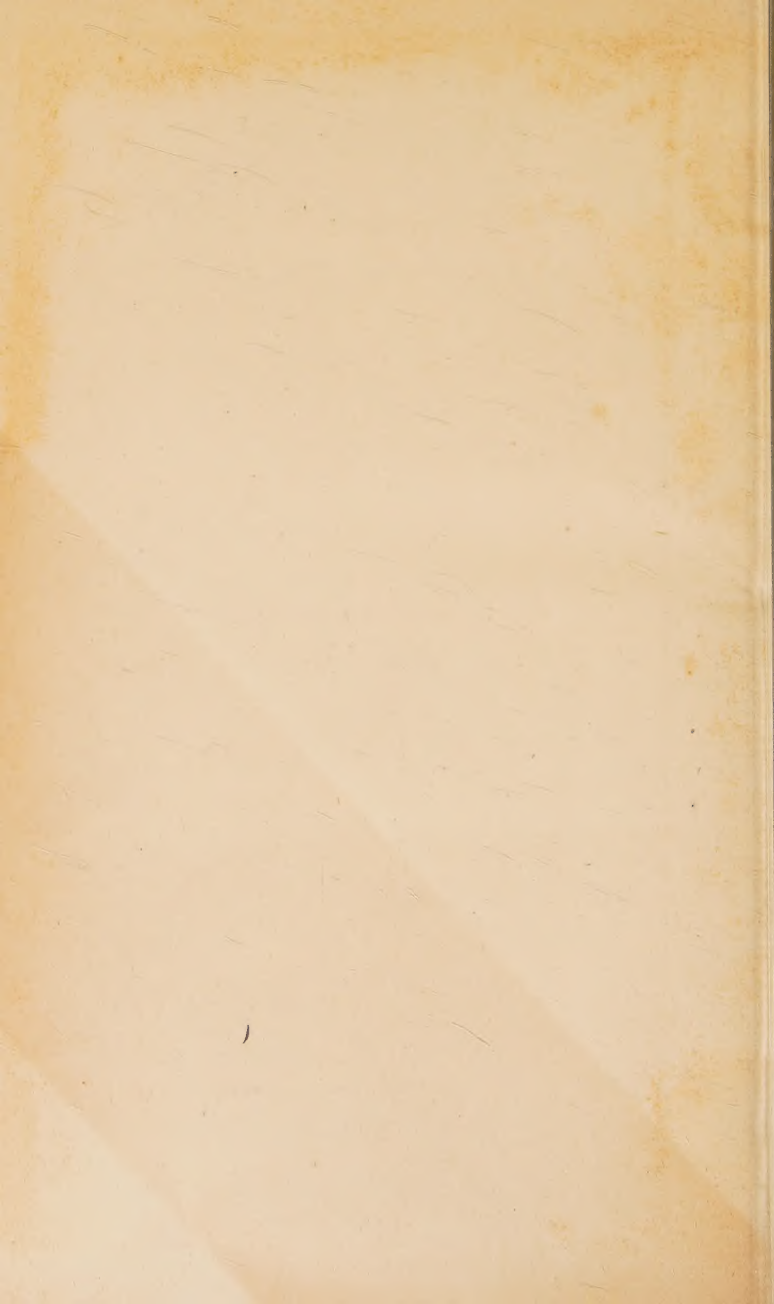
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